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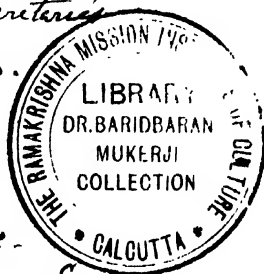
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[*N. B.*—Owing to the insufficiency of the Society's funds,
DR. CHUCKERBUTTY has waived his claim to have his paper on
Dysentery published in the Transactions.—*Ed.*]

PROSPECTUS.

THE object of the Association is to promote the development of social progress in the presidency of Bengal, by uniting Europeans and Natives of all classes in the collection, arrangement, and classification of facts bearing on the social, intellectual, and moral condition of the people. With this view the Association is divided into four Departments, which are assigned to different Sections of the Council;—I.—*Jurisprudence and Law*, II.—*Education*, III.—*Health*, IV.—*Economy and Trade*. Each Section will ordinarily call for information by the issue of circular questions; it will invite papers, either in English or in the Vernacular, on given subjects, which, after approval by the Sectional Committee, will be read and discussed at periodical meetings in Calcutta. A selection of these papers, or of English translations from those in the Vernacular, will be annually published in the Transactions of the Association.

The Department of *Jurisprudence and Law* will, for the most part, be confined to the consideration of questions connected with the causes, prevention, and repression of crime. It is not intended that the Association shall take any direct action tending to the enactment or the amendment of legislative measures; but it is believed that, without trenching upon the functions of the Government and without constituting itself a political body, there are many points on which the Association may usefully collect and place at the disposal of the public statistics, trustworthy information, and valuable facts and details.

The Department of *Education* opens a wide field. Besides the important consideration of the higher class of education in its social influences, the Association will in this branch also direct its attention to the Vernacular education of the masses and to the state and extent of indigenous literature. Female education, and the best means of disseminating it with a due regard to the customs and institutions of the Native community, will also claim its share of attention.

The *Public Health* is a Department in which it is believed that the Association may effect much good. As in the other Departments, the subject will be considered mainly in its relation to the poorer classes. Recognizing, as the Association does, the extreme importance of the statistics of life and death, it will endeavour to acquire a fund of information on this head. It will further collect facts which bear on the general health, comfort, and convenience of the masses in populous Native towns and in agricultural villages, and it will ascertain the best means of diminishing mortality, either by improving the skill of the ordinary Native

Prospectus.

practitioners, or by drawing attention to the defects in ventilation and conservancy, or by pointing out the evil effects of the indiscriminate sale of poisons, or the adulteration of food, or the want of purity in the drinking water of the population.

In the Department of *Economy and Trade*, the Association will take up the consideration of the wide class of miscellaneous questions which relate to labour. Improvements in agriculture and the mechanical arts will naturally receive attention in this Department. The Association will also endeavour to acquire accurate local statistics regarding the various trades of the country and the castes and classes by which they are followed, as well as regarding banking operations, and generally whatever may affect the industry and social condition of the working and the middle classes.

The Association will meet in Calcutta in the months of January, March, July, and November for the reading and discussion of papers. An annual meeting will also be held in January; at which an address will be delivered and the various reports be read.

The subscription of each member is Rs. 12 per annum. A donation of Rs. 100 will relieve a member from further payment during life. In return for his subscription, a member of the Association has the privileges of attending its meetings, of being eligible for its offices, and of receiving a copy of its Transactions. The full subscription for the present year is now due.

Persons who are desirous of joining the Association should communicate with either of the Secretaries at their address at the Metcalfe Hall, to whom also all papers should be forwarded.

The Association will affiliate to itself similar institutions established out of Calcutta. Such branch Associations must pay to the funds of the parent Association a subscription of Rs. 6 per annum for every one of their members, in return for which such members will have the privilege of attending the meetings of the Association in Calcutta or elsewhere, and of receiving a copy of its Transactions.

Dated 20th February 1867.

RULES.

OBJECT.

I. THE object of the Association is to promote the development of Social Science in the presidency of Bengal.

MEMBERSHIP.

II. Any person who pays an annual subscription of twelve Rupees, or a life subscription of one hundred Rupees, shall be a member of the Association.

III. Every member shall have the right of attending and voting at the annual, quarterly, and special meetings of the Association, of being eligible to any of its offices, and of receiving a copy of its Transactions.

IV. The annual subscription shall be payable in advance on the first day of January in each year.

V. Any member, whose annual subscription shall not be paid before the end of the year for which it is due, shall be liable to have his name struck off the list of members by the Council.

VI. Any member desirous of withdrawing from the Association must communicate his wish to the Secretaries in writing, but he will be liable for the subscription of the year in which such communication is received.

OFFICERS AND GOVERNMENT.

VII. The Association shall have a President, two Vice-Presidents, and two Honorary Secretaries, who are also Treasurers.

VIII. The Association shall be governed by a Council, consisting of fifteen ordinary members, besides the above office-bearers. The Council may fill up vacancies in its own body as they occur during the year.

IX. All office-bearers and ordinary members of the Council shall be elected at the annual meeting, and shall hold office till the annual meeting next ensuing; they shall be eligible for re-election. (This rule shall apply to all officers elected by the Council during the year).

X. The Council shall ordinarily meet once a quarter, and when specially summoned together by the President of the Association, or at the requisition of any five members of the Council.

DEPARTMENTS AND SECTIONS.

XI. The Association shall be divided into four Departments,—the first, for *Jurisprudence and Law*; the second, for *Education*; the third, for *Health*; and the fourth, for *Economy and Trade*.

XII. The Council shall divide itself into sections corresponding to the above Departments. The President and Secretaries shall be *ex-officio* members of every section. Each section may appoint its own Chairman and Secretary.

XIII. The work of a section shall consist in collecting, classifying, and arranging the papers and information relating to its own Department. For this purpose it may associate with itself other members of the Association.

SUB-COMMITTEES.

XIV. The Council may also form other Sub-Committees of its body for special purposes, and such Sub-Committees shall also have the power of adding to their number other members of the Association. The President and Secretaries are *ex-officio* members of all Sub-Committees.

MEETINGS.

XV. The meetings of the Association shall be annual, quarterly, and special.

XVI. The annual and quarterly meetings of the Association shall be held in Calcutta. The former shall be convened by the Council in January of each year, and the latter in the months of January, March, July, and November.

XVII. Special meetings of the Association may be convened by the Council at such time and place, and for such purpose, as they shall think fit.

XVIII. At the annual meeting of the Association, the President, or one of the Vice-Presidents, shall deliver an address, and the general and sectional reports for the past year shall be read.

XIX. The quarterly meetings of the Association shall be held for the reading and discussion of papers merely.

SECRETARIAT.

XX. The Honorary Secretaries shall, by mutual agreement, divide the duties of their office between them, reporting such arrangement to the Council.

Rules.

v

ACCOUNTS.

XXI. The accounts of the Association shall be audited by two members of the Association, not being members of the Council, who shall be appointed at the annual meeting.

XXII. The funds of the Association shall be lodged in the Bank of Bengal, and cheques shall be drawn only upon the signature of the President (or one of the Vice-Presidents) and one of the Secretaries.

BRANCH ASSOCIATIONS.

XXIII. The Association shall correspond with and affiliate to itself branch Associations established out of Calcutta.

XXIV. As a condition of such affiliation, branch Associations shall pay to the funds of the parent Association a sum of six Rupees per annum for each one of their members, in return for which such members shall be entitled to a copy of its Transactions, and to the privilege of attending its meetings in Calcutta or elsewhere.

INTRODUCTION.

THE BENGAL SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION owes its origin to the late visit of Miss Mary Carpenter to this country. When in Calcutta last December, she expressed a desire to meet the leading members of both Native and European society, with a view to the discussion of the advantages to be derived from the establishment of such an institution in this country. A meeting was accordingly held in the rooms of the Asiatic Society on the 17th December 1866, at which His Excellency the Viceroy, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, and a large number of Native and European gentlemen were present. After an address from Miss Carpenter, the following resolutions were passed :—

1. That this meeting has listened with much interest to the address of Miss Carpenter, for which it accordingly desires to thank her ; and is of opinion that it is in every way desirable to consider carefully the practicability of forming a Branch Society to be affiliated to the National Association for the promotion of Social Science in Great Britain, for the purpose of pursuing similar investigations, so far as they have any relation to the people and circumstances of this country.

2. That the following gentlemen be requested to form a Provisional Committee (with power to add to their number), to consult further with Miss Carpenter on the subject, and to take such ultimate steps as may appear desirable, in pursuance of the conclusion arrived at by the first resolution :—

The Hon'ble Justices Norman, Phear, and Seton-Karr, E. C. Bayley, Esq., Arthur Grote, Esq., W. S. Atkinson, Esq., Dr. T. Farquhar, Rev. J. Long, A. Mackenzie, Esq., Babus Khetro Mohun Chatterjea, Peary Chand Mittra, Ram Chundra Mittra, Kesub Chunder Sen, Monmohun Ghose, Debendronauth Tagore, Rajendralal Mittra, and Pundit Ishwar Chunder Vidyasagar.

The Committee thus appointed proceeded to their labours without delay. The Hon'ble Justice L. S. Jackson and Messrs. Beverley and Blanford were added to their number, and a Sub-Committee, composed of Mr. Justice Seton-Karr, Rev. J. Long, and Babu Peary Chand Mittra, was requested to draft a scheme for the constitution and organization of the proposed Society. The report of the Sub-Committee, as finally adopted, was as follows:—

1. The Provisional Committee are of opinion that the proposed Society should be an independent Society and not affiliated to the Society in England, inasmuch as the results of enquiry into many questions cannot be equally interesting to persons in England, nor can sufficient interest in the proposed Society be kept up in India, if its papers be only transmitted to the London Society, and be not published and discussed here without loss of time.

2. The Provisional Committee are further of opinion that the labours of the proposed Society should be extended to the whole of the presidency of Bengal.

3. The Association shall be called the Bengal Social Science Association. All persons subscribing not less than Rs. 12 per annum shall be eligible as members of the Society.

4. The business of the Society shall be at first entrusted to a Council of not less than thirteen members, one of whom shall be the President, and two shall be Vice-Presidents. All vacancies may be filled up by the Council. There may be Sub-Committees of the Council, and special standing Committees appointed from among members.

5. There shall be two Honorary Secretaries, who shall appoint a responsible staff at the expense of the Society.

6. There shall be an annual meeting in January, at which an annual report shall be read and office-bearers elected.

7. The Council shall draw up a code of rules for the management of the affairs of the Society.

8. The Council shall endeavour to collect, arrange, and classify series of facts bearing on the social, intellectual, and moral condition of the people in Bengal. It will endeavour by

the aid of such facts, and by clear and readable papers on interesting questions, to aid in the promotion of measures for the good of the country.

9. With a view to promote these objects, quarterly meetings shall be held for the reading and discussion of papers, besides the annual meeting.

These proceedings of the Provisional Committee were confirmed at a general meeting of the members held at the Metcalfe Hall on the 22nd January 1867, at which the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal presided. The strength of the Council was fixed at twenty members, of whom one should be the President, two Vice-Presidents, and two the Honorary Secretaries of the Association, and the following officers and members were at that time duly elected:—

President.

HON'BLE W. S. SETON-KARR, C.S.

Vice-Presidents.

HON'BLE J. P. NORMAN.

BAHU ROMANATH TAGORE.

Council.

HON'BLE J. B. PHEAR.
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T. FARQUHAR, ESQ., M.D.
MAJOR F. B. NORMAN.
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REV. J. LONG.

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BABU DIGUMBER MITTRA.
BABU KISSORY CHAND MITTRA.
BABU RAJENDRALAL MITTRA.
BABU RAM CHUNDRA MITTRA.
MOULVI ABDUL LUTEEF KHAN BAHADUR.

Secretaries.

H. BEVERLEY, ESQ., C.S.

BABU PRARY CHAND MITTRA.

The first duty which devolved upon the newly elected Council was to draw up and issue a prospectus explanatory of the objects of the Association, and a code of rules for its guidance. The former has been widely circulated, and a copy of the latter furnished to

each member of the Association. The Council then divided itself into four sections or departments, in each of which a circular was prepared and issued in the form of a syllabus, indicating certain subjects on which the Council believed that enquiries might be instituted and information collected with advantage. For purposes of ready reference, these *desiderata* or heads of enquiry are re-printed here—

I.—JURISPRUDENCE AND LAW.

CIVIL LAW.

The existing Hindu and Mahomedan law as to perpetuities and charitable trusts—its effect—is it desirable, and, if desirable, is it possible to limit them in any way?

The *benamtee* system in all its branches.

The custom of *pre-emption*—does it exist among other than Mahomedans? if so, where?

Testamentary law. The forms and sanctions of wills—nuncupative wills—is it desirable to retain them, with special reference to the law of adoption? Compulsory registration of wills transferring immovable property—is it desirable to extend any parts of the Indian Succession Act to Hindus, Mahomedans, or Buddhists?

Transferability of ryottee tenures in different districts with and without the zemindar's consent.

The law of master and servant—are breaches of contract as frequent between Natives, as they are said to be when one of the parties is European?

The punchayet system—its nature and extent—arbitration.

The present law of execution and distress—its effect, operation, and abuses.

Bribery in courts of justice—its extent, causes and remedy—the popular belief in its effect upon the administration of justice.

CRIMINAL LAW.

Statistics of crime—is the commission of crime the professed or main occupation of any particular classes? if so, what are the habits of such classes?

The chief causes of crime—poverty—intoxication—class influence.

Suicide—its causes—how far capable of influence by legislation?

Jail system—its efficiency as a reformatory or deterrent agent. Jail education, industrial or other, of both sexes—its effects upon the after-life of discharged convicts.

The jury system—its operation—is its extension desirable?

II.—EDUCATION.

Progress of education in Bengal during the last half century—its effects on the domestic and social habits of the Hindus and Mahomedans—the causes by which it is retarded among Mahomedans in Lower Bengal—are similar causes in operation in the North-West Provinces?—Education in the learned Oriental languages as contrasted with education through the medium of English literature.

Statistics of education in particular districts among the different classes—the geographical distribution of the various causes which affect them—state of education among the cultivators of the soil—among artizans—among domestic servants.

The best means of promoting agriculture through the educational institutions of the country.

Establishment and maintenance of schools—funds for the purpose—the expediency or otherwise of an educational cess—compulsory education.

Female education—among Hindus and Mahomedans respectively—its present condition—the obstacles to its progress—and the means of overcoming them.

Jail schools and reformatories—nature of the discipline and training best adapted to them.

Indigenous literature, English as well as Vernacular—the proverbs and legends of the country.

Extent to which an art-feeling is exhibited among the artizan and other labouring classes, as regards form, colour, or taste for ornament—decoration of Native houses—art-culture through the educational institutions of the country.

The cultivation of music among all classes—the character of the songs current in particular districts, and the relation which these songs bear to the occupation or other circumstances of the classes in which they prevail—popular ballads.

III.—HEALTH.

INQUIRIES RELATING TO DIET.

I.—At what hours of the day do the people take their meals; distinguishing between the upper, middle, and lower classes, according to their caste, creed, and occupation?

II.—State how much an adult consumes at each ordinary meal, with the proportion of each article of diet.

III.—Enumerate these articles under the different heads of—(1) animal, (2) vegetable, and—(3) mineral, and state their average prices in the bazar, and whether products of the district or not.

IV.—What varieties of food are peculiar to different seasons of the year?

V.—What substitutes are employed by the hungry for their usual food in times of famine or scarcity?

VI.—What beverages, stimulants, narcotics, and nervines are used by the people, and state their effects?

VII.—Mention any facts connected with particular articles of food that you have observed to affect the health.

VIII.—What is the history of the feeding of infants during the first two years of their lives? Note the effect on the death-rate and *physique* of the children.

IX.—As far as your observation goes, do the people of a temperate climate eat more or less while residing in a tropical country?

X.—Have particular diets any special influence in giving power to resist cold or to endure heat?

XI.—Do the consumers of flesh in India enjoy better health than those who live on farinaceous food, with or without milk? What class suffers most from dyspepsia, stone, wasting of the teeth, &c.?

XII.—Enumerate the fruits, spices, condiments, pickles, &c., used by the people.

XIII.—Are sweetmeats greatly indulged in by the adult population?

XIV.—What inert substances are intentionally used to mix with the food to increase its bulk?

XV.—What articles of diet are used by men in training for severe bodily exertion; at what hours do they eat, and what quantities do they consume at each diet?

XVI.—What adulterations are practised in the district or bazar?

XVII.—Enumerate the poisonous vegetable productions which are rendered innocuous by cooking.

XVIII.—Mention the custom of the observance of fasts; how do they affect the health?

XIX.—Is river water, tank, or rain water used for drinking? is it stored or is it obtained daily? if stored, at what seasons? what means are used for its purification and preservation, either by animals, vegetables or minerals, and are any diseases fairly attributed to its use?

XX.—Are any springs in your district supposed to possess medicinal properties? give the constituents, if possible, and the diseases benefited.

IV.—ECONOMY AND TRADE.

BANKING AND CURRENCY.

Banking and monetary centres—castes, classes, or races in which Native bankers are chiefly found—the names by which their calling is described as shroffs, mahajuns, bunneas, koteewallahs—antiquity of Native banking houses, and number of their branches—their political influence in Native States—character of their transactions—interest allowed on deposits—interest charged on loans—allowances on land or produce, mode of repayment—discounts—exchange operations—modes of remitting specie, bullion—insurance rates—hoondees, their style, usance, endorsement—precautions against forgery—letters of advice—process followed when payment is refused—letters of credit—agencies—partnerships—styles of firms—book-keeping—periods for balancing accounts—how far the establishment of English banks in the Mofussil affects the business of Native banks—comparison of the two systems, English and Native, which of the two is most effective in the supply of capital for trading and agricultural purposes?—periodical flow and ebb of silver at the leading centres of trade, and the causes.

Currency.—Coins in use and their intrinsic values—tokens—currency notes—hoarding and melting coin.

COMMERCE AND TRADE.

Between different provinces—grain, oil-seeds, cotton, sugar, indigo, hides, timber, salt, cattle, sheep, European manufactures, and metals—modes and cost of transit by road, river, railway, pack bullocks, camels, horses or other animals—Native *saudagars* or merchants as distinguished from bankers and zemindars—

Native shop-keepers—pedlars, boxwallahs—street criers—road-side stalls—skilled artizans, as jewellers, carvers, their variety and remuneration—unskilled artizans, as weavers, their castes, unions, strikes.

Native manufactures, cotton, silk, woollens, pottery, paper, hardware.

Bazars, hauts, melas, markets—export trade from sea ports—Arab and other vessels owned by Natives—export trade with countries beyond the frontier in the interior—barter of all kinds—Government contracts for grain, &c.—weights and measures, their variety, evils arising from the absence of fixed standards.

LABOUR.

Different systems of service, by coolies paid daily for work, by contract; by conditions in connection with occupancy of land—the ryot—the village system for supply of ploughs, carts, boats to the zemindar—castes of labourers, the relation between caste and occupation, and the causes which modify it—migration of labourers from country to towns—rates of remuneration in different districts, past and present, as compared with each other and with prices of food—remuneration paid in the cultivation of opium, grain, sugar, tobacco, &c., contrasted—wages paid in kind—Native boatmen—fishermen—professional beggars.

Migration of labourers from one province to another—emigration to Mauritius, to West Indies, to French Colonies, the number of those who return, and the savings they bring, their social status in their villages on return—the system of recruiting for emigration.

AGRICULTURE.

Culture of the various crops—local peculiarities, rotation of crops, manuring—extent of farms—sub-division of holdings—rent, whether in money or in kind—rates for different qualities of land, mode of adjustment—zemindary accounts, cutcherries, amlah—relations *inter se* of the mahajun, zemindar, ryot, dundedar, goladar, &c.—profits on produce, how divided, what proportion actually reaches the cultivator?—advances by money-lenders—establishment of Mofussil banks for such advances.

SOCIAL ECONOMY.

The Hindu family—the village community—the Mahomedan family—relations of different castes and classes—masters and domestic servants—present extent of slavery—amusements and social games—feasts and festivals—charities and endowments.

On the 20th February 1867 Babu Rajendralal Mittra moved the adoption of the following rule :—"That the Association as a body shall abstain from expressing its opinion on *any* social question that may be brought to its notice, and from taking action for the amendment of *any* law or custom of the country." This motion was put forward under the idea that the new institution lacked the confidence of the Native members of the community ; but it did not appear to the Council that there was sufficient evidence before them of any such want of confidence as would alone justify a rule which, on any other ground, was wholly unnecessary, and might eventually prove in a high degree embarrassing to the proper working of the Association. The proposed rule, moreover, seemed to be superfluous, even with reference to the mover's purpose, as the prospectus of the Association had distinctly stated that the Society was not intended to be an agitating body. The Council, therefore, rejected Babu Rajendralal's proposition ; but on the following day the mover, supported by Babus Romanath Tagore, Digumber Mittra, Jotendromohun Tagore, and Greesh Chandra Ghose, addressed a letter to the Secretaries, requesting that an extraordinary meeting of the members of the Society might be called to take the subject into early consideration. Such a course of proceeding appeared to the majority of the Council to be entirely uncalled for at that time, nor had they any reason whatever to change the opinion which they had already expressed. It was thought that the matter might well stand over for the

decision of the whole body of this Association, until the business meeting of its members should occur in due course. They, therefore, refused to call a special meeting for the discussion of a subject on which they were themselves almost unanimous. Upon this, the requisitionists withdrew their names from the list of members, and, as the Council demurred to accede to the President's desire to give a reply to their letter, so full and explanatory as he thought necessary, Mr. Seton-Karr also resigned. This led to certain changes in the *personnel* of the Council and to the election of Mr. Phear as President. The work of the Society was carried on, and the number of its members received frequent accessions. The names now borne on the Society's rolls amount to 173.

The first session of the Association was held at the Town Hall on the evenings of the 24th, 25th, and 26th July 1867. The meetings were opened by an inaugural address from the Hon'ble J. B. Phear, the President of the Association. Ten papers were then read on various subjects, most of which are given at length in the following pages. The experience of this, the first meeting of the Society, would seem to suggest that some alterations are necessary in the mode of conducting them in future. We would particularly direct the attention of contributors to the rule of the Society requiring conciseness in the relation of facts and observations, and in the deduction therefrom of general principles or theories. As a rule, the papers read at the late session were too prolix to allow, except in a few cases,

of that discussion which it is the object of these meetings to provoke. It would be well, therefore, if in future every paper, which exceeds a certain length, were accompanied by a *précis* or abstract, only just of sufficient length to place before the audience in a clear and concise manner the conclusions of the writer and the grounds on which they are based.

There would seem, moreover, to be some misunderstanding prevalent in certain quarters regarding the enquiries which have been circulated by the various sections. With the exception of that in the Department of Health, in which direct questions were put on a specific subject, these circulars only suggested a variety of topics, on *any one* of which a paper would be acceptable. But several members, while undertaking to furnish replies to *all* the queries at once, have necessarily not done so with that fulness which the importance of the subjects treated of deserves. The circulars were in fact issued rather with a view to elucidate the objects of the Society, and to convey a somewhat more accurate idea of them, than is given by the indefinite term of Social Science.

The next Session of the Association will be held in November and it is requested that papers intended to be read at that meeting may be forwarded in time for their previous submission to the Council.

12th August 1867.

H. BEVERLEY.

[*N. B.*—WITH a view to preserve the object for which general meetings of the Association are held, *viz.* the *discussion* of the subjects which may then be introduced, it has been ruled that, when a paper is of such a length that it will occupy more than a quarter of an hour in the reading, it should be accompanied by a précis or abstract, which, after approval by the Council, shall be read instead. The attention of contributors is particularly drawn to this rule.]

BENGAL SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

ADDRESS

BY THE

HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE PHEAR,

PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

[Delivered on the 24th July 1867.]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It has fallen to me somewhat unexpectedly to be charged with the duty of delivering the first presidential address of this Association. In approaching this duty, I feel that I have to face, as it seems to me, two elements, not inconsiderable—of inappropriateness. I cannot help thinking that both the time and the speaker are somewhat out of place. Those of you who have taken at the doors of this hall a report, which, I believe, has been distributed by the Secretaries of this Society, will all know that this is an intermediate meeting. It is not the beginning of the year by which this Society reckons from its commencement. It is to some extent, I think, unfortunate that we should begin our public life at an intermediate time like this ; but you will probably understand how difficult it was for us, the Members of the Council, to do otherwise. We could not have done so, except by postponing this meeting for a considerable number of months. The Council has chosen this opportunity, rather than delay. The unfitness of myself for the present task to which I alluded, arises from the circumstance, that it is incumbent upon me, by reason of my position, to set forth,—to describe to you, as it were, Social Science ; and to do so, if there be such a science in the strict meaning of the term, I suppose that there is scarcely any one in this hall that has received less instruction in it than I have, and unfortunately since the time when unexpectedly the honor of being your President devolved upon me, neither leisure nor opportunity has been afforded me, to make up my deficiencies in that respect. Under these circumstances, ladies and gentlemen, I propose to venture upon nothing more than a simple outline of

what I conceive to be the objects of the Association, entirely apart from any technical meaning which may reside in its designation; and in doing so, I hope I shall be understood to speak to you now rather as a learner and an enquirer, than as a teacher. To the latter position I have no pretension. And although the address which I propose to deliver is written, I trust that you will not consider that to be any evidence of a desire to appear in a different character from that which I have just mentioned. I have written the address merely in obedience to the universal—I believe universal—rule of these Associations, because it has been considered desirable that there should be a rule upon the point, which it should not be within the power of any future President at his mere caprice to disregard.

I shall first ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to remember that the one great topic with which this Association concerns itself, is the welfare—the advancement of the community with which we are concerned.

There is probably no creature in the universe so little qualified to maintain existence solely by its own unaided efforts as is man. It is only in association with other men that the individual man can live, so far as our experience reaches. At any rate it is as a member of society that we find him developing that intelligence and that power of deducing results from the accumulated experience of himself and others which separates him by so enormous an interval from the representatives of every other form of life in the world. But however helpless man may be in isolation, in society, and in combination with his fellow men, his capacity for improvement and advance seems to be almost without limit.

Still, in order to improve, in order to advance, he must (until, at least, the time shall come when his volition will in every thing be motivated by the highest wisdom) give up the untrained exercise of his will. He must live and act in subordination to certain rules, prescribed by the exigency of surrounding circumstances, among these circumstances being reckoned as well the principal fact of association with his companions as the ceaseless regulated activity of organic and inorganic nature. He must, moreover, conserve the acquisitions, material and intellectual, which have been made by others than himself, before, and on the side of him. And he must use all his resources of well-being with due providence and economy. In other words, whether as regards his dealings with others, or his personal carriage of himself generally, he must allow his caprice to

be restrained by, he must himself conform to, *law* of various kinds, and while he thus exhibits an adjusted behaviour towards his fellows, he needs himself to progress in the cultivated use of his faculties, to carefully avail himself of all knowledge which has been once mastered, every vantage ground which has been once gained; and he ought not to forget a single lesson which experience has ever taught. These are the general conditions, relative to the conduct of the individual, in the grand effort at better things (stated, I fear, somewhat vaguely) upon which, as I imagine, the progress of civilization and human prosperity depends. The actual ingredients, which go to make up these conditions as a whole, possibly do not at any period long remain constant. Indeed, I apprehend that they are continually changing, and might with propriety be described, in mathematical phrase, as functions of the existing state of civilization itself in any given community. The form of the function itself (to carry on the metaphor), which may be supposed to represent the governing principle of human ethics, may possibly never alter. It may be, that if the function were ascertained, it would only need that certain constants should be determined, in order that the required result should be correctly expressed in an available form for every stage of civilization. It may even be that the derivative laws or rules to which I have alluded, if correctly laid down, resemble those of the Medes and Persians in their irreversibility, but the misfortune is that, as yet, we know neither them nor the larger principle, from which they may flow; unless perhaps we have obtained a glimpse of some of them in the department of morals. Generally we have not got beyond the tentative and empirical era in our search after moral and economical truth. We must, each generation for itself, satisfy ourselves with regard to what personal restraints are to be imposed and submitted to; what care of the individual and what work should be undertaken, as the common burden of all members of the community; what left to the free choice and action of the individual himself; what is the urgency upon us of the laws of matter; and so on:—in short, what are the conditions relative to our fellow mortals and the world of matter around us which must be observed and fulfilled, in order that human well-being and the development of civilization may be best secured in the particular community to which we belong.

The investigation and ascertainment of these conditions constitute, I believe, that which is generally understood to be the scope of Social Science; and I think I do not err in saying

that it is the main object which this Society seeks to promote, having especial regard to the area of the Bengal presidency. It is now my duty to try to explain, a little at large, what an enquiry of this kind amounts to in this country, and for this purpose I propose to go into each of the four Departments in succession, under which this Association, after the example of its great predecessor in England, has found it convenient to classify its subjects, namely, *Jurisprudence and Law, Education, Health, Economy and Trade.*

The Department of Jurisprudence and Law concerns itself with those rules and regulations relative to the behaviour of the several members of the community, *inter se*, on various topics, personal and proprietary, of which rules the observance is supposed so eminently to conduce to the united prosperity and advance of the whole as to justify their being laid down and enforced as supreme by the collective strength of the community. Obviously some restraint on individuals is universally necessary for the purpose, and I will not waste your time by attempting to demonstrate to you that it is essential to man's well-being in a social state, that the community should, by the compelled subordination of all its members to proper rules, secure certain personal liberty of action and personal enjoyment of exclusive rights of property to each individual.

But then comes the question, what are *proper* rules? In some stages of society the answer appears ready and conclusive, namely, such rules as the wisdom of that person dictates who enjoys authority enough to confer on him irresistible power. But to the scientific inquirer it would seem that the propriety of these rules is to be judged of by their fitness for attaining the end for which they are proposed, and it may be that to a person perfectly informed as to the springs of human action and as to the working of all material elements which surround man in life, certain principal rules of conduct and *right, by which I mean laws, civil and criminal, might stand out apparent as necessary and immutable. However, as we certainly have not the advantage of such an omniscient adviser, we can only be guided by our own judgment in the matter, and the conclusions of that judgment are apt to vary with every addition to our experience. Take, for instance, those rules which have the effect of defining and restraining that conduct of man towards man which is termed CRIME: these, probably, receive more general and more earnest attention than any other portion of the social system, and yet how few nations have a common set of definitions.

Then as regards the means to be adopted for enforcing the observance of these rules, it is difficult to find even two persons in the same country who agree on all points. It will perhaps be conceded by all, that when once the rules are laid down by competent authority, the community must charge itself with the duty of taking care that they be observed. The earliest and rudest mode thought of for effecting this was simply retaliation, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and it may be doubted whether even yet the majority of people have entirely eradicated all thought of vengeance from their idea of punishment, veiled as that idea commonly is under the designation of *justice*. Still very little consideration of the matter is sufficient, I think, to lead to the perception that punishment, by which word I mean the action taken by the community against an individual member for his infringement of such social rules of conduct as those to which I have alluded, ought not to contain any element of this character. Where injury has been caused by the breach, reparation therefor may well be an object to be sought, but otherwise the single end of punishment is to secure the observance of those rules of conduct which the supreme authority for the time being has declared must be observed for the good of the community, and it can only do this in any specified class of cases by influencing the motives of those persons who are otherwise disposed to break the rule, or, in other words, to commit the offence against which it is directed. And I suppose that motives to action in a man's mind can only be influenced from without in two modes, *viz.*, by suggesting adverse motives, or by altering the condition of the mind which entertains and is influenced by the motives. The would-be offender may, accordingly, be either *deterred* from his act, or be *reformed* so as no longer to possess a tendency towards it. Excluding, therefore, all regard for reparation in respect of injury done, punishment, should be made *deterrent* and *reformatory*. Obviously its deterrent effects must have, generally, an immensely larger range of operation than its reformatory, for the former may be expected to reach all who are under temptation to commit an offence, while the latter are confined to the individuals who have actually offended and been made to suffer punishment. It is more important, then, as a rule, to look to the deterrent operation of punishment than to endeavour to make it reformatory, supposing there to be any substantial obstacle in the way of attaining both objects simultaneously. However, there are, I apprehend, classes in the community upon whom the deterrent influence of punishment is very slight, and who at the same time afford exceptional opportunities

for reformation ; such are boys and girls of tender age. ° Here *reformation* should be made the prominent aim of punishment, and its alternative branch be left in the back-ground.

Now that I have led you thus far, I will ask you to observe what a vast field of inquiry and investigation relative to the efficiency of punishment for crime in this country lies open to the Members of this Society. Have we any knowledge better than mere guess work as to the deterrent effect of our punishments ? Do we know how they are viewed by those classes and persons whom it is intended that they should influence ? We can have no doubt that incarceration and restraint of personal liberty is, on the whole, disliked, but have we any clue upon which we can rely to the preventive results which are actually brought about by them ? Have we information regarding the circumstances which surround those people who furnish our jails with occupants ? Are the periods of imprisonment or transportation inflicted by our tribunals such as, on the whole, to convey the maximum of dread with the minimum of personal suffering ? I might add a string of like questions. And then again, is all done that can be done to reform the convicted ? Is the criminal by his punishment made a better member of society than before, or the reverse ? Are children in prison taught and trained as they ought to be ? It is only the Natives of the country, conversant with the language and the habits of the people, who have any chance of finding answers to inquiries such as these. Our Association will have brought about no little good, if it should lead the gentlemen of Bengal to think of these things, to search out for the benefit of their country those circumstances attendant upon the commission of crime which should govern the nature and amount of punishment, in order that sufficient deterrent effect, and no more, be produced ; and induce them further to point out those conditions which reformatory efforts must fulfil, if they are to be successful.

So far I have spoken of criminal law, *viz.*, law made to restrain conduct which is considered as pre-eminently injurious to the community at large, and which is enforced on behalf of the community rather than of the individual injured ; it is this alone which immediately occurs to the minds of most people when the word *law* is used generally. But this constitutes a very small portion of the regulations which mark out the proprietary and other relations of man to man, and of which the observance is compelled, in one mode or another, by our courts of justice, under the sanction of the supreme authority. There are, besides it, laws directed to the maintenance and transfer of rights of property founded on certain conceptions of what property ought to be ; laws of

descent and other involuntary alienation of property; laws of marriage and adoption; laws affecting contracts in general, and so on. All these ought to be adapted, at every stage of a nation's life, to secure the good which has been attained, and to favor progress towards further prosperity and civilization. Consequently they should be framed with special regard to the living facts of the day, and should never fetter, except to stay action which would be hostile to these ends. This does not mean that laws should be constantly changing. Nothing would be more mischievous; frequent change in the law without change of circumstance produces uncertainty, and uncertainty is license. But change is only needed where conditions alter, and the conditions of human life remain essentially the same for centuries: hence the laws which our ancestors found necessary and fructuous must, in the main, be the laws to govern us. Still the world will never stand entirely at rest. The most stagnant societies experience some change, and while *Conservation* must always predominate, *Reform* is also always needed and should be anxiously sought. It must be remembered, too, that the influence of municipal law does not stop at the exercise of its own proper functions; it is also powerful as a training and educating agent. The line which supreme law draws between the *fas* and the *nefas*, under circumstances amid which it is obligatory, often becomes to those born and brought up within its operation the outline of a model of behaviour in cases to which it has no direct application. In England the law of primogeniture, which prescribes the descent of landed property in the event of intestacy, serves as a type for testators to follow. And there are here among you, I will make bold to say, habits and customs in active life which would soon fall into desuetude and decay, if they were not impliedly sanctioned by the words of the law-givers whom you obey. Is it not then a matter of the highest importance to a people, that they should look into and satisfy themselves as to the operation of that body of laws, by which their actions are so extensively controlled? This Society will ask the gentlemen of this country to give their fellow-citizens the benefit of their intelligence and experience on these matters. It will be in no small degree valuable to the public to learn authentic details of the ultimate social working of perhaps one of the most remarkable judicial systems ever exhibited to the world. Our Courts have to administer English, or Hindu, or Mahomedan Law, or that peculiar form of law which goes by the name of equity and good conscience, according to the personal status of the litigants, in addition to the local statutable law which overrides every other. In this great community persons live side by side with one another

literally subject to different legal obligations as to their actions. Two joint defendants sued on the same document may be the one bound, and the other not bound, to the plaintiff, because their contractual liabilities have to be judged of by different laws. And what are these different sets of laws? How have they respectively come to their present condition of development? Has it been by any process of constant adaptation to the wants of the day? No doubt the local statutable law has been formed with strict reference to the exigencies of the time, but its range is very limited. Until lately it was almost entirely confined to executive and fiscal purposes, for I need hardly remark that all the Land Regulations and Acts fall within this class. The legislature just now seems disposed to extend the area of its action. But it can do little without the express wish of the people, and the result is that, such a wish not having been manifested, even yet the bulk of the dealings *inter se* of Her Majesty's subjects in India are regulated, as the case may be, by one of the four special systems of law which I have mentioned, the last of them incapable of explanation. Now, let us look for the moment at one of them, say the Hindu; is there not much, having regard to the objects and influence of law, as I have ventured upon delineating them, to justify an inquiry how this particular code works with reference to the welfare and progress of the common-wealth? It consists solely of precepts uttered by Manu and other philosophers, at what date I will not venture to say, but certainly anterior to the commencement of the Christian era, together with commentaries thereon and digests of later but still ancient times. These, interpreted and expanded (so far as expansion is possible) by foreign judges and supplemented by equity and good conscience, constitute the law which governs the Hindu population of this land! Possibly this assertion may call up the Common Law of England to the minds of many who now hear me, and there is undoubtedly some analogy between the two. But our English unwritten law, as it is often termed, although it dates back to distant times, comprises only principles which have been sifted and developed by a series of judicial decisions extending from the period of its earliest text books and digests to the present day. This unceasing process of active supervision has had the effect of, from age to age, engrafting into it the common sense of the time and excising from it all that becomes useless, troublesome, or obsolete. In this way English Common Law, as it is understood in every generation, is a body of living law fitted in a very large measure to the needs of the day. On the other hand, your law remains, as it was enunciated many centuries ago, with singularly close reference to specific detail of the then existing state of

society and with almost entire absence of general principles. If this is ill, our courts are totally unable to apply a remedy : they cannot, after so long a lapse of time, attempt with success the task of development ; nor indeed at any time can work of this kind be effected without great risk of mischief, except by a judicial body, which is intimately familiar with all the circumstances of society ; and I need not add your English judges certainly do not possess this qualification. Is not then the occasion come when it may well be asked of the gentlemen of Bengal, whether the shasters and digests which contain their law give them all that is advantageous towards the advancement of their civilization and the promotion of their welfare ; whether these books do not prescribe much that is positively a dead weight upon both, and whether, after all, the larger area of their daily actions is not now entirely outside the small tract which their old law-givers alone contemplated ? What did Manu and his like know of benamee transactions and trusts, of hoondees, khuts, and hathchitties, of wills, and the legion of proprietary complications which follow in their train, of land tenures and their alienation, and so on ? Do Hindu gentlemen ever reflect whence has silently come the law which regulates these things, and indeed governs the rights of their people in nine-tenths of their dealings with each other ? Do they busy their minds on these topics at all ? This Society invites them to investigate them, and to make public the results of their labours.

The next Department is Education. I will not make this an opportunity for adding one more to the thousand and one lectures on this stock subject, to which most of you, at one time or another, have been forced to listen, and I do not propose to put forward any pet theory as to the proper mode of bringing about the education of any particular class in this country. For the moment I desire only to say that by *educating* an individual I understand the by no means simple process of putting him in possession of information or knowledge, which has been before experimentally acquired by others, training him to use his physical and intellectual faculties to the best advantage, and generally making him thrifty and apt in the use of all the resources of well-being, as well intellectual as material, which he has at his command. It will hardly now, I suppose, be disputed that it is to the interest of the whole community that each member should, concurrently with all others, attain to as high a degree as possible of personal prosperity and welfare. All ought, therefore, to desire that the individual should be educated in the sense which I have mentioned, and I am afraid that all who have thought seriously on the subject must be aware that, except amongst a very limited class, education

generally is at a low ebb in this country. I do not speak with any knowledge of the special training which necessarily precedes and leads up to the various occupations in life, manual and other. I have indeed been induced to believe that it is in most cases very servile and little calculated to enlarge the mind, or extend the recipient's powers of action ; but I will confine my observations now to the defects which, I fancy, I have myself perceived.

In the first place, then, it seems to me, generally, that the power of sustained thought and correct judgment is less cultivated than it should be with you. Speaking of those people of this country with whom I have been brought into close contact, I should say that their perceptions are singularly quick and their imaginations fertile, but that the habit of patient thinking and careful analysis is too little prevalent among them. It is then matter of great moment to enquire how is this best to be fostered ; and here comes to the front the great vexed question of this country—Is English or is Oriental literature the most effective means for the purpose ? Our Educational Section has accordingly put this forward foremost among its heads of inquiry.

But passing by the simple culture of the intellectual faculties, which can only be treated as a separate end of attainment in the case of the higher classes of society, let us look to the teaching, the informing department of Education. Is not the dominion of ignorance grievously, because unnecessarily, extended in India ? It must be remembered that ignorance is not merely passive, in the sense of being absence of knowledge, but it may be, and most commonly is active in the form of pseudo-knowledge. In the first shape it is comparatively little mischievous, because it does not involve in itself any principle of opposition to the access of truth. In the latter, so far as it is operative at all, it produces unmitigated evil ; it is not a mere negative which may be supplemented by acquisition of the positive, but it is itself directly and actively obstructive of the approach of knowledge. The English language terms this phase of ignorance either prejudice or bigotry.

I am afraid that your system of caste has been a fruitful nidus of prejudice and bigotry, which, as long as it lasts, will provide impassable barriers between you and the higher positions of social development. These are not all in kind at any rate, whatever may be the case as regards degree, peculiar to a caste origin. We have much obstruction to social progress in England which is near akin to them, but, fortunately for us, it cannot there claim religious authority for its basis. As a foreigner, I am

not entitled to characterize as odious those distinctions sanctioned by your religion, which render one man vile and contemptible from his birth to his fellow mortal as by the fiat of the Almighty, but I may venture, nevertheless, to draw your attention to the very serious disadvantages which your people suffer from the restraints upon individual action, imposed by the right and the wrong, the clean and the unclean of caste dictation. As a motive to honorable conduct and exalted deeds, pride of ancestry is all-powerful; as a bond of union, and an incentive to charitable action, nothing is more efficacious than the tie of blood. In these aspects caste shines out conspicuously excellent. It serves also to discharge some of the better functions of trade guilds and associations. But must it always remain disfigured in other directions by stains which owe their origin to the smaller passions of men? Is it never to be realized among you that God has not tied up his creatures, human or animal, into bundles, and ticketed them for time and eternity with marks of worthiness or dishonor, independent of their own behaviour? Is excellence and capacity never to have scope of action except within the narrow limits of a caste, and subject to the crushing weight of an opposing public opinion? Is individual action always to be crippled by minute rules difficult of observance, relative to eating and drinking, care of the person, anxiety to prevent a conventional and now highly arbitrary social contamination, and so on? If you answer yes, it must be, I think, because you little appreciate the enormous drawbacks which these restrictions, many of them perhaps petty in themselves, constitute in the aggregate to your progress, and because you over-rate any possible connection which they can have with the spirit of religion. It is not difficult to understand how caste was once the natural and inevitable growth of the circumstances amid which it arose, and one can in imagination trace its development under the fostering hands of an interested priesthood into the elaborate system which it has since become. Probably it long discharged valuable hygienic and economic functions, and we of Northern Europe, who acknowledge that even in our latitude cleanliness is next to godliness, can appreciate the good aim, in a tropical climate, of the personal observances which it imposes. But as the school-master finds a limit to the period of useful control over his pupil, so all inelastic rules of conduct have their day, beyond which their operation is not merely useless, but positively mischievous. So far as you take away discretion from the mature man, you in effect force him back towards the level of irrational creatures, and run the risk of depriving society of some of that element of vitality upon which its pro-

gress depends. Restraint should therefore always be avoided, unless absolutely required by the exigencies of the community as a whole, and it must be remembered that the restraints which flow from the operation of a public or class opinion are more searchingly coercive, and more completely inevitable than any which municipal law can pretend to create; they possess, besides, this additional characteristic that they are irrevocable, when injurious, except by change of the opinion from which they emanate. Thus it comes about that caste in all its aspects, and in the results traceable to it in regard to industry, education or crime, is eminently worthy of the most careful attention at the hands of the intelligent members of your community, with a view to the conservation of all the good which it contains, and the ejection of its poison, and accordingly it forms the leading element in several of the heads of inquiry proposed by this Association. There is another topic which, from the similarity of its situation relative to social opinion, I cannot avoid placing in juxtaposition with caste—I mean the status of your women. I propose, however, to touch it very lightly, for I know how little qualified I am to speak upon so delicate a subject as this is to you. Domestic life can only be properly understood and appreciated by one who is familiar with the features daily and hourly exhibited therein, and whose perceptions are quickened by sympathy with the feelings prevalent in the family circle. Perhaps I should hardly err if I said that any other must necessarily misunderstand it. Still there are some points about your treatment of the female portion of your families so salient that the stranger outside cannot fail to receive some impression from them, and it is fair to you that you should be made acquainted with the conclusions which he draws from it. I for one cannot help thinking that not only is the status of your women characterized by ignorance and want of culture in the women themselves, but its very foundation is ignorance in the whole community. You have not yet acquired the knowledge which we of the West some time ago learned, as we believe, that the best attributes of women, as you yourselves appreciate them, cannot possibly be nurtured to fullest excellence in the seclusion of the zenana. In Bengal the weaker sex are distinguished by comeliness, intelligence, and gentleness.

• Possessing these natural excellencies, what degree of womanly perfection is not attainable by them? One of England's most close and original thinkers has lately said, that there prevailed with some people the obscure feeling, that women "had no right to care about anything but how they should become the most useful and devoted servants of men. But the notion that one

"half the human race existed for the supposed benefit of the other half, independently of its justice, appeared to be silly. *...*
 "Men and women," he added, speaking of England, "were, for the first time in history, really each others' companions. The traditions of Englishmen respecting their proper relations were descended from the time when the lives of the two classes were spent apart; when they were separated in their serious occupations and in their amusements; when man spent his time among men; when it was with them he took counsel on serious matters, and when the wife was either a plaything or an upper servant. All that among the educated classes was now totally changed; the man no longer gave the whole of his spare time to violent out-door exercises and boisterous convivialities with such associates. The two classes now passed their lives together; the wife was often the husband's most confidential friend and most trusted adviser. Was this companionship compatible with warning women off all great subjects? Was it good for the man to live perpetually in communion with one who was studiously kept inferior to himself, whose earthly interests were forcibly confined within the four walls of the house? Could this happen without detriment to the man's own character? The time had come when, if women were not raised to the intellectual level of men, men would be pulled down to the mental level of women. The women of a man's family were either a stimulus to his highest aspirations or a drag upon them." These are the words of John Stuart Mill, one to whose authority you are eminently fond of appealing, spoken in regard to the relative position of men and women in England, and many of you are well able to judge how much more nearly the relation between English men and women is already one of equality than is the like relation among yourselves. Do not these words forcibly suggest to you the great disadvantages to society, the enormous obstacles to human progress and well-being, which must necessarily proceed from maintaining women in a condition of ignorance and servility. But if arguments, dictated by desire for the common weal, are not sufficiently powerful to reach public opinion on this point, will consideration for their personal interest induce the men of this country to inquire, whether it is good for them that the present status and condition of women in Bengal should remain unaltered? Cannot each man amongst you contemplate the possibility of his wife, beautiful and graceful by nature, giving herself ten-fold beauty and grace by presiding at the dispensation of domestic hospitality, and shedding a hue of refinement and purity over scenes, which, if severed hopelessly from all association with

the higher female influences, are but too apt to exhibit coarse and unintellectual features? Can he not think of her as the intelligent companion of his daily life, helping to create his best thoughts by her sympathy and encouragement, nay even guiding him in his labours by her counsel and advice, and again in his leisure hours affording him that exalted solace and relaxation, which can alone proceed from the free and affectionate play of intellect in a cultivated female mind? Will he picture to himself the young mother, happy in the charming pride of maternity, yet tremblingly sensible of the responsibilities of her charge, guiding her children into the paths of rectitude and truth, instilling into them those principles which shall never lose their force as long as life shall last, leading the thoughts of the future men and women to the problems of existence, and directing the mind, at the period of life when of all others it is most eagerly inquisitive, to the safest channels of information and truth? I will put one question more: will he say that woman, in any one of the attitudes in which I have just asked him to represent her to himself, stands outside the province within which any educated gentleman among you would wish for ever to confine her? The truth is, that the present status and cultivation of your women is very inconsistent with the stage of civilization, in face of which you now find yourselves; and if you desire to hold the position which you have won, much more if you hope to carry the welfare of your country beyond it, you must hold out your hands to your wives and your daughters, you must lift them up to the level of your own standing ground, and ask them to co-operate with you, on something like equal terms, in your efforts to promote social refinement at home and public well-being abroad.

This Association asks you, every one for himself, to look into these things, and to satisfy yourselves as to their true bearing upon the good of the individual and the progress of the community. Do not think for a moment that they are mere matters of feeling, which may be disregarded or may be treated with greater or less seriousness, according to each man's caprice, for you may rest assured that, whether heeded or not, they form veritable elements in the hard logic of facts, and it is in the highest degree important that the leaders of public opinion should rightly appreciate their validity. I, for one, do not desire to conceal from you my opinion that any substantial change of feeling, which may be brought about on this point in those who are influential among you, will be momentous in its results. You will find it impracticable to give women solid instruction and mental training of any value, unless you postpone the epoch of

marriage considerably beyond the early period at which custom has fixed it among you; and when once this change has been effected, when the wife, as a rule, is no longer a mere child at the time of her passing to her husband's home, but has become in some degree a woman of education and individuality of character, there will soon be seen the end of your joint family life in its present form. However, I do not propose to enter upon this topic; but I will pass on to one more illustration of the injurious effects upon the community, which proceed from want of special knowledge and means in given classes of its members. I take the class which is concerned with the production and distribution of human food. This is formed, speaking generally, of the actual cultivators of the soil, and those who receive payment for the use of the soil, *viz.*, the ryots and zemindars (the latter term being taken in its generic, not specific sense). It is the interest of both these sets of men that the maximum of produce should be raised from the land, at a minimum expenditure of time and labour; and that there should be the freest possible access for this produce to the surrounding market. Need I say that whatever be the natural advantages of the country, the attainment of neither of these objects can be effected, except by the exertion of educated intelligence and practical skill. In truth the art of cultivating the soil with success is everywhere a natural science of a high order. For a while, in all countries, it may no doubt be carried on empirically, but the time also comes in all, when the struggle for life requires that its true principles should be investigated, ascertained, and pursued. And the problem of bringing the productions of the earth within the consumer's reach, with least hindrance and loss of time, can only be satisfactorily solved by a community which is in an advanced stage of civilization. I may also add, what is perhaps already sufficiently obvious to you all, that agricultural production, in regard to both quantity and kind, is in a great degree governed by the means which exist for conveying it to the main centres of distribution. Facility of intercommunication is thus cardinal to the physical welfare of every country, and improvement of the actual processes of cultivation stand second to it. Have you reason to be satisfied with the position which your agriculturists occupy in either respect? Has not the disaster which has lately happened to you, and the intelligence of which has sent a thrill of sympathetic horror through the whole civilized world, served to convince you that your agricultural classes cannot in ignorant inactivity continue to stand in the footsteps of their forefathers without perilling the best interests of the whole empire? If ever any tract on the

face of the globe could be said to be insured by Providence against want, it must be Lower Bengal and Orissa. A fertile soil scarcely needing labour for its tilling, water in unfailing supply carried by a hundred river channels across its surface, it must be man alone who is to blame for the shortcomings of the earth. Where are your highways and waterways, and your roads ramifying to every village and homestead? Nay, where are your homesteads themselves with their proper appliances for facilitating the various processes in the art of cultivation, and superintended by skilled intelligence? Where is the organized system of irrigation which cannot fail to render famine impossible in this country? There are in truth none of these things, and I will venture to say that there never will be, until all those whose rupees come direct from the soil, have learned that their pecuniary interests depend upon them. Is it not time to elevate the intellectual condition of the cultivator, who with you is at once labourer and master? Is it not vitally important to enlighten those who ought to give him co-operation and assistance? This Association earnestly presses these matters upon the attention of the thinking portion of Bengal gentlemen.

I now leave this Department, somewhat reluctantly, for there are many points in connection with it upon which I have not been able to touch. If time served, I would willingly have dwelt upon the importance, as I conceive it, to the welfare of all people, of cultivating, what are sometimes termed the finer faculties of the mind, namely, the sense of beauty and of music. It is difficult, I am convinced, to exaggerate the value of music and the fine arts merely as civilizing agents, to say nothing of their intrinsic merit as separate objects of attainment. I would also remark that it seems to me vain to expect feelings of true refinement to prevail largely, where decency of the person is so little regarded as it is throughout all ranks of society in this part of India. But these are topics too broad for me to enter upon with the hope of traversing now, and I only trust that they will not be overlooked by those gentlemen who care to set themselves to the working out of the social problems of their country. It will be well for such persons also to enquire whether the time is not approaching, when State education should be directed to the lower rather than the upper classes of the community. It can scarcely be doubted that education has comparatively little tendency to work downwards. Any given class in the country is always reluctant, on more or less plausible grounds, to see those classes which it looks upon as below, and subordinate to it, raised in

intellectual condition towards its own level, and consequently it always resists, as much as lies in its power, the diffusion of education among them. On the other hand, I apprehend that no stimulant to exertion and self-improvement is more effective or more generally operative upon a class, supposing it to have the means of educating itself, than the knowledge that, unless it moves on, those below will step on its heels. You can easily boil a vessel of water by applying continuous heat to the bottom, but you would find it a hopeless task to bring about the same result by the application of heat to the top. And I am disposed to think that this illustration is not without its analogy in the matter of the artificial education of a people. At any rate it comes well within the province of this Association to foster the enquiry, how best the natural action of the internal forces of society may be utilized to the promotion of sound and wholesome education throughout the country.

The third Department into which this Association has divided the area of its labours is that of Health. Surely this subject comes home to each of us individually. Yet how few among us know really anything about such of those natural laws as govern the healthy existence of the human body, so far as they have been ascertained by scientific enquirers: and, indeed, how little in the shape of law of this kind has hitherto been made out at all. Still it cannot be denied that, out of the whole range of human science, there is no information more needing minute dispersion among the people than the information which our medical men supply; for in these things it is scarcely too much to say of every one of us that the measure of his own risk is the ignorance of his neighbour. For convenience of apprehension, the subject may be treated as consisting of two parts; *1st*, that which concerns the maintaining of the body with all its organs (considered as a sort of living machine) in strength and working order; *2nd*, that in which disease, viewed as a hostile, destructive agent, plays the principal part. These two are by no means to be severed by a sharply drawn line, but they admit of being spoken of apart with sufficient accuracy for my present purpose.

Now, on the first head, much exceedingly important knowledge has been arrived at. Given the body in a healthy state, good and nutritious food, fresh air, reasonable exercise of the physical and intellectual organs alternating with repose, afford the conditions most favorable for the continuance of health and

of natural development. Remembering, then, that a weakened physique and lowered vitality is not only a great evil in itself, but also serves as a foothold for specific disease, when the latter makes its attack (for this world is pre-eminently a world of might, and in it natural forces have no mercy for the feeble), do we not perceive that it is distinctly the business of each one of us to do his best to secure to himself and his own dependents at least the sanitary conditions to which I have referred? The concourse of men by large masses in towns has the effect of rendering individuals in some degree powerless in these matters, but at the same time probably the collective action of the whole might, for the same reason be the more efficient. Still, in towns and in villages, each householder can do very much. This Association asks, you therefore, to turn your attention to this quarter. Will not some of you inquire into the nature and quality of the food on which your people support existence, the water which they drink, and the true effect of the occupations in which they are employed? Nothing so speedily contaminates the air and renders it unfitted to invigorate in respiration, as the very process of breathing and the subjecting it to the various emanations from the human body itself. Effective ventilation, *viz.*, the rapid and continuous replacement of air which is vitiated by that which is fresh and wholesome, is thus a primary necessary of life. Look into your own houses and say whether you find it duly provided for there. Is there no crowding under your roofs? Are your sewage arrangements sufficient for the immediate removal of every source of miasma, as soon as it springs into existence? Does purity and cleanliness reign supreme in your little dominion? Are animal or vegetable matters ever allowed to decay within your precincts? Do the members of your family, men, women, and children, lead lives of healthy activity? I think I could even now correctly anticipate the conclusions to which an enquiry of this kind would lead you: certainly I imagine that it would not be altogether flattering to yourselves. And if I do not err in this, need I ask what are the hygienic conditions which surround the poorer and more ignorant masses of your vast population?

To pass on now to the second head, many of the diseases which constitute the worst scourge of mankind, whatever may be the case with others, are markedly specific in character, and traceable each to its own specific cause. Take, for example, cholera, typhus fever, small-pox; none of these spring up capriciously; it is not mere chance work, that this man is stricken with cholera, and that man with small-pox, but both

of ~~them~~ suffer in the particular modes designated by these names, because they have severally received into their systems the poisons or seeds of cholera and small-pox respectively. Now this fact, which I take to be indisputable, gives rise to considerations of immense moment to every member of the community. When once the specific seed or poison, call it what you will, which has lodged within the patient, has commenced to germinate, to develop its forces, and morbid action has set in, one course only is open to him, namely, to seek as speedily as possible the aid of a skilled medical adviser. But before that period of time occurs, is there nothing to be done in the way of prevention, nothing in which every one of us can personally take useful action on his own behalf? Assuredly there is. In the first place, by careful attention to the hygienic matters upon which I have dwelt, he can to a great extent fortify himself against the attacks of the poison, and ensure the seeds falling upon a sterile soil. Let us, however, look a little further back. If we can trace the germ of the disease to its home, and discover the vehicles by which it is brought to us, may we not hope to extinguish it at the outset, or at any rate to stop it on its death errand? I am very sanguine that eventually the battle field, upon which man will successfully contend against the worst forms of disease, will be found outside and not inside the citadel of life. In particular, I look to a not very remote future, when it will be thought a mark of culpable carelessness on the part of any community that cholera should be allowed to make head within it. In this form of disease, whatever may be true of others, the seeds by which it is propagated seem to be generated, or enormously multiplied, within the person of the affected individual. On issuing from him, they are ready to be carried in all directions, and may be conveyed by many conceivable means to the viscera of others. When the proper nidus is by any sufficient conveyance reached, and all surrounding circumstances are favourable, germination (or development of the disease) will again take place; and so the process will go on repeating itself. Thus, each individual, who is labouring under an attack of cholera, acts as a centre of propagation of that disease relative to all around him; and it is easy to see that the rapidity with which the disease spreads must in this way increase with each case that occurs, until it passes beyond all hope of control. But fortunately there is good reason to believe, that the semina of the disease come forth from the body in a singularly manageable state, and that, if the persons about the sufferer took due precautions, all vitality might be crushed out of them immediately. And, moreover, even if some should by accident be allowed to escape,

fortunately, again, it seems that their modes of travelling are limited and capable of being kept under considerable surveillance; while the power of germination which resides in them becomes rapidly impaired by lapse of time. I mention cholera only as an example. Is it not then the concern of all of us to learn every thing that is known on these topics? Can any of us be indifferent to that ignorance which preserves in and about human dwellings all the refuse and excreta, which by their nature are most rich in the specific poisons or germs of disease before alluded to? Shall we without precaution take our drinking-water from sources which can seldom fail to be contaminated by like matters, though the eye may be incapable of detecting the enemy, if it be lurking in the crystal fluid? Can we look around and see masses of our fellow-creatures living in a mode which fosters sickness and invites pestilence, without making some effort for their salvation? I hope that the few words which I have said may open the eyes of the gentlemen of this province, be it but a little, to the vast field of philanthropy and usefulness to which the Health Section of this Association calls their attention.

Our fourth and last Section is that of Economy and Trade. Its scope is so extensive that to illustrate it with any success would alone require an entire address. I will not therefore attempt such a task at this hour of the night, and when I mention that commerce or the interchange of commodities, currency and all other machinery of exchange, labour, agriculture, weights and measures, taxation, the various details of the social system, are only the heads of some of the subjects which fall within the range of this Department, I feel sure that my hearers will thank me for my forbearance. Indeed I am only too certain that I have already taxed their patience unmercifully, and this Department may well wait to be described at the hands of some future President. I will only hope that the hint which I have just given as to its outline, when added to the mention which I have made of the other Departments, will suffice to convey to my audience some notion of the matters with which this Association proposes to busy itself, and yet, after all the length which I have with meagre result gone in my effort at explanation, Social Science perhaps admits of being described in one sentence, for is it not that branch of natural science which concerns itself with, and elaborates the truths relative to man? And treating it in this form, we may say that our first section deals with the truths affecting that portion of man's behaviour which the supreme collective

power of the community supervises and directs; the second with those upon which his proper physical and intellectual cultivation depends; the third with those which relate to his bodily well-being; the fourth and last with those which are involved in so much of his conduct towards, and dealing with, others as is not comprehended in the first section. The pursuit of such a science is surely one of the noblest occupations which can engage the human mind. Its sole aim also in every direction is the good of the community, and by its success in this respect it must be judged. Varied as only that subject can be which contains the human intelligence as a principal element, exalted as must be that topic which discusses the welfare of the human race, and attractive as natural science cannot fail to prove to every creature of the Great Creator, Social Science cannot, I am convinced, want any advocacy in this room; and I commit the fortunes of this Association to your charge without the least misgiving.

It is the gentlemen of Bengal who are concerned in its prosperity, and it is upon their exertions alone that its success depends. For its work it gathers together all that falls within the scope of the purest patriotism, and no one that is not animated by patriotic feelings can heartily labour in its ranks. Public opinion, too, is the principal instrument by which it must work to attain its ends, and none but the gentlemen of the country can influence the operation of so subtle an agent. I may, perhaps, venture to assume, that you do not expect otherwise than that political action will, for a time at least, be denied you in this country; does not this Society point out to you meanwhile a noble alternative? Can anything be more illustrious than service in the cause of health, education, and enlightenment? Can there be a worthier channel for your ambition than that which leads you to be active in the work of advancing your people's welfare and civilization? When every zemindar's principal aim is to improve the worldly condition of his ryots, to develop their intelligence, to encourage by all means in his power the better cultivation of the soil, to make roads, to aid in the construction of works of irrigation; when every man of business strives to claim, and by his own example to inculcate the eternal principles of honesty and truth, to make himself as best he can a centre for the radiation of domestic and social improvement; when every gentleman of leisure and wealth devotes himself to the culture of his intellectual powers, and the promotion of literature and science; and when all by the best exercise of their intelligence and means give active aid to the due and economical working of the complex machinery of society,—an epoch will have arrived to Bengal which it is possibly now Utopian

to anticipate; but every honest effort which any one of you may make towards its realization will not only bear fruit in the shape of contribution, however small, towards the welfare of your country, but it will assuredly have a reflex action upon your own character, the value of which it is impossible to exaggerate. I cannot believe that any deep colouring is required to depict to you the nobleness of the part which we have each of us to play in the great drama of creation, or any artificial incentive needed to make us desire faithfully to act up to it. Assuredly you must all be anxious to investigate and learn the truths by which your conduct as members of society should be guided; and you cannot do otherwise than sympathize with a Society which sets itself to facilitate the attainment of this object.

JURISPRUDENCE AND LAW.

1.—On Pre-emption. By BABU SHAMA CHURN SIRCAR.

[Read on the 25th July 1867.]

IN the present paper, I propose to discuss the law and precedents upon which the existence or non-existence of the right of pre-emption among the Hindus is based. Pre-emption signifies the right of acquiring possession of property which has been purchased by another, and it is generally supposed to be a privilege peculiar to Mahomedan law. The custom, however, is recognized among the Hindus of the North-Western Provinces, and also exists (though unrecognized) among those of Bengal Proper. It appears from the note on the first case of pre-emption, written, it is believed, by Mr. Henry Colebrooke, that the right of pre-emption claimed in that as well as in many of the subsequent cases, was originally founded on ideas taken from the Mahomedan, rather than from the Hindu law, and (according to notions so generally prevalent throughout the country as to amount perhaps to established custom) was carried even further among the Hindus than the Mahomedan law would seem to warrant; and the late Sudder Dewanny has decreed the right of pre-emption in the cases of the North-Western Provinces, chiefly on the defendant's admission of the principle on which the pre-emption was claimed; consequently, such notions of the Natives of Upper India may now be fairly said to amount to established custom; while the same notions of the Natives of Bengal, not being recognized by the courts of justice, cannot be said to amount to established custom. At the same time the belief that one's *hakkshrubah* (which is a corruption of the Arabic term *hakk-shufa*) cannot be taken by a stranger, is equally prevalent among the generality of the natives of Bengal who are ignorant of law. And in cases where there is no ill-feeling, it is still the practice to sell property to a neighbour or co-sharer, as the case may be; but if there is enmity and malice, the property is purposely and revengefully sold to a stranger, who is generally an unscrupulous man, there being no law to prevent the vendor from so doing; and hence arise serious quarrels, fights and litigation, which often end in the ruin of one or both of the parties.

I now beg leave to explain how the right of pre-emption came into existence among the Hindus of the North-Western Provinces of India; why it is not recognized among those of Bengal; and how and why it should be enforced among the latter.

The first case in which the question arose of the right of pre-emption was *Ram Rutun Singh v. Chunder Narain Roy*. This was a Bengal case, and dated as early as the 19th September 1792. In this case, the question for decision was, whether among the holders of separate shares of an hereditary zemindary, each, according to the Hindu law, may sell his share to *whomsoever* he pleases, or whether the other sharers had a right of pre-emption. One of the *pundits* of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut declared that the sale was not valid; the other, that it was; a third pundit was called in, who supported the latter opinion. The Court, having no means of finding whose opinion was correct, took the safe course of following the opinion of the majority.

The second case of pre-emption is *Ram Kunhay Roy v. Bungo Chunder Bannerjee*. This also being a Bengal case, the *pundits* had again recourse to the ingenious doctrine of "*factum valet*," and declared that the gift or sale by the owner of his share of an hereditary property held in common with brothers and other sharers is, without their consent, irrevocably valid. It is, however, to be observed that the question for decision in this, as well as in the preceding case, was, *not* whether a co-parcener has power to sell his share in the undivided estate (a power which was already recognised by the Bengal law, and admitted by the highest courts of justice), *but* whether he was competent to sell it to a *stranger* in preference to a co-parcener; this main and important point was not touched by the *pundits*, and co-partnership in the first, and vicinage in the second, case were held by the Sudder Court not to confer any right of pre-emption according to the Hindu law as current in Bengal.

The third case of pre-emption was *Pertab Narain v. Ram Ruttun Mahton*, decided on the 19th September 1820. This was an up-country case, and though the *pundits* of the Sudder Dewanny, citing the *Mahánirvána tantra* for their authority, maintained that the right of pre-emption from vicinage existed under the Hindu law, yet the suit was dismissed on another ground, namely, that the appellant had not duly asserted the right claimed; but the question "whether, according to the Hindu law as current in Western India, the right claimed might or might not be valid," was left undecided. Then in the fourth case, which arose between Hindus in Tirhoot, the right of pre-emption, founded on common tenancy, was, for the first time, admitted by the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut as conformable to local usage and reason, and sustained by the *vyavasthá* of its *pundits* in the last case. Since that, the Sudder Dewanny went

on admitting the right of pre-emption among the Hindus of the North-West Provinces, and denying it among those of Bengal, till the 19th February 1841, when, in a case which was instituted by Gooroo Churn Sircar and others of the *Sudgope* caste to establish their right of pre-emption in certain female apartments contiguous to their family residence against the purchase of a decree-holder of the *Kaest* caste, the Court, for the first time, admitted the right of pre-emption in Bengal with reference to the rights, feelings, particular usages, and institutions of the Natives (I *Sev. Cases* 27). But ever since then, unmindful of those rights, feelings, particular usages, and institutions of the Natives of Bengal, the Sudder, as well as the other Courts of Judicature, have consistently denied this right of pre-emption, though more mischief has been caused by its non-recognition in Bengal than in Western India, where it springs only from a single source, namely, vicinage or contiguity of property; while in Bengal, where the partial right (*prādeshika swatwa*) of a co-parcener is recognised, and he is allowed by the Hindu law to sell his share without the consent of his co-parceners, such mischief arises from a double source—vicinage and co-parcenary.

The non-enforcement of the right of pre-emption on the ground of contiguity of property is eminently mischievous. It not unfrequently happens in the mofussil that a less powerful land-owner, harrassed by the frequent encroachments and incursions of his powerful and covetous neighbour, whom nothing short of the annexation of the property to his estate will satisfy, unable himself to cope with him, sells his property *not* to that neighbour, but *purposely* to some one who, he fancies, will be a match for him, and thus serious quarrels and affrays, and much litigation, civil and criminal, ensue, and continue until one or both of the parties are ruined. But these evils would have been avoided had the right of pre-emption been recognized, as in that case, a co-sharer or neighbour maliciously intending to alienate his share or property would be compelled to sell it to his co-sharer or neighbour, and thus there would be an end to further mischief or loss. Unfortunately, however, the existence of this right is denied in Bengal on the erroneous ground that it is not recognised by the Hindu law as current in this country, and that the *Mahānirvāna tantra*, being at variance with the said doctrine of the *Dāya-bhāga*, could not prevail in Bengal.

Here I beg leave to demonstrate the fallacy of the *pundits*, which has led, or rather misled, the Courts to deny the right of pre-emption in our country. The doctrine above alluded to is that of "*factum valet quod fieri non debuit*,"—a doctrine which is

applicable exclusively to gifts and wills. The fact is, that *Jāmūta-vāhana*, author of the *Dāya-bhāga*, after citing a few of the *vachanas* or texts of some of our holy sages and legislators prohibiting gift or other disposition of ancestral property, has ingeniously, rather sophistically, interpreted them in these terms: "But the texts of *Vyāsa*, exhibiting a prohibition, are intended to show a moral offence: since the family is distressed by a sale, gift, or other transfer, which argues a disposition in the person to make an ill-use of his power as owner. They are not meant to invalidate the sale or other transfer. So likewise other texts must be interpreted in the same manner. Therefore, since it is denied that a gift or sale should be made, the precept is infringed by making one. But the gift or transfer is not null: for a fact cannot be altered by a hundred texts."

This doctrine, however, was not respected and adopted by any of the modern authorities and lawyers till the institution and decision of the suit to set aside the will of Rajah Kishen Chunder Roy of Nuddea in 1792, in which the subtle ingenuity of *Jāmūta-vāhana* furnished ground to *Jagan-nātha* and *Kripā-rāma*, to baffle the efficacy of the ordinances inculcated by the texts cited, and they gave a *vyavasthā* declaring the validity of the will, by which the ancestral zemindary was left to the oldest son to the exclusion of the other sons. And the judges who were trying the suit, having then no means of acting independently of the *pundits*, could not help disposing of the case in conformity with the *vyavasthā* in question. Thus the doctrine of "*factum valet quod fieri non debuit*," or, as it is worded in the note on the second case cited, "a thing forbidden, if done, cannot be cancelled," was introduced into Bengal. But Mr. Henry Colebrooke, who must be said to be the highest European authority on matters of Hindu law, has very judiciously and prudently decided that it is applicable, not even to partition, but solely to gifts, and hence to wills also, the power of testamentary disposition by a Hindu in Bengal being recently admitted by analogy from the provisions of Hindu law as to gifts.* And Sir William

* The essential part of Mr. Colebrooke's opinion on the above subject is as follows:—

"It appears to me an inconsistency that a man may do that by gift or will which he may not do by a formal partition; and the Hindu legislators might have saved themselves the trouble of providing rules to regulate a father's distribution, if the whole may be evaded by the easy expedient of calling the distribution a gift instead of a partition. But since the point is here a settled one, what I said on the subject may require modification. A Hindu in Bengal may leave by will, or bestow by deed of gift, his possessions, whether inherited or acquired; and the gift or the legacy, whether to a son or stranger, will hold, however reprehensible it may be, as a breach of an injunction and precept." July 22nd 1812. See *Strange's Hindu Law*, Vol. II, pp. 437-438.

Macnaghten has ably argued that it should not be applied even to gifts and wills. The *pundits*, however, deaf to, and heedless of, all these opinions, did not desist from trying, to use the said ingenious passage of *Jimûtavâdhana*, to baffle the efficacy of such of the ordinances of our holy sages and legislators as did not suit their purpose, and some of the judges unacquainted with the above authorities, and at the same time forgetful of the warning of Sir William Jones, who said :—"I could not with an easy conscience concur in a decision merely on a written opinion of the Native lawyers, in any cause in which they would have the remotest interest in misleading the Court,"—seem to have been misled by them, as we find in the second case above cited, wherein the deciding judges passed their judgment in entire dependence on the opinion of the *pundits*, who, they say, contend for the doctrine of partial rights, from which is to be inferred the validity of a sale of land acquired by purchase without the consent of the neighbour or joint shareholder, since according to them nothing more than the infraction of a precept is incurred by the forbidden sale or gift of joint property. Again, in the note appended to the above case, the learned reporter, who seems to have been a great advocate of the *pundits*, says that "the prohibition in the *Mahânirvâna tantra* of a sale of immovable property without the consent of kinsmen, friends, and persons of the same caste being at variance with the above doctrine, is not approved of by the Bengal writers; they hold that any thing forbidden, if done, cannot be cancelled."

Now as to the allegation of partial rights, the Hindu law, as current in Bengal, does indeed admit the partial right of a single co-parcener in the joint property, and declare him competent to alienate the same, but it does not say a word with regard to his being competent to sell it to a stranger to annoy and distress his co-parceners; on the contrary, *Jimûtavâdhana*, the leader of the Bengal writers, has, by the dictum already cited, considered the sale to a stranger of a co-parcener's share in the joint property to be immoral, from which it may be justly inferred that the author thereby meant that a co-parcener's share, when about to be alienated, should not go out of the hands of the other parceners.

Then as to the dictum, that "according to them (the Bengal writers), any thing forbidden, if done, cannot be cancelled," that is, "*factum valet quod fieri non debuit*," I think I cannot do better than repeat the words used by Sir William Macnaghten to refute the doctrine in question. He says: "to this it can be only answered,

that the motives which actuated the *pundits* in their exposition of the law, and the judges in their decision, are avowedly stated on conjecture only ; and that if such motives are allowed to operate, there must be an end to all law, the maxim of '*factum valet*' superseding every doctrine and legalizing every act." (See his work on Hindu Law, Vol. I, pages 6 and 7). On this principle a Hindu might commit incest by marrying a girl from the same *gotra* or race as himself, and the girl, though prohibited to be so married, and enjoined by the *Shastra* to be treated, if so married, as a mother, would become his lawful wife, and the son born of such marriage would be his lawful son, though he is considered by the *Shastra* as no son, and no heir ; again, any female might, without lawful cause or legal necessity, but at her own pleasure, alienate the inherited property, and such alienation, though forbidden by law, would hold valid ; and any widow in Bengal might adopt a son without authority from her husband, and such adoption would be held valid instead of being invalidated, because "*factum valet quod fieri non debuit*," or "any thing forbidden, if done, cannot be cancelled." But the fact is that all such acts are held to be unlawful and invalid, the maxim in question not being held applicable to any act except gift and testamentary disposition, to which, and to which alone, it is confined and restricted. The same should not, therefore, be applied to pre-emption, as has been wrongly done by the *pundits* in cases where they could not find a text or pretext to suit their purpose. The applicability of the doctrine of "*factum valet*" is ably opposed and refuted by Sir William Macnaghten. See his Work on Hindu Law, Vol. I, pages 6 to 15.

And lastly, as to the allegation that the prohibition in the *Mahánirvána tantra* of a sale of immoveable property without the consent of kinsmen, friends, and persons of the same caste, being at variance with the above doctrine, is not approved of by the Bengal writers, I beg leave to say that, at any rate, it is not disapproved of by any of them ; not a word has been, or could be, said by them against that sublime work which is held sacred by all the Hindus on account of its being believed to be written by the divinity, *Shiva*. They only suppressed it, omitting to mention to the dispensers of justice that there is in the *Mahánirvána tantra* a special provision or rule with respect to pre-emption. So, even if the doctrine of "*factum valet*" had been applicable to all matters, instead of being confined to gifts and testamentary dispositions, as it actually has been, yet it could not over-ride the precept contained in the *Mahánirvána tantra* ; first, because the former, being a general doctrine, could

not supersede the latter on account of the prevalent maxim that *between rules general and special, the special prevails*; secondly, because the said doctrine not being derived from the *Veda*, nor even from the institutes of any of the *rishis* or holy legislators, but from the *Dāya-bhāga* of *Jimūtavāhana*, which is a digest of those institutes, and broached by *Jagan-nātha* in his *Vivāda-bhangārūpa* (the translation whereof is commonly called *Colebrooke's Digest*, and which is deservedly considered by critics to be the best work for counsel, and the worst for a judge), could not prevail over the special rule contained in that holy work the *Mahā-nirvāna tantra*, which, being held equal in sanctity to the *Vedas*, and substituted in Bengal for the *Vedas*, is not only superior to the *Dāya-bhāga*, and the other digests of, and commentaries on, the institutes of the *rishis*, but even to the institutes themselves. And nevertheless, this work, which is directly to the point, and as such is held in Upper India to be the practical law of pre-emption, is considered as no authority in Bengal, and the *Dāya-bhāga*, which provides no rule regarding pre-emption, through the subtle ingenuity of the *pundits*, has been adopted as the law of pre-emption.

Then as to the observation contained in the note on the first case cited, namely, "as the decision of this case was made to rest on a question of Hindu law, there is no doubt that the opinion which governed the decision was, in strictness of law, correct," I beg leave to say that the *Dāya-bhāga*, though it is a paramount authority of the Bengal school with respect to partition, inheritance, and exclusion from inheritance, which it specially treats of, is of no authority on the subject of adoption, pre-emption, and other matters which it does not treat of, or which it slightly touches upon. For instance, the *Dāya-bhāga* says that an adopted son is entitled to inherit from none but his adoptive father, but in spite of this, he is allowed to succeed collaterally as well as lineally, according to the *Dattaka Chandrikā* and *Dattaka Mīmāṃsā*, which are held to be paramount authorities on adoption. And what establishes the point beyond all doubt is, that the very writer of the note who first considered the above doctrine of the *Dāya-bhāga* applicable to pre-emption, has afterwards confined and restricted it exclusively to gifts and wills.* Thus I have every reason to believe that, had not the *pundits* suppressed the *Mahā-nirvāna tantra*, or omitted to state that this work of *Shiva* especially and expressly treats of pre-emption, the *Dāya-bhāga*, which does not say a word about it, would not have been held to govern the decisions regarding pre-emption; but that the *Mahā-nirvāna tantra*

* See 2 Strange, p. 437.

would have been held to be the practical law of pre-emption in Bengal as it has been in Upper India. Because, independently of the religious point of view, the *Mahānirvāna tantra*, even supposing it to have been written by a human being, as the *Dāya-bhāga* was, could not be superseded by the latter on the subject of pre-emption which the former specially treats of, while the *Dāya-bhāga* does not say a word about it; and the principle therein laid down is consistent with reason, and therefore ought to supersede the doctrine in question, for it is ordained by our legislator *Jāgya Valka* that “if two texts differ, reason (or that which it best supports) must in practice prevail;” * a rule which is also supported by the sage *Vrikaspati*, who says that “a decision must not be made solely by having recourse to the letter of the written codes: since if no decision were made according to the reason of the law, there might be a failure of justice.” † 1608

I now cite the said passage of the *Mahānirvāna tantra*, which is :—

স্বাবরং ধনমন্যম্ স্থিতে সামিধ্যবর্ত্তিনি যোগ্যোক্তেভ্য বিক্রেতুং
ন শক্ত স্বাবরাধিপঃ ১১। সামিধ্য বর্ত্তিনাং জ্ঞাতিঃ সবর্ণো বা
বিশিষ্যতে, তয়োৰতাবে সুহৃদো বিক্রেত্রিচ্ছাগরীয়সী ১২। নির্গত
মূল্যোপান্যেন স্বাবরস্য ক্রয়োধমে তন্মূল্যং চেৎ সমৌপস্থো
রাতি ক্রেতা নচাপরঃ ১৩। মূল্যং দাতু মশক্তশ্চেৎ সন্নতো-
বিক্রেয়েপি বা, সন্নিধিস্থ স্তদান্যম্ গৃহীসক্ৰোতি বিক্রয়ে ১৪।
ক্রীতং চেৎ স্বাবরং দেবি পরোক্ষে প্রতিবাসিনঃ শ্রাবণাদেব তন্মূল্যং
দদ্বাসৌ প্রাপ্নু মৰ্হতি ১৫। ক্রেতাতত্র গৃহারামান্ বিনিম্মায়
ভুনক্তি বা, মূল্যং দদ্বাপি নাপ্নোতি স্বাবরং সন্নিধিস্থিতঃ ১৬।
করহীন্য প্রতিহতা বন্যাবন্যাতি দুর্গমা। অনাদিষ্টোপি তাং ভূমিঃ
সম্পন্নাং কদু মৰ্হতি ১৭। বহুপ্রয়াস সাধ্যায়্য স্তস্য ভূমেমহীভূতে
দদ্বা দশাং শংভুজীয়াত ভূমিস্বামী যতো নৃপঃ ১৮। বাপী
কুপতড়াগানাং খননং বৃক্ষ রোপণং পরানিষ্ট করে দেশে ন
গৃহী কদু মৰ্হতি ১৯।

The English translation of this passage is as follows :—“The proprietor of an immoveable property, having a neighbour competent to purchase it, is not at liberty to sell such property to

* Coleb. Dig., Vol. III, p. 505.

† Coleb. Dig., Vol. II, p. 128.

another. Among neighbours he who is a relation, or of the same tribe, is preferred, in their default, a friend; here the will of the seller prevails. Even though the price of the immoveable property be agreed upon with another, yet if a neighbour pay the price, he is the purchaser, and not another. If the neighbour be unable to pay the price or be consenting to the sale, the proprietor is then at liberty to sell it to another. O Goddess! if immoveable property be sold in the absence of the neighbour, and he (the neighbour) pay the price immediately on bearing of the sale, he is competent to take it. But should the purchaser, having made houses and gardens, be in enjoyment of them, the neighbour is not entitled to such immoveable property even by paying the price. A person is at liberty, without permission, to cultivate lands which pay no revenue, or have been usurped, or waste, or, though not waste, are extremely difficult of access. He may enjoy the rest, having given to the king the tenth (of the produce) of the lands thus with difficulty acquired; the king being lord of the soil. A proprietor is not at liberty to dig ponds, wells, or pools, in a place where it would be annoying to others."

Sir William Macnaghten, in the preface to his work on Mahomedan Law, cites the passage in question, and having no doubt of its authenticity (and none could doubt the authenticity of a work so popular and sacred among the millions of Hindus in general), he simply observes:—"But it remains to be decided whether this shall be held to be the practical law or no. The pundit with whom I perused the passage in question declared that the right of pre-emption takes effect only in cases where positive injury would result to the neighbour by the sale to a stranger; and, from the tenor of the last sentence, such would indeed seem to be the effect against which the provision is intended to guard."

But what in 1824 "remained to be decided," was actually decided and established in 1830 by the late Sudder Dewanny, which decided the appeal of Omed Roy against Nukchhed Roy in conformity with the said passage of the *Mahánirvána tantra*, holding the same to be the practical law of pre-emption; but as the *vyavasthá* citing the said passage was delivered in an up-country case, and as the right of pre-emption is recognised in the up-country cases, and not in the Bengal cases, in which the *pundits* repeatedly have had recourse to that ingenious doctrine of "*factum valet*," suppressing the special rule provided in the *Mahánirvána tantra*, what now remains to be established is, whether the passage in question should be held to be the practical law of Bengal also. And when it is considered that the said work is held sacred by the Natives of Bengal

equally with those of Western India, nay, that it is more generally used in Bengal, the *tantras* being here substituted in the room of the *Vedas*, it is difficult to understand why the passage in question should not be held to be the practical law of Bengal, on the subject of pre-emption, in the same manner as it is in the North-West Provinces. On the other hand, there is every reason to believe that, had not the majority of the subtle and selfish *pundits* had recourse to the ingenious doctrine of "*factum valet*," or had they not suppressed the passage in question, the same would have been long since held to be the practical law of Bengal with respect to the right of pre-emption. The only thing that is now required to have it so, is the general agreement of the Natives of Bengal to that effect. It is, I presume, well known to this Society that none of our law books contain statutes or rulings of any sovereign, but they are either digests of the institutes of the holy sages, or commentaries on their texts, and yet they have been established to be the practical laws only by reason of the general concurrence of the people. So if we agree that the said passage of the *Mahānirvāna tantra* should be the practical law of pre-emption, it would be the duty of the ruling power to establish and observe it as such, in the same manner as was done in the reigns of the former kings; for it is directed by *Jāguya Valka* that, "whatever be the rights and duties of a king protecting his own realm, even all those devolve on him who seizes a foreign kingdom;"* and that "the institutions, which have their origin in the general agreement of the people, must be carefully observed, as well as those which are established by the king, provided the same be not opposed to one's own *dharma*." And as *Manu* has ordained that "a king, who knows the revealed law, must enquire into the particular laws (or bye-laws) of classes, the laws or usages of districts, the custom of traders, and the rules of certain families, and establish their peculiar laws (if they be not repugnant to the laws of God,)" (Ch. VIII, v. 41), it would be the duty of the courts of justice, representing the sovereign, to consult our feelings, particular customs or usages and institutions, and pass judgments consistently therewith in the same manner as it did on one occasion, namely, in the case of Gooroo Churn Sircar and others, already cited. Afraid of having already been tedious, I conclude with expressing the hope that all sorts of the mischief, injuries, and losses which have occurred, and may occur by reason of the non-recognition of the right of pre-emption in Bengal, will ere long be taken into consideration, and that proper measures will shortly be adopted for its enforcement, and the non-recurrence of those evils and misfortunes.

* Coleb. Dig., Vol. II, p. 92.

In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper:—

MR. JUSTICE NORMAN differed from the lecturer in his estimate of the effect of the maxim referred to, which, in his opinion, breathed the very spirit of justice and equity. In a country like this, where there were so many conflicting systems of law, it was most important that what was once solemnly done should not be lightly set aside. He added that, in a recent case, the Judge of Patna had stated that he found the custom of pre-emption in existence among all the Hindus of that part of the country.

BABU ROMANATH LAW contested the expediency of sanctioning the exercise of the right in the present day. The *Mahānirvāna tantra* had been written in primitive times, when the circumstances of the country were very different. Pre-emption, however adapted it might be to an early stage of society, was not conducive to the progress of an advancing civilization. Land was continually being required for purposes of trade for instance, which would not be available if the right of pre-emption was always exercised and sanctioned.

MR. A. MACKENZIE pointed out that the argument that the *stranger* should not be allowed to enter the Hindu family was losing its force every day, as the family itself was undergoing a process of disintegration and decline. As regarded litigation, it was well known that the bitterest enemies were often members of the same joint family. MR. MACKENZIE, however, as Secretary to the Section of *Economy and Trade*, preferred to regard the question as it affected the value of property, and he believed that the recognition of a right in a third person to step forward and claim possession of property, after the preliminaries of its sale had been completed, could not but tend to depreciate the value of landed property generally. He believed, however, that the latest decisions of the High Court were in favor of the question being regulated by local custom.

THE HON'BLE PRESIDENT remarked that, as a point of ancient law, its most interesting aspect was that of its adaptation to the wants of the age. When antiquity was alleged as authority for a legal institution, it was important to consider whether, with reference to the progress of society, the institution in question was still fitted to bind the actions of men, or whether the respect for it was simply due to the influence of superstition. The right of pre-emption was not mentioned in the *Shastras*, because in those days real property had not begun to be thought of as liable to alienation. And when circumstances changed, *Jimūtavāhana* had condemned alienation to a stranger as *immoral* only, not as being *illegal*. The question for consideration now was, whether the *immorality* still existed, or had not circumstances rather tended to make such alienation both moral and legal.

2. *Suggestions regarding the Law relating to Merchant Seamen.*

By J. H. A. BRANSON, ESQ., *Barrister-at-law.*

[Read on the 25th July 1867.]

ABOUT a year and a half ago my friend, Major Malleeson, asked me to put on paper any suggestions that occurred to me as likely to improve the condition of the sailors visiting this port, and I then made a memorandum of certain alterations in the Merchant Shipping Act which seemed to me calculated to promote the object he was seeking. I made four suggestions. I do not think I can put these points clearly with much more conciseness than I did then. So with your permission I shall read that paper to you.

Almost every ship, probably every ship in port, engages the service of one of the medical practitioners belonging to our druggists' shops. The gentlemen so engaged are paid by the captains, and on their popularity with the merchant captain depends their success as shipping practitioners.

In many cases a sailor goes to his captain, and says he is sick, and cannot work. The ship's doctor is called in, and he is asked whether it is necessary that the man should lie up. Now if the captain is a rough stubborn man, as some are, it must be hard for the doctor to give exactly the answer he would like to give, and unless the man absolutely needs rest, he probably does not get it until he cannot do without it. For this purpose of relieving the doctor of an unpleasant task, and of at the same time protecting the sailors when there is no regular doctor employed, I would suggest that it should be incumbent on any ship master, when a man says he is ill, and wishes to go to hospital, to send the man ashore to the magistrate, and that the magistrate should then send the man to the Medical College Hospital to have him examined, and to have a certificate from the doctor there, stating whether the man really is ill or is only shirking; the reference to the Medical College should also require that if the man be really unwell, he be detained at the hospital until fit to resume his duties.

If a man is reported to be not ill, or to be ill through his own default, then the charges incurred in his behalf to be a charge upon his wages. But if the man be ill through natural causes, or by reason of hurt received in the course of his duties, then the expenses of his treatment to be borne by the ship. The discharge certificate for the hospital to be countersigned by the magistrate, and to be a sufficient protection to the master as against both owners and seamen; non-compliance with this order on the part of the captain to be punishable in the same manner as refusal or neglect to send a man to complain to a magistrate is by English law and by the Indian Merchant Shipping Act.

At present it frequently happens that the whole or part of a crew are brought ashore for some fault. If the men are in fault, and the case seems to deserve it, they are sent to prison for, say, four weeks. When the time of imprisonment is over, the men return on board to find their chests, bags, and bunks ransacked, and not a change of clothing left. Naturally the men

object to go home without clothes. They feel themselves in a most painful position; they grow discontented. Some one suggests that the captain has allowed the spoliation in order to "spite" them, and they refuse to turn to. They are brought ashore again. The captain says that he knows nothing of the things, which in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred is the fact; that they were left by the men, and must have been stolen by their comrades still on board. In these cases I really do not know how to act. I advise the men to go back on board. They say they cannot; they have no clothes; and I feel I cannot expect them to go. Thus what am I to do? The men are not entitled to their wages. They cannot sue for them here. I know that it would be the height of folly to let them go out of court; in fact I should not be acting rightly. I have to send them again to prison. Frequently the captain gets away while the men are so in prison, leaving their discharges at the Shipping Office, and when the men come out of prison, they are "destitute seamen," and destitute in right good earnest, for in nine cases out of ten, when there has been this trouble, the captain writes opposite the words "character" and "ability" in the certificate the word "decline," and then without clothes, without wages, and without character, the poor unfortunate wretches cannot even get a boarding-house on the understanding that they will have their advance notes in payment for board, because when a man has no character, his chances of a ship are very slender indeed. And here I may state that I have frequently known a captain bring a man up before me, and state that up to that time the man has borne an excellent character, and is a good seaman. I have offered the man a chance of going back on board, but his back has been up, and he has refused to take advice. He goes to prison, and when he comes out brings me a certificate such as I have mentioned; in all such cases I have certified on the back of the discharge that the captain has on oath testified to me that the man was a good man and a good sailor. Returning to the subject of sailors' clothes, I would suggest that whenever a captain determines to bring a man up before a magistrate, he be bound to call upon the man to collect his effects—that the captain and chief mate do then make a list each of all the articles so collected—that each of these lists be certified by the signatures of the captain and mate to be correct and true lists—that the captain then have the articles placed aft, and give to the accused sailor one of the two lists so made, retaining the other himself, and that it be in the magistrate's power, when he shall have adjudicated upon the case, to make such orders with regard to the disposition of the effects as to him shall seem fit; the expense of removing or otherwise disposing of the effects to be borne by the ship or by the seaman, as the magistrate shall direct.

<p>Seamen's wages. Advances.</p>	<p>It frequently happens that a crew are shipped at some port in the United Kingdom to be discharged in the United Kingdom, the term not to exceed three years. The men leave England with a fair</p>
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outfit, but after knocking about for eighteen months, they find that the old things are sadly worn, and need to be re-placed; but as the voyage is not over, they are not entitled to demand any wages. They go to the captain and ask for an advance. It is usually given. But in some cases the captain refuses to give the man anything, especially if wages here are low, and the man is on high wages. Then the man comes to me; he says that he is going home, and has no clothes to enable him to bear the voyage in northern latitudes. I cannot help him. He goes back on board, refuses duty, goes to prison, and is eventually discharged, and a man shipped in his room at a half or a third of his wages.

I suggest that when a man shall have been six months in a ship, he shall be entitled to claim a part of the wages due to him, not exceeding one-fifth of such wages. This will quite repair the losses of clothing by wear and tear, and if captains know that they can be compelled to advance the wages to this extent, they will seldom refuse a sailor's request, and so one great source of discontent will be removed.

It often happens that from some cause or another ill-will arises on a voyage between a captain and his crew, or more frequently between the officers and the crew. By the Merchant Shipping Act a seaman cannot sue for his wages abroad before the completion of his voyage, unless he is discharged with his own consent, and the sanction of the captain and shipping master, or "*proves such ill usage on the part of the master or by his authority as to warrant reasonable apprehension of danger to the life of such seaman if he were to remain on board.*"

This rule is, it appears to me, too strict; very often a seaman is brought before a magistrate, or brings the captain or officers of the ship before the magistrate, and there is the clearest evidence of great ill-will on the part of the captain to the seaman. It may be that the magistrate has to say that, although the seaman is guilty of the fault laid to his charge, yet he cannot and will not punish the seaman, because it appears to him that the seaman was provoked by the captain or by the officers, as the case may be, to commit the offence. The seaman then turns to the magistrate and asks what he must do. The magistrate can only advise him to go back on board; naturally the man protests; he says it is unfair to order him back on board; when it is so clearly apparent, as it often is, that the captain and officers are against him, yet we cannot help him. He goes back on board, and, as a rule, he is in prison before the evening.

The English law was enacted to prevent sailors from quitting ships in places where seamen were not to be had. This is not the case here in Calcutta. There are always plenty of seamen to be had, and if the magistrates could, when the case seemed to them to demand it, order a seaman to be discharged and paid off, ship captains would be far more cautious how they drove their sailors to seek this redress, and there would be far less destitution.

It may be objected that when wages here were high, sailors would try to leave their ships too often, or in too large numbers. But this would soon, from the nature of the case, cure itself, and I think it might be left to the magistrate to give the state of wages due consideration.

These proposals, you must see, regard the seaman chiefly from a magistrate's point of view. This paper was forwarded to the Government of Bengal among other papers sent to the Sanitary Commission, and was commented upon in the answer of the Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Sanitary Commission in the fifth paragraph of his letter, which runs as follows: "As regards the memorandum drawn up by Mr. Branson, it appears to the Lieutenant Governor that there is very much to be said on both sides. The question of medical attendance will be met by a proposal His Honor will make further on in regard to a second deputy shipping master. In the matter of seamen's

“clothes, the magistrate might perhaps hesitate to enforce any sentence against a seaman on a charge of breach of discipline, “unless the captain complies with his instructions to file a list “of such seaman’s effects on board, and becomes responsible for “them on demand. Mr. Branson’s remarks regarding advances of “seamen’s wages will be communicated to the Board of Trade “through the Government of India.”

You will see here that the only suggestion made by me that has been definitely accepted is the one regarding advances of seamen’s wages. That was communicated to the Government of India, and the Secretary of State was addressed by the Government of India on the subject, with what result I am unable to say. But I feel that the other points are of great importance, and so I have proposed to bring them before you more in detail, trusting that something may still be done to benefit our seamen, a class of men, says Lord Stowell, “on all accounts requiring protection even against themselves,” and of whom the same learned judge, when declaring void an engagement made to forfeit all wages in case of the loss of the ship, said: “To such men no such response can be “made as that which is irresistibly made in other cases of contract; “it is your own contract, you have signed it with your eyes open; “for they want both organs of sight for reading, and organs “of discernment for judging.”

For the protection of this class of men, so powerless to help themselves, so often the victims of cruel and designing iniquity, the legislature has interfered. Of the necessity for this interference, there is now no question, and for an application to extend it I apprehend there will be needed no apology. I say that of the suggestions I made in my memorandum, only one was accepted. The question of medical attendance, it is said, is to be met by a proposal made further on in the letter. I have looked into that letter, but have failed to find it. The question appears to me to be one of great moment, and there can be no doubt that the existence of some such law as that proposed by me would work advantageously in the end both for the men and the masters. In fact I would extend it. I would propose that whenever a seaman applied to be sent to hospital on the ground of ill health, the master should be obliged under a penalty either to send him to a government hospital at once, or to bring him before a magistrate as a malingeringer; the proceedings then to be those I have already suggested, *viz.*, a reference to the medical authorities of the hospital and a certificate under the hand of some one of such authorities,—the certificate, on proof that the signature is that of one of the medical authorities at the hospital, to be good evidence of the acts it sets out. I

would further suggest that the seaman should, during transit to the hospital and during transit back to the court, if the authorities at the hospital do not detain him, be considered to be in custody of the officer of police who is sent with him, so as to be subject, in case of escape, to punishment for escape from lawful custody. I wish it to be clearly understood that I do not in any way mean to depreciate the value of the services of those gentlemen who make it their business to attend ships in the river as medical practitioners, but what I do say is, that in many cases they are placed in a very unpleasant position now. I may specify a few of the evils of the present state of things. I need hardly tell those present here who have come over the seas that a ship's fore-castle is not the place they would select to be placed in if they were ill, and, if this is so in the class of ships that carry passengers, it may easily be imagined how much the discomforts of the fore-castle are increased when the ship is built only for carrying cargo, and when the allotment of room to the men is strictly in accordance with the requirements of the statute. You must further bear in mind that that statute is an English statute, and it cannot be believed that it was intended to provide for the case of a crew lying in the River Hooghly in the muggy, stifling months of August and September, or during the fearfully oppressive heat of May and June. So long as the men are well, the fore-castle accommodation is of little moment; they sleep where it is coolest, anywhere they like. But when a man is ill and confined to his bed in a hot fore-castle, with the busy noise of loading and discharging going on about him, surrounded by a close atmosphere, reeking probably with the fumes of damp clothes and tobacco, what can the most skilful medical treatment avail him? Again, supposing the captain to be of the best class and to stint his men in nothing, still is it to be supposed that a Native bazar-supplier is likely to supply such food as will be best for a sick man? How much worse is the case when the captain lives ashore, only visiting his vessel from time to time. I have had sick men before me who have said that when the doctor has ordered them nourishing food, they have not got it, and to this all the captain's answer has been that he did not know anything about it; so, an illness which would lead to nothing if it met with early and prompt attention, is allowed to magnify itself, fostered by every evil influence, until the seaman, too ill to be kept with comfort to the crew on board, is sent ashore to remain an indefinite time after the ship has gone to sea in hospital, and then to be discharged and become a destitute seaman in the town of Calcutta. I cannot too strongly press on your attention the infinite importance of

such a provision as I have suggested. I think we may safely trust the able officers in charge of the hospitals to decide whether or not a man is fit for work, and if they decide that he is not, I am sure that you will agree with me that it is better for all concerned, that the really sick seaman should be in an airy cool hospital than in the stifling fore-castle of a ship in the Hooghly.

You will see also from the extract from the Government letter to which I have already referred, that my proposal to make it incumbent on a master, previously to charging a seaman of his ship before the magistrate with any offence, to make a list of his clothing and effects in duplicate, and take charge of them until the magistrate shall make some order regarding them, has met with the approval of Government; but, at the same time, instead of empowering the magistrate to do what is deemed desirable, it is proposed that "the magistrate might perhaps hesitate to enforce any sentence against a seaman on a charge of breach of discipline, unless the captain complies with his instructions to file a list of such seaman's effects on board and becomes responsible for them." It is not, I need hardly say, the duty of a magistrate to enforce his sentences. He passes his sentence, and leaves the enforcement thereof to others. But passing this by, it must appear to all of you, that it would be out of the question for the magistrate to act on this suggestion. If it is well, as I contend it is, that there should be such a law, by all means let us have it, but do not leave the making of laws to the magistrate.

My third suggestion has been, as I have already said, communicated through the Government of India to the Board of Trade.

The fourth and last suggestion made by me will, I feel sure, commend itself to all who have any experience in the matter. I have myself known great evils resulting from the fact that it is out of the magistrate's power to order a master to discharge and pay off a seaman before the completion of his voyage, unless the seaman can prove such ill usage on the part of the master or by his authority as to warrant reasonable apprehension of danger to the life of such seaman if he were to remain on board. It is easy to imagine cases in which the want of this power in the magistrate must work evil, and experience furnishes them abundantly. A seaman is struck by his master at sea; on his arrival in port he brings the master up before the magistrate, and the master is perhaps convicted of the assault and punished. In a great number of cases it is out of the question for the magistrate to say that there is any reasonable apprehension of danger to the life of the seaman. The captain, smarting under the sting of his sentence, and knowing how powerful he is at sea, determines that he will not discharge the man, nourishing, it may be, a prospect

of many petty annoyances to his prosecutor at sea as a set-off to his own present disgrace. The sailor appeals to the magistrate not to send him on board. "I shall lead a dog's life on the way home," he protests. But the magistrate is powerless. The man feels that anything would be better than to go home in the ship. Then he refuses to go on board. He absents himself. The captain has him arrested for being absent without leave. The magistrate cannot refuse to punish the man. He goes into prison, say for one week. There are always plenty of sea-lawyers there. The man unburdens himself to some of them. He says he dare not and will not go home in the ship, and that the magistrate has told him that he cannot order his discharge. He is told that if he is in prison when his ship goes to sea, for an offence committed ashore, he will be free of his ship. As soon as his term is up, he comes out and abandons himself to crime with the view of getting a long term. The object is not hard of attainment. He offends, is arrested, pleads guilty, and thanks God that he is a criminal. This is a state of things, to me, horrible to contemplate. It is a disgrace to our law. But the worst is not over; the ship has gone to sea while he is in prison, and when he comes out, he has neither money, nor character, nor clothes. His only refuge for the future is the jail, and there he goes again and again. Each crime makes him more and more a criminal, until at last he stands at the bar of the high court to receive a sentence which will rid the public of him for life. This is no highly coloured story. It has occurred frequently to me while magistrate to have a man standing before me for theft. He has pleaded guilty, and when I have asked him if he has anything to say why sentence should not be passed upon him, he has hated to be thought a thief, and has said, "Sir, I took it only to get free of my ship. I gave over to the officer who arrested me all I took." Further, I have known men walk up to a poddar's shop, snatch up a handful of coin, and go up to a police officer and say they have stolen it. I have not known what to do under these circumstances. I have frequently remanded the prisoner, and have driven to the shipping master and entreated him to prevail on the captain to discharge the man.

I know one case in which a man, whose veracity I was assured of, applied to me to be discharged; he had been seriously assaulted by the mate, whom I had to punish for the assault. The man had been for over two years in the ship, and so must have borne a good character. I could not order his discharge or wages. He had to buy them from the captain by paying him £30. I heard this from the man, and I am convinced, from what I know of the case, that he was telling me the truth.

I feel sure that a representation to the authorities of the Board of Trade on this subject would be attended with good results. The time when there existed the necessity for such a law as I complain of has passed away almost all over the world, and it surely does not exist in Calcutta. This is no reason for apprehending that ships will ever lie rotting in the Hooghly because the crews wish to try their fortunes ashore. With such a large European public, with an active and powerful press, there can be little fear of any evil resulting from giving the magistrates power, in any case in which they shall deem it expedient, to order a captain to discharge a seaman, paying him either the whole of his wages earned up to the date of discharge, or such portion thereof as to the magistrate making the order shall seem fit. Such discharge to take place in the usual course before the shipping master, on whom it shall be compulsory to discharge any seaman producing before him a magistrate's order for his discharge, setting forth the terms on which it is to take place, under the hand and seal of the magistrate.

It might be objected that this discharging of seamen here would tend to increase the number of seamen ashore, and so would in its result be prejudicial to the seamen. It would be easy to show that such would not be the case. The very fact that the magistrate had power to order a seaman's discharge and the payment of his wages earned up to the date of discharge would, in my opinion, prevent his having to exercise the power. I would further suggest that it would be advisable to have, applicable to British seamen so discharged in India, a provision similar to that in Section 166 of the Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to Merchant Shipping, which enacts that when wages are payable in British India to any seaman or apprentice for wages or otherwise, under any agreement wherein such moneys are expressed to be payable in some denomination of coin other than the current coin of the port or place wherein the same shall have become payable, the seaman or apprentice shall be entitled to demand and recover in the current coin of such port or place the amount due to him estimated according to the established par value of the coin when the same is so expressed to be payable. This provision for paying the seamen he is ordered to discharge in the current coin of the place of discharge would usually entail a slight loss upon the master, which loss would be some punishment to the master for the misconduct on his part, which the fact of the magistrate's ordering the discharge pre-supposes. If ship-masters knew they could be ordered and compelled to pay off any seaman here, who had reasonable cause of complaint against his master or his officers, greater care would be taken by the masters to conciliate

their men, and a rapid improvement would be visible in the condition of the seamen. I can only vouch my own experience, and I am sure all who have experience in such matters will agree with me, that seamen will rather suffer any thing than leave a good ship here. I have had ships' crews before me for offences to which the men have pleaded guilty, and have then begged to be punished with any forfeiture of wages, but to be allowed to go back to their ships. I have had masters before me who have sailed with the same men from the time when the master had been an apprentice boy, and had been taught his work by the men he afterwards commanded.

I have given this suggestion the most careful consideration. I have looked at it from every point of view ; and the more I have pondered over it, the stronger has grown the conviction that it would be well that magistrates abroad, at all events at the great centres of European commerce, and where the magistrates are themselves under the control of courts established by Royal Charter, should have power to order the discharge of a seaman, and the payment of the whole or a part of his wages in all cases where such a course shall seem to the magistrate to be expedient.

These suggestions, you will see, are merely those that I have already made on this same subject. As the power of the Magistrate to meet the difficulties against which I have sought to provide seems to have been misunderstood, and as the importance of the provisions seems to me to have been under-rated, I have brought them forward again for your consideration, explaining the objects I had in making them. If what I have said shall induce any among you to interest yourselves in the subject, and to ventilate the questions I have dealt with, although my proposals may be rejected, yet good may come, and I trust will come, by directing public attention to a subject that concerns the interests of a most meritorious class of Her Majesty's subjects, to a great extent, the founders of the power and prosperity of our country.

In the course of discussion—

MR. MACKENZIE stated that a second shipping master had already been appointed by Government, and a third was about to be appointed for the purpose of visiting the ships in port. He admitted the bad state of things which existed before, but the remedy had already been attended with the best results. The fact was that seamen were in one sense mere children and must be treated as such. The chance of getting leave to go on shore and there having a lark was beyond jack's power of resistance, and that was the cause of more than half the malingering. He thought that the visitation of ships by the shipping master was preferable. There were, however, one or two points in which he thought the new Bill now before the Legislative Council might afford considerable benefit to sea-

men.* The reckless way, for instance, in which the men were made to work all day long under a burning sun, with nothing but cloth caps on, exposed their lives unmercifully to the ravages of sunstroke, cholera, and diseased liver. The source of all the evils, however, he considered to be the indiscriminate discharge of seamen. When both parties agreed to the discharge, the shipping master had no option in the matter. But it was necessary, he thought, that some provision should be made for re-shipping discharged sailors to England, in the same way as masters are obliged to send back lascars whom they take from this country.

DR. CHUCKERBUTTY pointed out that the appointment of any number of shipping masters would not have any effect upon the sailor's treatment during sickness. It was impossible for a layman to distinguish an invalid from a malingerer. In the early stages of dysentery, for instance, no one but a medical man could discover the presence of the disease. He was convinced by a long practice that much of the sickness among sailors was brought about by the causes detailed by MR. BRANSON,—the want of early medical attendance, bad bazaar supplies, and impure river water.

THE PRESIDENT agreed that, in order that complaints might be treated in their earliest stage, sailors ought to be sent to the hospitals ashore. But as regarded their discharge in this country, our Indian Acts could not interfere with the provisions of the English Statutes, unless our Legislature was specially authorized by Parliament to interfere. It must also be borne in mind that in the consideration of these questions, there was always a danger of letting our philanthropy, as in the case of the English Poor Laws, suggest measures which were scarcely consistent with the necessities of a business world. He thought that the English Merchant Shipping Act looked not so much to the evil of the sailor's running away, as to the possibility of his being left behind in this country.

3.—On Testamentary Law. By BABU SRINATH CHUNDRA.

[Read on the 25th July 1867.]

THE rules which govern the making and publishing of wills and testaments, for the purpose of alienating one's property, either real or personal, as well as those laid down to guide us in construing them properly, and according to the intent of their makers, form one of the most important branches of Jurisprudence. This form of alienation does not arise, nor is it recognised, until society reaches an advanced stage, and is therefore of slow growth. But it also becomes not unfrequently a very great source of fraud, unless strict conditions are imposed respecting its mode of publication and attestation. Strictly speaking there are two sorts of wills—written and verbal. The former again are divided according to English Law into two classes,—those which relate to *real* or immovable, and those which relate to *personal* or moveable property, bearing out the nice distinction existing in the same law between the two kinds of property. A verbal is technically called a “nuncupative” will, but is subject to this condition, that it shall afterwards be reduced to writing by the witnesses before whom the verbal directions were given. Written wills include any codicil, or instrument made subsequently and as a supplement to a will, containing any thing which a testator desires to add, or explaining or revoking what the will contains, and also any instrument of appointment executed under a power reserved to a person either by deed or will over any property.

In England the right of disposing of property by will has been of very gradual growth: a man, having a wife or children, could not formerly take away by his will from them more than one equal third part of his personal property; in fact he laboured under the same restrictions, to a certain extent, as a Mahomedan of this country still does. But if he had a wife merely and no children, or children merely and no wife, he could then give away by his will a moiety, leaving the other moiety for his wife or children. This is indeed nothing more than asking a man to follow the too trite maxim, that charity should begin at home. However, by the custom of particular places, this rule was encroached upon, until it was subsequently wholly displaced.

The first English Statute, which conferred on the English people the testamentary power over real property, was 32 Hen. VIII c. 1, which was followed and explained by the Statutes 34 and 35 Hen. VIII, c. 5., which gave liberty to “any person, not being a married woman, a minor within the age of 21, an idiot, or a person of

non-sane memory, to give, dispose, will, or devise to any person or persons (except bodies politic and corporate) by his last will and testament in writing all his lands, tenements, and hereditaments, or any rents, commons, or other profits or commodities out of the same at his own free will."

But although this right of alienating property by will was thus declared, it was not until the reign of Charles the Second that the English Legislature thought fit to put down the various frauds, which the recognition of this right gave rise to, by enacting in the 5th and 6th Sections of the Statute of Frauds (29 Car. II, c. 3) "that all devises and bequests of any lands or tenements, devisable either by force of the Statute of Wills or by this Statute, or by force of the custom of Kent, or the custom of any borough, or any other particular custom, should be in writing, and signed by the party so devising the same, or by some other person in his presence and by his express directions, and should be attested and subscribed in the presence of the said devisor by three or four credible witnesses, or else they should be utterly void and of none effect." Although restrictions were thus put upon the execution and attestation of wills, the English Law did not require that a will should assume a particular form. An instrument worded in an inartificial form but sufficiently disclosing the intention of its maker, was held valid. Even instruments made between parties in the nature of deeds, and styled as such, were held to operate as testamentary dispositions. Thus in the case of *Hixon v. Wytham* (1 Ch. Cas. 248) an indenture or a deed made between A of the one part and B and C of the other part was declared to be a good will. Since these enactments, many questions seem to have arisen as to what amounted to a signing by the testator, that is, whether a mark put by him, or sealing alone without signing, was sufficient, and also as to whether the attesting witnesses should see the testator actually sign, or whether his acknowledgment of the signature complied with the requisition of the Statute, and also as to what constituted a sufficient acknowledgment before the witnesses. These questions were decided in a number of cases which came before the English Judges from time to time; but in the brief survey I am taking of testamentary law, I refrain from quoting them.

Suffice it to say that the intention of the Legislature was observed, that the testator should be in a sound state of mind and memory, capable of understanding the contents of the will, and should signify his approval and execution of it by putting his name or mark, having also ocular evidence of the identity of the instrument attested by the witnesses. So far the Statute

of Frauds related to written wills, and was designed for the purpose of disposing of immovable property only; but oral or nuncupative wills were not actually abolished, as they could still be made for the disposal of personalty, and were accordingly put under certain restrictions, as it was enacted by the same Statute, "that no nuncupative will should be good, where the estate bequeathed exceeded the value of thirty pounds, unless it were proved that the testator, at the time of pronouncing the same, did bid the persons or some of them bear witness that such was his will, or to that effect; nor unless such nuncupative wills were made in the last sickness of the deceased, and in the house of his or her habitation or dwelling, or where he or she had been resident for ten days or more next before the making of such will, except where such person was surprised or taken sick, being from his own home, and died before he returned to the place of his or her dwelling." There was also a restriction put upon the period within which such will should be reduced into writing, as it enacted "that after six months passed after the speaking of the pretended testamentary words, no testimony should be received to prove any nuncupative will, except the said testimony or the substance thereof were committed to writing within six days after the making of the said will." But liberty was given to "any soldier being in actual military service, or any mariner or seaman being at sea to dispose of his movables, wages, or personal estate, as before the Act." At last the English Legislature thought fit to enact the Statute 7 Will. IV. and 1 Vic., c. 26, which made it imperative that no will should be valid unless made in writing and signed at the foot or end thereof by the testator, or by some other person in his presence, and by his direction; and that such signature should be made or acknowledged by the testator in the presence of two or more witnesses, who should attest and subscribe the will in the presence of one another. Thus the English Testamentary Law makes it a *sine qua non* that certain conditions should be complied with. This Statute was extended by Act XXV of 1838 of the Indian Legislature to the wills of persons whose personal property could not by the law of England pass to their representatives without probate or letters of administration obtained in one of Her Majesty's Supreme Courts; but it was not extended to the Natives of this country, either Hindus or Mahomedans.

The next question which suggests itself is, in what state is our own Testamentary Law, and is it desirable that it should be altered; and if so, in what respects? Now, in determining this question it is necessary to see how far our right of alienating

property by will was recognised or declared by Hindu Law as current in Bengal, and how the right of disposition by will has arisen.

It is very difficult at the present time to ascertain with accuracy what was the law on the subject. This difficulty arises in consequence of our law-givers not only mingling up religious, civil, and merely moral ordinances, but also from their having omitted to reduce them into a systematic arrangement, and laying down not only the ordinary rules of action, but also those which they thought ought to have been observed, but which people could transgress with impunity.

The great jurist of the present day, in his *Ancient Law*, has thus given his opinion:—"The Hindu Code called the Laws of Manu, which is certainly a Brahminical compilation, undoubtedly enshrines many genuine observances of the Hindu race; but the opinion of the best contemporary orientalist is, that it does not, as a whole, represent a set of rules ever actually administered in Hindustan. It is in great part an ideal picture of that which, in the view of the Brahmins, ought to be the law."

According to Hindu Law as current in Bengal, a father could in his life-time separate his sons from himself and divide his own estate among them, and at that time his will could regulate the division* with respect to his own acquired wealth. Again "the father had ownership in gems, pearls, and other moveables, though inherited from the grandfather, but neither the father nor the grandfather was so of the whole immoveable estate." Thus our law did not empower a person to alienate during his life-time his ancestral property, though it might be presumed that he could dispose of his self-acquired estate; but no mention is made, so far as I can find, of any power being conferred on a Hindu to declare how his property should be applied after his death; and this, I believe, was purposely omitted, the Hindu Law being considered of divine origin, and sufficient to provide for the disposal of his estate after his death according to the rules of descent laid down by it.

But notwithstanding this intentional silence, if I do not call it prohibition, a custom crept in among us of directing by an instrument, call it *anumatipatra* or by any other name, how and in what manner an estate shall be divided and taken after death.

* *Vide* Shama Churn Sircar's *Vyacashta Durpun Dāya-bhāga*, quoted in Note, page 591.

From the cases quoted by my friend Babu Shama Churn Sircar in his book on Hindu Law, it appears that both the Supreme and Sudder Courts of this presidency upheld such alienations, and in one particular instance the opinion of the Sudder Court was taken on the point to clear away any doubt which existed thereon. Thus by the indulgence of the English judges and in analogy to their own law, this right among the people of Bengal to dispose of estates by will has been recognised and accorded to them. Nay, the right has been allowed to such an extent, that verbal directions made by a person on his death-bed, not only for division of his property, but for adopting a stranger as his future son and heir, in order to perpetuate his family name and honour, have been sanctioned. As the Legislature of this country, however, has not interfered with this custom, there are no such formalities and conditions, as are required by the English Wills Act, observed by us. True it is that the *factum* of making or giving verbal directions for a will must be proved by the testimony of respectable, or as I may say, trustworthy witnesses. But how often does it become the source of fraud, perjury, and forgery. A loose system no doubt engenders many evils. Numerous are the instances where a widow, brother, or some other relation of a deceased person sets up a nuncupative will or directions for adoption of a son and heir or for disposal of his estate. And since man is not infallible, how often in such cases does the victorious party exult in having deceived the judge by false testimony and "plated cunning."

The present Registration Act, No. XX of 1866,* has made provision for the registration of wills and authorities to adopt, but it does not make registration compulsory; nor does it even require that wills shall be in writing, or attested by witnesses. I know it has been said that a compulsory law interfering with the social customs of a nation produces more evil than good. But, in my humble estimation, the evil arising out of the present system outweighs any which may be apprehended from the enactment of a more stringent law.

These considerations lead me to the conclusion that it should be made compulsory that the will of a Native, transferring property, should be in writing, and subject to the same forms as the English Law provides, and that it should also be registered. I found this opinion on the special ground that, as our Testamentary Law has arisen entirely out of the English Law, it ought to be governed by all the improvements which the Legislature has thought fit to make as regards English Wills. The policy of not legislating for Hindus on account of the probable interference with social customs ought

* Sections 44, 45, 76 and 77.

not to be carried to the extent of denying to them all the benefits which the British-born subjects of Her Majesty possess.

With regard to the power of a Hindu to direct that a son should be adopted after his death, I think it should be subject to great restrictions; for this reason, that when a Hindu adopts a son during his life-time, the Hindu Law provides very strict formalities as to the mode in which it should be effected, and it is wrong to allow a man, merely by a few words supposed to be uttered before his death, to disinherit legitimate heirs. I cannot think that the same law as to disposal of property should apply to adoptions. A man, when he adopts a son, selects the person whom he nominates as heir to all his property, and who is to carry down his name. It is therefore a matter of grave consideration to any man, and this right should be exercised only by the party adopting, and ought not to be delegated to any one else; much less to a Hindu widow or a female, whose secluded life makes her a prey to the machinations of designing men. I would not do away with the power of adopting after a man's death entirely; but I think that the testator ought by his will, duly executed, to name the person whom he desires to succeed him as his adopted son, or the family from which he should be selected, and that this right should be exercised when the testator is in full possession of his senses. The law recently laid down in the Succession Act as to charitable bequests might be made in a modified form to govern it; that is, the testator should declare whom he intends to adopt, or from which family, a reasonable time before his death, by a properly executed instrument, call it a will, deed, or *anumatipatra*, and that it should be registered in a solemn manner by the party executing it, and not by an agent.

It is not, however, by limiting the great latitude now given to the Natives in making their wills and testaments, or by compelling them to observe the same formalities as are required by the English Law, that all evils would be removed. Questions as to the meaning of particular words and phrases used by testators indeliberately and on their death-beds, will ever arise. Now, in such cases, the parties interested in their proper construction are not only found to be ignorant of the rules of interpretation applied in such cases, but can with great difficulty and trouble form an idea of these rules as they are contained in the reports of adjudged cases, and must first of all be disentangled from them. These reports again are not few in number, but count volumes upon volumes. Is it not, therefore, desirable that in addition to those portions of the Indian Succession Act as regards the mode

of execution and attestation of wills, the rules of construction also therein laid down should be extended to this country?

After some remarks from REVD. C. H. A. DALL,

MR. BEEVELEY said that it was impossible to insist on the compulsory registration of wills so long as nuncupative wills were allowed by Hindu Law. At the same time the registration of wills was most desirable in this country, not only with a view to check fraud and corruption, but for the purpose of supplying links which are at present missing in the chain of title to landed property.

THE PRESIDENT agreed with MR. BEVERLEY that the registration of wills was by all means expedient, if practicable. He hesitated, however, to express a decided opinion, as he was aware that Englishmen usually arrived in this country with pre-conceived ideas, and he should wish to hear more of Native views on the subject.

EDUCATION.

—On the progress of Education in Bengal. By BABU KISSORY
CHAND MITTRA.

[Read on the 24th July 1867.]

EDUCATION, as now understood by us, constitutes not only an important branch, but the substratum of that science which we are assembled this evening to promote. For the great and legitimate object of Social Science is to lead our fellow-beings in the way of their highest moral and mental and religious and political development. It aims at the advancement not only of the upper ten thousand, but of the great mass of mankind, by diffusing intelligence, by disseminating knowledge, by waging a ceaseless crusade against ignorance and impudence, superstition and prejudice, and all other enemies to the physical and the moral well-being of man. Education is the most puissant agent which can be employed by Social Science for the accomplishment of its object. That science is in itself the "*Arziehung der Menschen*,"—education in the highest sense of the human race.

That the necessity and importance of popular education have always been in some measure appreciated by the Hindus is evidenced by the number of patshallas or elementary schools scattered through the length and breadth of the country. But the instruction imparted in these institutions commences and concludes very early, and is therefore barren of results. The boys begin their alphabet at six years of age, and finish their education at thirteen, before their mind can be formed to appreciate its benefits. The ceremony of *hāte khari* is the preliminary stage in the process of learning, and is performed under the guidance of the *purohit* or family priest on an auspicious day, generally on the *Sripanchami*, or the day of the worship of Saraswati, the goddess of learning. The children begin with tracing the vowels and consonants with the finger on a sand-board, and afterwards on the floor with a pencil of white crayon; and the operation is continued for a week. They are next instructed to write on the leaf of the palm with a reed pen, joining vowels to the consonants, forming compound letters, and learning the *nāmā* or tables of numeration. The next stage is writing on the plantain leaf, after which letter-writing and arithmetic are taught. The course of instruction culminates in letter-writing on paper, and is limited to that and to accounts. Under the old system, which I am describing, there were no text books, and no instruction

regarding moral or social duties. The *guru maháshays* exercised no beneficial influence on the character of their scholars, but performed "a menial service in the spirit of a menial." They were generally paid a pittance, and were obliged to eke out their incomes by periodical presents of catables. The patshallas, where they taught, were held not in suitable houses, but in the *chandi-mandab* of the well-to-do villager, or under the shade of the banian tree. The number of such patshallas, 50 years ago, was not less than 100,000, and assuming the population of this presidency at 40,000,000, there would be a village school for every 400 persons. The patshalla-frequenting population was below the wealthy and above the indigent class, and numbered about 5 per cent. of the whole. The number of villages was about that time officially estimated at 150,748, two-thirds of which must have boasted of a school. In the *toles* or indigenous seats of classical learning, the medium of instruction was Sanscrit, and grammar, rhetoric, logic, law, and astronomy are some of the branches of the learning taught. Some of these institutions were endowed; but the great bulk of them subsisted on the gifts which the presiding pundits received from wealthy men on occasions of marriage and *shráddh* and *poojahs* and festivals. The disinterestedness of those pundits in affording gratuitous instruction, food, and even clothing to their pupils, and the privations to which the latter subjected themselves in the prosecution of learning, were alike honorable to both, and evinced a love of knowledge and an earnestness of desire for its diffusion.

At the commencement of the present century, Dr. Francis Buchanan Hamilton conducted, by desire of Government, certain statistical enquiries in Bengal, which were calculated to throw some light on the educational question. He states that, in 1801, there were within the limits of the Twenty-four Pergunnahs 190 seminaries, in which Hindu law, grammar, and metaphysics were taught, at an annual cost of Rs. 19,500. No English school of any importance had been established at that time. In Midnapore there were indigenous schools or patshallas in every village. The population of that district was estimated by Hamilton at 1,500,000. There were no English schools there in the beginning of this century. In Jessore and Nuddea the records I have consulted contain no reference to indigenous elementary schools in the beginning of the century. There is, however, no doubt that Nuddea was *then*, as *now*, the seat of Sanskrit learning, and the Benares of Bengal. In Dacca there were, according to Hamilton, many Hindu schools, in which the rudiments of the Bengali language were taught. The district of Backergunge was formed

in 1800 from the southern portion of Dacca Jelalpoore. Its population was officially estimated in 1801 in round numbers at 9,26,723 inhabitants, in the proportion of 5 Hindus to 3 Mahomedans, many of whom were obliged to reside in their boats, owing to a large portion of the district being submerged during the rains. Under these circumstances, no *patshallas* could exist. In Tipperah, Hamilton states that there were no regular schools. In Mymensing, the same authority mentions that there were two free schools in each *pergunnah*, the district being divided into 19 *pergunnahs*, and containing a population of 1,300,000. In Sylhet, Hamilton reports that there were no regular schools and seminaries for teaching Hindu or Mahomedan law, but that in different places there were *private* schools, where boys were taught to read and write. In Rungpore and Dinagepore, he reports the state of indigenous elementary education as very low, though in the neighbouring district of Purneah he found 643 elementary schools amongst the Hindu population, and 119 *toles* or schools of learning.

In Beerbhoom, the population was estimated at 1,700,000 souls, in the proportion of 13 Hindus to 1 Mahomedan. Hamilton makes no mention of schools. Even so late as 1823, the local agent of the Government, in reply to enquiries made by the General Committee of Education, stated that there were no seminaries for the instruction of youth in the district, either public or private. But the analogy of the neighbouring districts and the preponderance of the Hindu element in the population throw considerable doubt on this statement. In Rajshahye, the population was estimated by Hamilton in round numbers at 1,500,000, in the proportion of 2 Hindus to 1 Mahomedan. The existence of indigenous schools of learning is noticed, but there is no mention made of elementary schools. This is incredible, inasmuch as the former presuppose the latter. The district and the city of Moorshedabad contained a population of 1,020,572 in the proportion of 2 Hindus to 1 Mahomedan. Hamilton is silent on the subject of elementary schools, but their existence must be inferred from the circumstance of the flourishing condition of the *toles* or indigenous seats of learning, some of which were richly endowed by the illustrious Rani Bhubani of Nattore. Burdwan, in proportion to its extent, was considered in 1801 the most productive and populous district of the country. Surrounded by the dense and interminable jungles of Midnapore, Pachete, and Beerbhoom, it appeared as an *oasis* in the desert. It is, therefore, no wonder that Hamilton states there were few villages in this district in

which there was not a school. Several indigenous schools are also noticed. The district of Hooghly was created at the end of the last century, being composed of sections from Burdwan, Midnapore, and Bancoorah. Hamilton states that, in 1801, besides numerous elementary schools, there were altogether 150 indigenous schools of learning, in which the principles of Hindu law were taught by pundits, each school containing from 5 to 20 scholars.

It was in Hooghly, the district last mentioned, that the seeds of English education were first sown. They germinated freely, and this metropolitan zillah proved the adaptability of the soil of this country to the growth of what has now become a stately tree shooting out magnificent foliage and bearing golden fruits. Mr. Robert May, a dissenting missionary residing in Chinsurah, opened in his dwelling-house, in July 1814, a school on the Lancasterian plan. On the first day 16 boys attended, but in the second month the number of pupils increased so as to require larger accommodation. A spacious apartment was allotted to him in the Old Dutch Fort by Mr. Forbes, the commissioner of the district. In January 1815, Mr. May opened a branch or village school at a short distance from the town, and in the course of twelve months, he had established in the surrounding country schools to which 951 boys resorted. These schools were conducted on the system which Dr. Bell had inaugurated in the Military Orphan Asylum of Madras in 1791. While employed as Superintendent of the asylum, Dr. Bell observed one day a boy belonging to a Malabar school writing on sand according to the primitive Hindu method. Believing this method very convenient both as regards cheapness and facility, he introduced it into the school of the asylum; but as the usher refused to carry it into effect, he employed one of the most promising senior boys of the school to teach the juniors in this way. The system proved remarkably successful, and Dr. Bell extended it to the other and more advanced branches of instruction. In a short time he re-organized the school under boy-tutors, who were instructed themselves by him. Mr. May's success was, in a great measure, attributed to the adoption of this monitorial method. It was soon brought to the notice of Government by Mr. Commissioner Forbes, and a monthly grant of Rs. 600 was awarded to enable Mr. May to prosecute his undertaking. The general system of education thus instituted in Chinsurah found warm supporters in the higher classes of the Natives. Rajah Tejehunder Bahadur, of Burdwan, converted his patshalla into an English school, and another zemindar followed his example. The strength of prejudice against English schools rapidly dimi-

nished. At first a Brahmin scholar would not sit on the same form with a Koyburt or a Sudgope, but the objection was afterwards relinquished. The Government, recognizing the increased usefulness and full success of Mr. May's experimental instruction, enlarged its monthly donation to Rs. 850.

In the infancy of the British Government in this country, the efforts of our rulers were necessarily confined to the preservation of peace and the administration of justice. The adoption of an enlarged and liberal policy was perhaps incompatible with the exigencies of a new and growing military despotism. But the necessity and wisdom of that policy were gradually forced upon the Government. Its action was at first confined to the revival of Oriental learning. In 1780, Warren Hastings, the first Governor General, founded the Madrassa on the European model. The object of its institution was to impart an Arabic education to the Mahomedan youth. Warren Hastings provided for it a building at his own expense, and assigned a jaghir, yielding an annual revenue of Rs. 29,000, for its maintenance. Lord Moira, in his Minute on the Judicial Administration of the Presidency of Fort William, dated the 2nd October 1815, after mentioning certain evils in the administration of the Government and in the character of the people, goes on to say :—" In looking for a remedy to these evils, the moral and intellectual improvement of the Natives will necessarily form a prominent feature of any plan which may arise from the above suggestions, and I have therefore not failed to turn my most solicitous attention to the important object of public education." His Lordship projected the establishment of two Sanskrit Colleges at Benares and Tirhoot. The project proceeded from a desire to give encouragement to the cultivation of Oriental Literature and Science, but it was not carried out. Various difficulties arose, and it failed of effect. A different plan was afterwards adopted. A new conviction dawned on the minds of the Governor General and his Councillors, that provincial colleges, like those contemplated, would not answer the purpose so well as a college at the presidency. Its establishment at the seat of Government would secure an efficiency of supervision which could not be obtained in the mofussil. But it was some time before this intention was carried out, in the establishment of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta with an annual revenue of Rs. 30,000.

About this time the desire for learning English began to be felt in Calcutta. Mr. Sherburn established a school, where Dwarkanath Tagore received his rudimentary education. Mr. Cumming set up his academy, where the late Rajah Sir Radhakant graduated.

It was now evident that the Hindus of Calcutta had commenced to shake off their *quasi*-religious prejudices against English education, and to manifest an eagerness to reap its benefits, when communicated in accordance with those principles of discretion and toleration which the Government promulgated. Availing himself of this altered state of feeling, David Hare—a retired watchmaker—urged on the leading members of the Native community to consider the necessity and importance of establishing a great seat of learning in the metropolis. They listened to this proposal with unfeigned interest, and promised it their hearty support. They willingly accepted an invitation from Sir Edward Hyde East, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, to meet at his residence for the purpose of adopting measures for carrying it into effect. This meeting was held, in May 1816, in the same house in Old Post Office Street, which was afterwards occupied by Chief Justice Colville, and lately demolished to make room for the new High Court. Though he did not attend this preliminary meeting, there was one who nevertheless shared with David Hare the credit of originating the idea of the institution of the Hindu College, almost from its inception, and whose name will be therefore inseparably associated with its foundation. As a moral and religious reformer, Rammohun Roy had, from a very early period, felt the imperative necessity of imparting a superior English education to his countrymen, as the best and most efficacious means of achieving his end. He had established an English school at his own expense. He had heartily entered into the plans of David Hare, and zealously aided in their development. But as an uncompromising enemy of Hindu idolatry, he had incurred the hostility of his orthodox countrymen, and he apprehended that his presence at the meeting might embarrass its deliberations, and probably defeat its object. And he was not mistaken. Some of the Native gentlemen, the representatives of Hinduism, actually told Sir Hyde East, that they would gladly accord their support to the proposed college if Rammohun Roy were not connected with it. Rammohun Roy willingly allowed himself to be set aside, rather than that by his active co-operation the project should fail of its accomplishment. The arrangements for the establishment of the *Mahā-bidyālaya*, or great seat of learning, as the Hindu College was originally called, having been completed, it was inaugurated in 1816. The house on the Upper Chitpore Road, known as Gorachand Bysack's house, and now occupied by the Oriental Seminary, was its first local habitation. It was afterwards removed to *Firinghee* Komul Bose's house at Jorasanko. The object of the institution, as described in the printed rules published in 1822, was to "instruct

the sons of the Hindus in the European and Asiatic languages and sciences." Though it was proposed to teach English, Persian, Sanscrit, and Bengali, yet the first place in importance was assigned to English. In truth the college was founded for the purpose of supplying the growing demand for English education. Sanscrit was discontinued at an early period. The Persian class was abolished in 1841. The only languages which have since been taught are English and Bengali.

Ample provision was made in the infancy of the institution for efficient supervision. At first a provisional committee, consisting of ten Europeans and twenty Native gentlemen, was formed to organize a plan of operations. Subsequently the Europeans withdrew, and a body of directors was appointed, consisting entirely of Natives, with two governors and two secretaries. The Rajah Tejchunder Bahadur, and Babu Chandra Coomar Tagore, were elected the first governors in consideration of their having contributed most liberally for the support of the institution. Among the Native directors may be mentioned Babus Gopí Mohun Deb, Joykissen Singh, and Ganganarain Dás. Babu Buddinath Mookerjee was appointed the first Native secretary. The European secretary was Major Irving. He was appointed for the special purpose of superintending the English department of the college.

The Committee of Management consisted, for some years, of four members elected annually by the directors. Their duties were to see that the rules of the institution were observed, to alter and make new rules, to consult the requirements of the institution, to appoint and dismiss the teachers, and to check and regulate the expenditure. When the opinion of the members were equally balanced, the question was referred to one of the governors, whose decision was final.

At the commencement, the sum of Rs. 1,13,179 was contributed for the support of the institution. For several years after its establishment, the college was strictly a private institution and received no aid whatever from Government. But in 1823, the funds being at a low ebb, the managers applied to Government for pecuniary aid and also for a suitable building. They ventured to suggest that the college should be removed to the vicinity of the Sanscrit College about to be founded, and that the more expensive paraphernalia of instruction, such as philosophical apparatus, lectures, &c., should be common to both institutions, by which means they would be mutually benefited. In the following year, the managers made a similar representation to the General Committee of Public Instruction. They adverted to the inadequacy

of the income to the wider objects of the institution, and requested to be allowed to occupy part of the building designed for the Sanscrit College. They begged that such further pecuniary aid might be afforded as would enable them to employ a person to give instruction to the senior students. They also desired that the general committee would be pleased to permit their own secretary, and the secretary of the contemplated Sanscrit College, to join them in the management of the affairs of the college.

These representations were attended with the desired effect. Government resolved to aid the Hindu College by endowing, at the public charge, a professorship of experimental philosophy, and by supplying the cost of school accommodation in the vicinity of the Sanscrit College. The general committee were desired to report on the expediency of assuming "a certain degree of authoritative control over the concerns of that institution in return for the pecuniary aid now proposed to be afforded."

In conformity with this resolution, the general committee opened a communication with the managers in regard to the question of obtaining a share in the control of the college. The subjoined is an extract from the general committee's letter :—

"With reference to the extent of the aid already given to the funds of the Hindu College and other arrangements in contemplation for its improvement, such as the grant of a library, endowment of scholarships, and a liberal provision for the most effective superintendence that can be obtained, the expense of which will probably be fully three times the amount now derived from the funds of the college, Government conceive that a proportional share of authority over that establishment should be vested in the General Committee of Public Instruction."

The managers, in reply to this letter, and with reference to the share of the management they were willing to surrender, desired to be informed what arrangements the general committee themselves would consider most advisable. They then added the following observations :—

"With deference to what may be the decision of the general committee, we beg to suggest that probably the best mode of apportioning the management would be the appointment of a joint committee, to consist of an equal number of the present Native managers and of the members of the general committee, to which arrangement we shall be very happy to agree.

"It is scarcely to be apprehended that any questions would arise in which the opinions of the Native and European managers

would be exactly balanced ; but should such an event occur, we hope it will not be considered unreasonable in us to propose that a negative voice may be allowed to the Native managers ; that is to say, that any measure to which the Natives express a unanimous objection shall not be carried into effect."

The following reply, which closed the correspondence, was returned by the general committee :—

"The general committee, in professing to exercise any authority over the Hindu College, have only had in view the due administration of those funds which the Government may from time to time be disposed to supply in aid of the objects of the institution, and the erection of the Hindu College into a seminary of the highest possible description for the cultivation of the English language. Beyond these objects, it is not their intention to interfere, and as long as they are satisfied that the best interests of the establishment are fully attended to by the Native management, they will not fail to take a warm interest in the prosperity of the college, and to recommend it to Government as meriting the countenance of its patronage. At present they have no reason to doubt the efficiency or the intention of the Native committee, and they do not therefore think it advisable to assume any share in the direction of the details of the college.

"At the same time, confiding in the disposition evinced by the Native management to accept their assistance and advice, the general committee will be ready to exercise a regular inspection and supervising control as visitors of the college.

"In order to render the general supervision as practicable as possible, they propose to exercise it through the medium of such of their members as they may from time to time appoint ; and on the present occasion, they avail themselves of the services of their secretary Mr. Wilson, whom they request the managers to regard as the organ and representative of the general committee.

"It is expected that any recommendation proceeding from the general committee relative to the conduct of the institution, as expressed through the acting visitor, will meet with the concurrence of the managers of the college, unless sufficient reason be submitted in writing for declining such concurrence."

The managers expressed their readiness to conform to these arrangements of the college. Subsequently Dr. Wilson was elected Vice-President of the Committee of Management.

Dr. Wilson entered on his duties as the visitor of the college in a proper spirit. He brought to their performance a tact, a

judgment and zeal, which soon worked a marked improvement in the institution. In his first annual report, he represented the low state of the funds, threatening to "cripple" the college, and urged on the Government to devise some means by which the calamity might be averted. He also lamented the want of sufficient control and the "neglect into which for the last two years the institution had fallen." He, however, expressed his earnest hope that, now that the attention of the Government was drawn to the proceedings of the managers of the college, they would be anxious to promote any measures that may have the advantage of the college in view. There was, therefore, every prospect in his opinion that the college, controlled by the general committee and patronized by the Government, would become the "main channel by which knowledge might be transferred from its European source into the intellect of Hindustan." That this prospect has since been realized, you will all cheerfully admit.

Dr. Wilson's report raised the question of the establishment of a distinct college open to Natives of every denomination. Mr. Holt Mackenzie advocated an independent institution. Mr. Harjington, the President of the General Committee, considered it was highly desirable to give every possible encouragement to the Hindu College, so as to render it as efficient as possible. Dr. Wilson opposed the establishment of a separate institution, and thought it would be more advisable to improve the existing Hindu College, by raising the character of the institution, providing a superior class of teachers, and bringing it within the supervision of the general committee.

The majority of the Committee being in favor of a separate institution, a report recommending its establishment was forwarded to Government. But their views, though acquiesced in by the Government, were not carried into effect.

It must now be observed that the subscribed capital was about this time still further reduced to little more than Rs. 20,000 by the failure of J. Baretto, in whose firm it was deposited. After a delay of two years, the managers received Rs. 21,000 out of the wreck of the estate. In 1824, the monthly income of the college amounted to Rs. 840; made up of the following items:—

Interest of the college fund	...	Rs.	300
Tuition fees	...	"	350
School society's scholars	...	"	150
Godown rent	...	"	40

The managers accordingly went up to Government for assistance, which they obtained, in the first instance, to the extent of 300 Rupees a month. In 1827 the Government aid was raised to 900 Rupees; and again in 1830 to 1,250 Rupees per mensem. Besides these regular monthly contributions, Government, in 1829, made a large grant for the publication of English class books, and gave a further sum of 5,000 Rupees to purchase books for the library. The library was always largely and eagerly resorted to by the boys. The books borrowed by them show a great love of desultory reading, which, after all, is, according to Dr. Johnson, not so unprofitable as is generally supposed.

In the mean time, the amount realized from tuition fees had also progressively increased. In January 1827 the monthly income of the college amounted to 2,240 Rupees, of which 1,000 Rupees came under the head of tuition fees. In 1830 the total monthly income had risen to 3,272 Rupees, of which about 1,500 Rupees were raised from tuition fees. After that time there was a gradual falling-off in the receipts from this source for several years, but the deficit was made up by Government.

The college began with a small number of pupils. Though the original rules of the institution provided for the payment of schooling fees by students, yet the system of demanding their payment did not at first answer. The committee of management accordingly resolved that from the 1st January 1819 the college should be a free institution. It was not till the end of 1823 that 25 paying scholars had been admitted, paying altogether 125 Rupees monthly. In June 1825 the number of paying scholars had risen to 70, and the monthly receipts from this source was 350 Rupees. At the end of the year the number of pupils was 110, and at the end of the following year it was 223. The number of paying scholars continued to increase during the next two years. At the end of 1827 the number was about 300, and in December 1828 it had increased to 336. It was remarked that the readiness to pay schooling fees at that time was strikingly contrasted with the reluctance formerly displayed, and which had rendered it necessary to abrogate the provision which originally existed for the admission of paying scholars. At the end of 1826, the monthly receipts from tuition fees amounted to 1,115 Rupees, and two years later to 1,700 Rupees. After this there was a falling-off, occasioned partly by a temporary panic and partly by the commercial distress which existed at that time. At the end of 1833, the tuition fees had fallen off to 800 Rupees a month. Since then there was a gradual increase, until the sum annually raised from tuition fees alone amounted to 30,000 Rupees.

The rate charged continued for many years to be the same for all the classes, both senior and junior. A fixed sum of 5 Rupees a month was levied from all. A few years ago, it was determined to enhance the fees in the higher classes. Since then the rate was raised to 8 Rupees a month in the college department, 6 Rupees in the senior school, and 5 Rupees in the junior school. It is to be observed, however, that a large proportion of the students of the college department were scholarshipholders, who paid nothing.

An account of the Hindu College would be incomplete if I were to omit to notice in connection with it the Calcutta School Society and its schools. Both the institutions acted and reacted on each other most beneficially. The Society was instituted on the 1st September 1818, for the purpose of "assisting and improving existing institutions and preparing select pupils of distinguished talents by superior instruction for becoming teachers and instructors." It established several schools and patshallas, of which the best was the institution known as "Mr. Hare's School." This school long served as an intermediate link between the independent schools fostered by the Calcutta School Society and the Hindu College. The most promising pupils from it were sent to the Hindu College to be educated at the Society's expense. The number always amounted to 30. These pupils invariably distinguished themselves and surpassed their fellow collegians. They carried almost all the honors and shed greater lustre on the college than what was reflected by its "pay" students. This fact is easily accounted for by their comparative poverty, their habits of industry acquired in the preparatory school, and the stimulus held out to them in the shape of prizes and scholarships. They were the picked boys of a well conducted High School. They had already risen above their compeers in that school, and acquired a love for study; whereas the majority of the foundation and "pay" scholars of the college were the sons of wealthy men who had been cradled in the lap of luxury. No wonder, therefore, that these Sybarites were unable to rub shoulders with the sturdy "Boreahs" (as Hare's boys were derisively called), who had been taught to look to collegiate proficiency as the only passport to wealth and distinction.

The Hindu College soon became a mighty instrument for improving and elevating the Hindus. It was, as has been said, inaugurated in a small building on the Upper Chitpore Road, and commenced with a small number of scholars; but it soon grew into importance and usefulness. The college was divided into two

departments—the senior and the junior. These were situated in different apartments, but were under the controlling authority of one head master. Mr. D'Anselme was the first head master, and served long and well in that capacity. He evinced considerable tact and judgment in the management of the boys. In 1827 Mr. Henry Vivian Derozio was appointed assistant master in the senior department. I thus prominently notice his appointment, because it marked, so to speak, a new era in the annals of the college. His career as an instructor was marked by singular success. His appreciation of the duties of a teacher was higher and truer than that of the herd of professors and school-masters. He felt it his duty as such to teach not only words but things, to touch not only the head but the heart. He sought not to cram the mind, but to inoculate it with large and liberal ideas. Acting on this principle, he opened the eyes of his pupils' understanding. He taught them to think, and to throw off the fetters of that antiquated bigotry which still clung to their countrymen. He possessed a profound knowledge of mental and moral philosophy and imparted it to them. Gifted with great penetration, he led them through the pages of Locke and Reid, Stewart and Brown. He brought to bear on his lectures great and original powers of reasoning and observation which would not have disgraced the lamented Sir William Hamilton. But it was not only in the class room that he laboured for the interests of his pupils. He delighted to meet them in his own house, in debating clubs and other places, and to pour out to them the treasures of his cultivated mind. He was not a fluent but an impressive speaker; what he said was suggestive, and contained bone and sinew. The native managers of the college, cradled in superstition, were alarmed at the progress which Derozio's pupils were making, by actually "cutting their way," as one of the newspapers of the day not inaptly expressed it, "through ham and beef, and wading to liberalism through tumblers of beer." Like many other men in other times, they could not rise above the prejudices of the nursery, or see, in the innovating spirit of the collegians, aught but an element of danger to their country. They were, therefore, naturally scandalized at their heterodoxy, and attempted to put it down by dismissing Mr. Derozio.

The following resolutions passed by them have a peculiar significance, and will show the strength of early prejudice :—

"It having come to the knowledge of the managers that a belief prevails very generally that the students of the Hindu College are liable to lose all religious principles whatever, it was

resolved that Mr. D'Anselme, head master, be requested to check, as far as possible, all disquisitions tending to unsettle the belief of the boys in the great principles of natural religion.

"The teachers are particularly enjoined to abstain from any communication on the subject of the Hindu religion with the boys, or to suffer (*sic*) any practices inconsistent with the Hindu's notions of propriety, such as eating or drinking in the school or class rooms. Any deviation from this injunction will be reported by Mr. D'Anselme to the *visitors* immediately, and should it appear that the teacher is at all culpable, he will forthwith be dismissed.

"That Mr. Derozio, being the root of all evils and cause of public alarm, should be discharged from the college, and all communication between him and the pupils be cut off.

"That such of the students of the higher class whose bad habits and practices are known, and who were in the dining party, should be removed.

"That all those students who are *publicly* hostile to Hinduism and the established customs of the country should be turned out.

"That if any of the boys go to see or attend private lectures or meetings, they be dismissed.

"The managers of the Anglo-Indian College, having heard that several of the students are in the habit of attending societies at which political and religious discussions are held, think it necessary to announce their strong disapprobation of the practice, and to prohibit its continuance.

"Resolved, that the managers have not the power nor the right to enforce the prohibition of the boys attending private lectures or meetings."

But the seed which had been sown had taken root and was not to die. "The Jesuits," says Pascal in one of his unparalleled letters, "have obtained a papal decree condemning Galileo's doctrine about the motion of the earth. It is all in vain. If the world is really turning round, all mankind together will not be able to keep it from turning, or to keep themselves from turning with it." The order of the college committee for the dismissal of Mr. Derozio "was as ineffectual to stay the great moral revolution as the decree of the Vatican to stay the motion of our globe." Onward shall it roll through the country, like the advancing flood of the Ganges, bearing truth and religion in its resistless course. Progress is the law of God, and cannot be arrested by the puny efforts of man. As knowledge

is acquired, facts accumulate and generalization is practised, scepticism arises and engenders a spirit of enquiry, resulting in the overthrow of errors and in the triumph of truth. The advanced alumni of the Hindu College openly announced that of Hinduism, and, in defiance of the resolutions of the committee, gloried in infringing its dictates. But the influence of their enlightenment was best manifested in the efforts which they now made to spread the benefits of the education they had received.

They established several morning and day schools, and their example was followed by others, who adopted teaching as a profession. The pay schools multiplied as the demand for them increased.

The first English Pay School was established at Bhowanipore, and was called the "Union School," in consequence of its having been formed by the union of two schools at Bhowanipore and Kidderpore. They were established, without any communication with Europeans, by Native gentlemen for the instruction of Hindu children in English, and were at first supported by voluntary subscriptions. In May 1829 they were placed upon an improved footing, and in the management of them, Europeans and Natives were then first associated. They were opened to pay scholars, and the Calcutta School Society made them a monthly grant towards their support; but that source not proving adequate to their wants, they applied to the General Committee of Public Instruction for assistance. Their immediate requirements extended only to about 500 Rupees for the necessary school furniture; but the general committee placed 1,000 Rupees at the disposal of the School Society for the use of each school, considering it to be "a great object to establish schools of this description, which might in time serve as preparatory steps to a Hindu College, and relieve that institution of part of the duty of elementary tuition." The Union School was the *Alma Mater* of Babu Hurish Chunder Mookerjé, the founder and editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*. Another English school was established at Simlah, and numbered about 70 scholars. A third school of this kind was set up in Upper Circular Road, and had 30 or 40 scholars. A fourth pay school was situated in Burra Bazar, and numbered 30 or 40 scholars taught by a Native. One of the best conducted schools of this description was situated at Sobha Bazar, near the house of the late Rajah Sir Radhakant Deb, and numbered about 300 scholars. The proprietors were a Christian and a Hindu, who employed several assistant teachers under them. But the most successful school of this description was decidedly the *Oriental*

Seminary. It was founded by Babu Gour Mohun Audy, who was born a teacher. It numbered among its pupils the sons of the opulent Mullicks and other members of the Sonar-bunniah caste, who looked upon the Hindu College as the terror of Hinduism. There were several Brahmins and Kayests who received their education in this institution. Among them may be numbered the late Hon'ble Justice Shumboonauth Pundit. Besides these pay schools, there were Native free schools for the gratuitous instruction of Hindu youths in English, established and chiefly supported by the *Alumni* of the Hindu College. Baboo Gobind Chunder Bysack founded a school on the Upper Chitpore Road, in which Babu Rajendralal Mittra, director of the Wards Institution, received his education. Babu Peary Chand Mittra established a similar school at his house at Nimtollah Street; Mr. Derozio and Mr. David Hare took a lively interest in this school, frequently visiting and examining the boys and distributing prizes to the most meritorious among them. One of the principal schools of this description was called the Hindu Free School, and was situated at Aurpooley. It had five Hindu teachers, who instructed 150 scholars. Another school of this class was called the "Hindu Benevolent Institution," and was entirely supported by two benevolent Hindu gentlemen. Another school of this description was situated at Chore Bagan, and was also supported by a couple of Hindu gentlemen.

The benefits of the Hindu College and other educational institutions established in Calcutta were confined within a narrow radius. In the mofussil there reigned deep and dense ignorance. The patshallas noticed above were but very indifferent instruments for the communication of sound and useful knowledge. The *gurumahashays* who directed them were incapable of moulding the minds, fashioning the habits, and guiding the feelings of their pupils. The Government neglected for a long time to remedy this state of things. The importance of ascertaining what has been or can be done for the promotion of education by private means, was not sufficiently appreciated. The moral and mental enlightenment of the people was considered incompatible with the safety of a foreign domination. It was not till the time of Lord William Bentinck that the Government fully and fairly acknowledged the justice and policy of educating and elevating the subject races. That philanthropic nobleman was deeply impressed with the evils of the ignorance of the people whose destinies were entrusted to his keeping, and he earnestly desired to establish a comprehensive system of national education. In order to compass this object he conceived that the first step must be "to

know with all attainable accuracy the present state of instruction in the Native institutions, and in Native society." He accordingly appointed Mr. William Adam as Government Commissioner to conduct enquiries into the state of Native education. Mr. Adam received his formal appointment in January 1835. He was eminently qualified for the task. Deeming it impracticable to traverse the entire surface of every district, and personally to inspect the state of education in every thannah and village, he restricted his personal enquiries to a thorough examination of the state of education in one of the principal thannahs or country towns of each district, which might be accepted as a fair sample of the whole, taking care, at the same time, to ascertain the state of education generally in the other thannahs and towns. In accordance with this plan, he conducted his enquiries in six districts, and in one city, namely, that of Moorshedabad. His returns are the most perfect of the kind hitherto obtained in this country, and constitute a mass of valuable information illustrative of the moral and intellectual condition of my countrymen. Nattore, formerly the capital or sudder station of Rajshahy, and now the most important sub-division of that district, was selected by Mr. Adam for the commencement of his educational survey. Now, as I was for several years in charge of that sub-division, and had ample opportunities of ascertaining the educational condition of the people, I am well able to appreciate the fidelity of the picture of literary destitution presented by him. He says that "the Bengali schools in Nattore are 10 in number, containing 167 scholars, who enter school at an age varying from five to ten years, and leave it at an age varying from ten to sixteen. The teachers consist both of young and middle-aged men, for the most part simple-minded, but poor and ignorant, and, therefore, having recourse to an occupation which is suitable both to their expectations and attainments, and on which they reflect as little honor as they derive emolument from it." While I recognise the general accuracy of these statements, I regret to notice that Mr. Adam has erred in one important detail, namely, the comparative numbers of the Hindu and Mahomedan population. I do not believe with him that the proportion of Mahomedans to Hindus is that of two to one, but am convinced that the latter predominate over the former. Such at least was the case in my time, and such, I believe, has always been the case, Rajshahy being essentially a Hindu and not a Mahomedan district. I, however, agree with him in thinking that the proportion of Mahomedan to Hindu children receiving instruction is less than one to four. In most of the districts of Bengal, I have found

a similar disproportion to prevail, and it may be sufficiently accounted for by the fact that the Mahomedans constitute the bulk of the ryots, coolies, and jelleahs, who are unable, from their condition in life, to secure for themselves or their children any education however rudimentary.

Mr. Adam thus impressively sums up the results of his enquiries at Nattore:—"The conclusions to which I have come on the state of ignorance, both of the male and female, the adult and the juvenile population of this district, require only to be distinctly apprehended in order to impress the mind with their importance. No declamation is required for that purpose. I cannot, however, expect that the reading of the report should convey the impressions which I have received from daily witnessing the mere animal life to which ignorance consigns its victims, unconscious of any wants or enjoyments beyond those which they participate with the beasts of the field, unconscious of any of the higher purposes for which existence has been bestowed, society has been constituted, and government is exercised. I am not acquainted with any facts which permit me to suppose that, in any other country subject to an enlightened Government, and brought into direct and immediate contact with European civilization, in an equal population, there is an equal amount of ignorance with that which has been shown to exist in this district." And Rajshahye was not a backward or an exceptionally illiterate district. It was and is occupied by an industrious and intelligent population; it boasts of several influential rajahs and large zemindars, and is the seat of an extensive trade in silk and cereals. In 1835, when Mr. Adam visited the district, there was no well-organized English school. In 1846, when I went up to Rajshahye as Deputy Magistrate, I found the zillah school in a capital condition. I had soon the satisfaction of persuading Babu Loknath Moitra to establish a school at Rampore Bealeah, and Babu, afterwards Rajah, Prosonno Nath Roy to establish another school at Digaputtah, near Nattore. Both these schools have since produced several excellent and successful young men. They are called after the names of their benevolent founders, and have been richly endowed by them.

The Rajshahye of Mr. Adam is only an average specimen of all the districts of Bengal. Similar enquiries in the other localities selected by him led to nearly similar results, exhibiting a vast and nearly illimitable intellectual waste. Assuming the school-going age to be between five and fourteen years, and including under the term "instructed" all that have obtained

any kind of instruction, Mr. Adam supplies valuable information in the following table :—

	Total number of children between 14 and 5 years of age.	Number of children receiving school instruction.	Number of children receiving domestic instruction.	Total number of children receiving domestic and school instruction.	Children receiving neither domestic nor school instruction	Proportion of children capable of receiving to children actually receiving instruction as 100 to
City of Moorshedabad ...	15,092	959	300	1,259	13,833	8·3
Thannah Daulat Bazar ...	10,428	305	326	631	9,797	6·05
Thannah Nanglia ...	8,929	439	285	724	8,205	8·1
Thannah Jahanabad ...	18,172	2,243	676	2,919	15,257	16·05
Thannah Culna ...	15,595	366	539	905	14,690	5·8
Thannah Bhawara ...	13,409	60	288	348	13,061	2·5

It thus appears that the aggregate average of the teachable population of the districts is only $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., thus leaving $92\frac{1}{4}$ out of every 100 children destitute of any instruction whatever. You can now realise the enormous amount of educational destitution of Bengal 32 years ago. It is not to be wondered at that, while ignorance was so extensive, organized crime should have prevailed so universally, and Government should have been unable to reckon with confidence on the support of the community. Knowledge is not only power, *but* is a source of safety to the State, while ignorance is a source of weakness and danger to it. Of this truth, the sepoy insurrection affords a striking illustration. The moral intellectual enlightenment of the people of this country cannot be effected without additional security being thereby given against delusions such as those which shook in 1857 the empire to its foundation. It has been so ordained by the Almighty and Beneficent Author of our being that the development of the mental faculties with which he has endowed us cannot be effected without dispersing those prejudices and errors which menace the peace of society as well as of individuals.

It was in 1835—the year of Mr. Adam's educational survey—that a momentous change in the system of education was

introduced. The Orientalists and the Anglicists, into which the Board of Education was divided, had fiercely fought their battle. The former faction had hitherto maintained their own against the latter. The grant of £10,000 made by the Court of Directors for the "revival and promotion of Literature and the encouragement of the learned Natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the Sciences," proved an apple of discord, the bone of contention. The proceeds of this grant had been expended in printing and publishing valuable Oriental texts, in the stipends of students and the salaries of Hindu and Mahomedan *savans*, and in translating into Sanskrit and Arabic languages scientific and historical English works.

This procedure was based on the dictum of the Orientalists that "learning" in the Act of Parliament meant the learning only of the East. The Anglicists, on the other hand, contended for the elimination of all Sanskrit and Arabic from the course of study. They had been worsted in the fight, but their time was now come. They found in the new member of their body, namely Thomas Babington Macaulay, a "Corinthian supporter," who turned the scale in their favor. He put forth, on the 2nd February 1835, a minute which, though disfigured by unseemly and contemptuous attacks on the language, literature, and religion of the people of this country, was fraught with results of the last importance. He asserted that the Act of Parliament correctly interpreted left the Government of India perfectly free to spend the existing grant "for the purpose of promoting learning in *any way* that might be thought advisable," and quite as competent "to direct that it should no longer be employed in encouraging Arabic and Sanskrit, as to direct that the reward for killing tigers in Mysore should be diminished."

The real question, according to Lord Macaulay, was what was the most useful way of employing the money. The vernacular languages, he argued, were admittedly so poor and rude that, until enriched from some other quarter, it would be difficult to translate any valuable work into them. He went further, and declared that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole Native Literature of India and Arabia"; while, on the other hand, whoever knows the English language, "has access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations." Now while I yield to none in my high appreciation of the English language and the value of the treasures contained in it, yet I maintain that the learning of India and Arabia is not altogether

so false and valueless as Lord Macaulay would have us believe. India was the cradle of knowledge, and has given birth to a host of philosophers, metaphysicians, and theologicians, who have developed new lines of thought. Arabia followed in the footsteps of Athens, which contained, so to speak, the concentrated intellect of Europe. She cultivated mathematics, physics, and medical science with great vigor and success. That the philosophical labors of India and Arabia successively resulted in mysticism and idealism, scepticism and sensualism, is not to be wondered at, because they were the sole actors, as justly observed by M. Cousin, in that intellectual arena where in all ages and among all civilized nations they are in turn in the position of combatants and of sovereigns. I can, therefore, well understand the enthusiasm of the Orientalists for Sanskrit and Arabic, but I lament the grave error which they committed in making those *dead* languages the media of instruction—an error which would have perpetuated the thralldom of ignorance and superstition, if it had not been exploded by the keen logic and incisive generalization of Lord Macaulay.

In summing up Lord Macaulay thus stated his conclusions:—
“ I think it is clear that we are not fettered by the Act of Parliament of 1813 ; that we are not fettered by any pledge, expressed or implied ; that we are free to employ our funds as we choose ; that we ought to employ them in teaching what is best worth knowing ; that English is better worth knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic ; that the Natives are desirous to be taught English, and are not desirous to be taught Sanskrit or Arabic ; that, neither as the language of law nor as the language of religion, has the Sanskrit or Arabic any peculiar claim on our encouragement ; that it is possible to make the Natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars ; that to this end our efforts ought to be directed.”

This masterly minute proved the death-warrant of Orientalism, and paved the way for the supremacy of English Literature and Science. It placed the keys of knowledge in the hands of my countrymen, and imparted an immense impetus to their moral and mental enlightenment. Lord Macaulay was not satisfied with recording his opinions and carrying the Government of the day with him. He assisted in inaugurating a new system of education in accordance with those views—a system which has been attended with the happiest and most momentous results—a system which has served to place the Hindu in a position to raise himself intellectually to a level with the Englishman—a system which has broken down the barrier of demarcation between the

Conquerors and the Conquered, which ignorance and a blind self-interest had upreared, and has enabled the latter to sit on the same, and that the highest bench, with the former, and to take a share—and a considerable share—in the administration of the country.

The Education Despatch of 1854 marks a momentous era in the annals of Native education. It affirms and recognizes in clear, emphatic and unmistakeable language the paramount duty of the Government to renovate and educate the people of this country. It constitutes a department of education and provides for its efficient and energetic supervision. It lays down the principle of voluntary action on the part of the people in the promotion of educational institutions, and proposes to encourage and stimulate it by grants-in-aid. It further provides for the diffusion and elevation of education by the establishment of universities.

In accordance with these provisions a member of the civil service was appointed director of education in Bengal, and vested with controlling authority over the officers of the educational department. Grants-in-aid were freely and liberally accorded to several educational institutions. In 1855 the Hindu College was reorganized and transformed into the Presidency College, in accordance with the spirit of the Despatch of Sir Charles Wood, and the decided opinions of Lord Dalhousie, who deprecated its constitution as the unseemly association of a collegiate institute with a dame's school.

Chairs for moral and mental philosophy, logic, natural history, astronomy, natural philosophy, and geology were established. A separate department for the study of jurisprudence and law was also organized, and has proved most popular. A department of civil engineering has also recently been established on the abolition of the Civil Engineering College.

In 1857 the Calcutta University was established on the model of the University of London, and was incorporated by Act II of that year. It provides for the grant of the following degrees and licenses :—

ARTS	...	Bachelor of Arts (B. A.)
		Master of Arts (M. A.)
LAW	...	Licentiate of Law (L. L.)
		Bachelor in Law (B. L.)
		Doctor in Law (D. L.)

MEDICINE	...	{ Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery (L. M. S.) Bachelor in Medicine (M. B.) Doctor in Medicine (M. D.)
CIVIL ENGINEERING		{ Licentiate in Civil Engineering (L. C. E.) Bachelor in Civil Engineering (B. C. E.) Master in Civil Engineering (M. C. E.)

In 1864 the vernacular languages were excluded from the subjects of examination for the first examination in arts and the B. A. examination, and the classical languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Sanskrit, and Arabic) were substituted for them. Physical science was also excluded and replaced by geometry and optics, chemistry and electricity, zoology and comparative physiology, geology and physical geography.

No organic changes have been made in the constitution of the university or the standard of examination since 1864. The University building in Putuldhanga is in course of construction, and will be completed in 1868.

The principal colleges which are affiliated with the Calcutta University and monopolize its degrees, are the Presidency College, the Dacca College, the Kishnaghur College, Dr. Duff's College, and the Doveton College. The Presidency College clearly stands foremost in respect to the number and attainments of the graduates and members of the university.

The following brief account of the institution is taken from the Bengal Education Report of 1863-64 :—

“The Presidency College (General Department) is conducted by a principal and six professors, aided by five assistant professors.

“The course of study for under-graduate students extends over four years, and a fifth-year class is also maintained, consisting of graduates who are preparing to present themselves at the examination for university honors or for the M. A. degree. The college possesses an endowment fund, partly derived from subscriptions raised to commemorate the services rendered to education by Babu Dwarkanath Tagore, Sir Edward Ryan, and Mr. Bird, and partly from sums contributed by the Native community for the maintenance of the old Hindu College. These funds yield a yearly income of Rs. 4,132, which is devoted to the establishment of 10 graduate scholarships, tenable for one year. The holders, who must be Bachelors of Arts, are required to attend the college regularly, and to prepare themselves for the examination for university honors in any branch they may select.

“The large attendance (monthly average 301) at this college, the high fee rate (Rs. 10 per mensem, about to be increased

to Rs. 12) yielding an income of Rs. 32,000 per annum, and the great pre-eminence which the institution has in all the university lists, indicate the position which it has attained, and marked it out as a most encouraging proof of the stimulus which of late years has been given to education in the metropolis. It is true that since 1864 the number of pupils has decreased from 367 to 310, but this is due to the large extension of the means of college education which has recently taken place in various other colleges both in Calcutta and in the Mofussil, and it is no subject, therefore, for regret. The classes are now stated to be as full as is consistent with a proper attention on the part of the professors to the studies of their pupils."

The next college in point of importance is the Dacca institution. "It is said to have held the position of the best mofussil college in Bengal, but until within the last few years the upper classes existed in little more than the name; the few students in them being almost without exception scholarship-holders. But of late the Dacca College has improved in this respect. In 1865-66 this college furnished 2 successful candidates for the degree of M. A., 4 for the degree of B. A., and 22 for the first arts examination."

The Hooghly College was founded in 1836, and is supported from funds bequeathed by Mohamed Mosleim. The Anglo-Persian Department was soon merged into a collegiate institution, with school and college departments like other mofussil colleges. Though nominally a Mahomedan institution, and supported by the legacy of a Mahomedan gentleman, it appears to have been monopolised by the Hindus to the exclusion of the Mahomedans. It was affiliated in 1857. The Arabic Department has languished and exists only in name. The Kishnaghur College has also proved a success. Its staff has recently been raised so as to enable it to educate up to the B. A. degree. The Berhampore College has also extended its usefulness within the last few years. Its proximity to the city of Moorshedabad has not tempted the Mahomedan youth, but it is almost completely monopolised by the Hindus. The Patna College was opened in 1862. The college department numbers only 20 pupils. Among the private colleges that have been affiliated may be mentioned Dr. Duff's College and the Doveton College. The remaining institutes, *viz.*, The General Assembly's Institution, St. Xavier's College, and the Cathedral Mission College do not figure conspicuously in the returns of the university. The following table of the results of the univer-

city examinations shows the relative position of the Government and private affiliated institutions :—

	First arts examination, 1865-66.	B. A. examination, 1865-66.	M. A. examination, 1865-66.
From Government colleges ...	130	56	13
From private colleges (aided) ...	32	15	1
Ditto ditto (unaided) ...	3	...	...
School masters ...	13	4	1

The Calcutta University, thus fostered and recruited, might fairly be expected to prove a mighty engine for the illumination of the people. I freely admit that its effect on the advanced educational operations has been, on the whole, beneficial. But I deny that it has proved such “a powerful and valuable stimulus to our colleges and schools” as the able and energetic Director of Public Instruction believes, and as we could reasonably wish. I believe it has not fulfilled its objects, and I am inclined to attribute its want of success to its heterogeneous constitution and its defective system of training. Of the former, this is not the place to say anything; but there can be no reasonable ground for maintaining a reticence as to the latter.

The system of education adopted by the university is deficient in several elements for ensuring success. It is based on “cramming,” and is, I conceive, calculated to turn out intellectual machines, and not intellectual men. The subjects of examination are, in my judgment, far too numerous to be mastered, or even to be studied to any purpose by any but the ablest candidate. The mind is overlaid with such an immense quantity of undigested learning, that little or no room is left for its unfettered action. It must be slowly and perfectly digested before it can be assimilated with the mental system. There is a point of saturation in the mind, as Dr. Abernethy says, and if a man “takes something more into it than it can hold, it can only have the effect of pushing something else out.” The royal road to knowledge has not yet been discovered. I hold cramming to be an evil. With all deference to what the late learned Vice-Chancellor so ingeniously advanced in support of that process, I believe it is demoralizing and calculated to develop jacks of all trades but masters of none. If the proof of the pudding be in the eating, I could point out to the cases of several alumni of the university, with whom I have been brought into contact, as conclusive evidence of the truth of my contention. These young men have laboured very hard, as they must labour, for the academic distinctions they have obtained ;

but in conversing with them, I have found that they have not retained their knowledge because they had no time to master it or to make it their own. In this respect I am able to declare from a pretty extensive observation that the mental training imparted by the old Hindu college was more healthy than that of the university, and was better calculated to train the students to habits of vigorous and independent thought.

The university system of education has evoked an obloquy which I do not consider as *altogether*, but in some measure unmerited, because it is supposed to take no account of the moral and the spiritual element in man. No system certainly ever meets the requirements of the students unless systematic moral training is imparted. Education, to be complete and effective, must touch not only the head, but the heart. It must embrace the cultivation of the moral as well as of the mental powers. Man is not all intellect, and what conduces only to its development and leaves aside the emotional part of his nature cannot satisfy the ends of his being. The imperative necessity and superlative importance of moral instruction cannot be exaggerated. It is the one thing needful in every sound system of education. What is wanted is not text books, of which there are plenty and to spare, but regular class instruction, which should form a prominent part of the course of study. I know the question is surrounded by difficulties, here as well as elsewhere, arising from differences in religion; but such difficulties need not stand in the way of expounding and illustrating those broad principles of morality and those cardinal points of religion which are affirmed and recognised by all creeds. There is nothing to prevent the professors and the teachers from teaching their pupils to worship God in *spirit* and in *truth*, and to enforce those religious, moral, and social duties which they owe to their Creator, their fellow beings, and themselves. What I mean to say is, not that moral and religious education consists in the dogmatic inculcation of what the professors may deem true, but that they should give that training which would help their pupils to form their own views in a manner, as Mr. Mill says, "worthy of intelligent beings, who seek for truth at all hazards, and demand to know all the difficulties, in order that they may be better qualified to find or recognise the most satisfactory mode of resolving them."

But while I earnestly advocate moral culture, I would *not* be understood to join those who cry down the Government system as a non-religious or Godless system. I emphatically deny that it is calculated to make only secularists. It has brought to those,

who have come within the range of its influence, inestimable moral and religious benefits. It has taught them great truths, not only respecting men, their histories, their politics, their inventions, and their discoveries, but respecting God, His attributes, and His moral government. It has revealed to them the laws which the Almighty Mechanician has impressed on the world of mind as well as on the world of matter. Let me not be told, therefore, that the expansion of the mind and thought which is going on around us is not accompanied by an expansion of the heart—the development of the moral and religious feelings. Nothing can be more unfair than to characterize the Government system of education, as it is characterized by certain parties, as an irreligious or a non-religious system. No system can be such which leads us through Nature up to Nature's God. The elements of morality and religion may be conveyed independently of any system of dogmatic theology. It is impossible to study Shakespeare and Milton, Bacon and Newton, Johnson and Addison, without being inoculated with the purest moral precepts and the most elevated ideas pervading their pages.

The Government system of education is condemned as insufficient and unsatisfactory, because, while it affords a very expensive liberal education to the higher classes, it does not reach the masses. Before I proceed to consider the truth or falsity of the charge, let us glance at the efforts already made by Government in this direction and the results with which they have been attended. Lord Hardinge was one of the first rulers who recognized the importance of elementary education; he established 100 patshallas, but they languished and died out for want of supervision. No efficient plan for diffusing elementary instruction among the masses was devised till the year 1864. Even in the beginning of that year, the Director of Public Instruction lamented that, although various plans had been devised and tried for bringing school instruction to bear upon the lower orders of the people, yet "the result had almost uniformly been that the schools which have been organized or improved for their benefit have been at once taken possession of and monopolized by classes who stand higher in the social scale." The village patshallas had remained in the same primitive state as when Mr. Adam inspected and reported upon them. The few model patshallas which had been established by Government, though affording a good vernacular education to a limited number of pupils of a higher social grade, failed in raising the level of the indigenous schools below them. The Normal School system, recently inaugurated, is a step in the right direction, and is calculated to impart a great impetus to

popular education. "The guru students of the Normal Institutions are the nominees of the villagers, who bind themselves to receive them back as their patshalla teachers when qualified; the Government, on the other hand, giving to every qualified teacher so employed a grant of Rs. 5 per mensem towards his salary."

There are those who, deeply impressed with the evils of the ignorance of the masses, loudly call upon the Government to shut up the colleges and high schools and appropriate the educational grant to the establishment of patshallas through the length and breadth of the country. When they make this unreasonable demand, they forget that the education of the upper ten thousand must precede that of the lower myriad millions. The lower strata of the social fabric must be penetrated through the upper strata. That the downward process of filtration has commenced, is evidenced by the number of schools which have been established and are supported by educated and opulent Natives. In truth, the primary condition of popular education is the previous provision for the liberal education of those classes of the community who, from their means and position in life, are able and willing to devote themselves to study, and to direct and control the instruction of the poorer classes. But the filtration is not so copious as we could wish. I therefore hope and trust that the whole question of popular education may be ere long taken up by the Government and dealt with in a proper spirit, and in accordance with the views of the Education Despatch of 1854. The ruler who will do this will deserve the lasting gratitude of this country.

What I have said of the university and the system of education, I have said not in a captious or cavilling spirit, but in the interest of education itself. I freely and cheerfully admit that the university, though far from perfect, contains the germs of a great institution. I am prepared to make large allowance for it, as it is not the growth, like Oxford or Cambridge, of the institutions of the country, but has been planted by Government. I have no doubt that under an altered constitution and improved agency it will prove a successful stimulus to our colleges and schools. I also believe that the system of education, though defective and susceptible of great improvement, has produced most beneficial results. There is, however, no doubt that education generally and without reference to the past or the present, the Government or the Missionary system, has made giant strides and revolutionized Hindu society. The Bengal of 1835, which Mr. William Adam educationally surveyed and found to be a vast jungle of ignorance, is now the most enlightened as well as the

richest province of the empire. It stands decidedly foremost in regard to education. According to the latest published official record, *viz.*, Mr. Monteath's note on the state of education in India in 1865-66, it boasts of the "largest number and the best specimens of colleges and schools of the higher and middle classes, filled by pupils whose appreciation of the education extended is attested by the comparatively large amount of the fees paid." The influence of the education imparted by these institutions has been more marked on the Hindus than on the Mahomedans, who have not been so largely subjected to it. It has not only moulded their minds and regulated their feelings, inoculating the former with noble and elevated ideas, and refining and intensifying the latter; but it has wrought a complete change in their social and domestic habits, in their modes of living, of eating and drinking. The Bengal of the present day is radically different from the Bengal of fifty years ago. Liberties in thought and action are now fearlessly assumed in broad day-light, which would then have been condemned as pestilential heterodoxy. Customs and usages which before marked the peculiar character of the people, are now severely scrutinised and boldly discarded. What then commanded their unquestioning obedience, is now summoned to the bar of reason, and subjected to a severe sentence of condemnation. The results already realized and the reforms consummated unmistakeably evince the progress of education and augur well for the future of India.

I do not regard education as a panacea for all the evils with which this country is afflicted; but I am convinced it will prove the most mighty instrument for improving and elevating her. I look forward to a mind-illuminating and soul-quickenng education as the most efficient means for effecting such a re-generation in my countrymen as will make them, under the guidance of an enlightened Government, willing and able instruments to work out their prosperity and happiness. I do not despair of this result. When we consider what was the state of the Hindu mind half a century ago, and contrast it with what we now see,—when we recollect the once dead level of ignorance and its first breaking up—how the entire national mind was dwarfed by superstition and fettered by prejudices—how it has since begun to throw off those fetters—has risen above Brahminical domination and asserted its independence—I am disposed to be sanguine, and fervently feel that there is ample ground for thankfulness to the Almighty Dispenser of events.

2.—*Memorandum on the Toles of Hálishahr, Bhatparah, and Nuddea. By BABU MADHUB CHUNDRA SURMA, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Howrah.*

[Read on the 25th July 1867.]

SEVEN hundred and ninety-five years ago, the Brahmins of Bengal were so ignorant in the higher branches of the Hindu Shastras, that Adisur had to send to the king of Canouj, requesting him to send down five Brahmins well versed in them. About fifty years later, when the descendants of these Brahmins had multiplied and letters began to be cultivated, Bullal Sein instituted the system of koolinism, with a view to the encouragement of learning. Schools of an elementary character, in which grammar and *belles lettres* were taught, may have existed at this time, but no institutions of a higher class were then to be found in Bengal. Celebrated schools, especially of the Nyáya Philosophy, however, had been established long before in Mithila, and were found flourishing at the period when that place became subject to the sway of Bullal Sein. This prevalence of the Nyáya Philosophy in Mithila, to a greater extent than in any other part of India, can perhaps be accounted for by the fact that Gotama, the illustrious founder of the science, established his school at a place contiguous to the north-west of Mithila, where his disciples kept up the study of it for a considerable time. The names of Gangeshopádhyaýa, Báchaspati Misrí, Pakshadhur Misrí, Madun Misrí, and other philosophers of Mithila began to be known far and wide, and students from Bengal Proper began to pour into their schools ere long. These students, after finishing their education in Mithila, returned home and began to open schools of their own. But these schools probably did not pretend to impart any regular instruction in the philosophical systems of Mithila, and their students, however intelligent or deeply read they might have been, were not considered to be on a par with those who had graduated at Mithila. In short, no one was considered properly educated or qualified to open a school of his own, unless he had previously acquired an academic title at Mithila. The schools of Bengal, therefore, continued for a long time to be intermediate institutions, whose province was to teach up to a certain standard, and then to send up their alumni to Mithila for the completion of their training.

There exists a story, by no means improbable, that the pundits of Mithila jealously prevented their foreign students from taking their books with them when they returned home. This policy served

to maintain the reputation of Mithila undiminished, since no ex-student could be expected to teach a whole system of intricate philosophy on a large scale from memory alone. But this monopoly was not to continue long. Bashudeb Sharbobhum, of Nuddea, contrived to bring with him a copy of the Nyáya Philosophy, or, as some say, got the whole work by heart, and on returning home committed it to paper. Be this as it may, the first regular school of philosophy established in Bengal was probably that of Bashudeb Sharbobhum.

This tole* was established not in Nuddea, but in a village called Vidyanagur, about two miles west of Nuddea. Of the numerous students of Bashudeb Sharbobhum, the names of three have become celebrated throughout the land. This constellation of bright names is composed of Raghunandan, Chaitanya, and Raghunath Shiromani. The first was the great compiler of *Smriti*, whose dictum is now law; the second, the famous Vaishnava reformer, whose life has become a matter of history; and the third, the genius whose philosophical acumen Bengal, nay India, may well be proud of. While yet under tuition, Raghunath detected many flaws in the philosophical system taught by his master, and after completing his course wrote a work exposing the fallacies of the several expositions of the *Chintámani* a book written by Gangeshopadhyáya, and considered throughout India as the great standard treatise on logic, being a full development of the abstruser parts of the science as laid down in miniature by Gotama the founder. The exposition of *Chintámani* by Shiromani is known by the name of *Didhiti*, an appropriate though a proud title, signifying "a ray of light." This work, though professing to be a mere exposition, is in fact superior as a treatise on logic to all other Indian works on the subject.

Raghunath then went over to Mithila, and engaged himself in controversy with the philosophers of that place, among whom was one of those whose fallacies he had exposed. These philosophers

* The word tole is of uncertain and comparatively modern origin, and is not in use in any other part of India than Bengal Proper. The Sanskrit words are *chatuspathi* (चतुष्पाठि), and *matha* (मठ), but the word *tole* probably comes from the language of the vulgar. The temporary habitation of the gipsies—a nomadic tribe known by the name of *Bedias*—consists of a series of wicker compartments of very small dimensions called the *tole* of the *Bedias*. As the *tole* of the pundit, though of a far larger size, is constructed on a similar plan, being a mud-walled quadrangle divided into apartments, each just sufficient to lodge but one student, it is probable the term *tole*, as applied to the school-houses set up by the pundits, is derived from the *tole* of the *Bedias*.

could not maintain their positions, and Raghunath is said to have vanquished them all. The defeat of the Mithila philosophers at once gave to Nabadwípa the power of conferring degrees upon its students, and the seat of philosophical learning was at one stroke transferred from Behar to Bengal.

The date of this great defeat cannot be ascertained with any precision ; but supposing it to have taken place when Shiromani was 30 years of age, and supposing Shiromani to have been of the same age with Chaitanya, who was born in 1485, and was one of his form fellows, the event may be said to have happened about 352 years ago.

After this auspicious day Nabadwípa became the focus of philosophical learning. From Orissa to Lahore, from the Deccan to Nepal, scholars began to flock thither from the remotest corners of India ; the once glorious Mithila began to decline, and students of that place have since been counted at Nabadwípa by the score. Nor was this fame undeserved. A number of geniuses appeared one after another, and the profound works of these mighty minds, the *Shabdashaktiprakáshika* by Jagadish Tarkalankar, the *Shaktipada* and *Muktipada* by Gadadhur Bhattacharjya, and the Annotations on Shiromani by Jagadish and by Gadadhur, and the *Shiddhikárdá Muktabolá* of Vishanath Nyaypanchanan have shed a glory around the name of Nabadwípa.

Time passed on, and Hariram Báhaspatí of Bikrampoor vanquished the Nabadwípa pundits in a philosophical controversy, and thus obtained a charter, as it were, to establish a shomaj at Bikrampur. Subsequently Balaram Tarkabhushan obtained the same privilege for his village, and established the Kumarhata shomaj, or the Halishahr school. These two new schools enjoyed for a long time the same right with Nabadwípa of conferring degrees upon their respective students. But nevertheless Nabadwípa held, and still holds, the first rank in the estimation of the public, and gifts to the first pundit of Nabadwípa are considerably greater than those made to the pundits of other places.

In the *Anada Mangala* of Bharut Chundra occurs the following line : “ চারি সমাজের পতি, কৃষ্ণচন্দ্র মহামতি”. Of the four shomajes alluded to in this line, three have been spoken of above, but the fourth I am unable to determine. It may probably be Moula, a village about six miles south of Berhampoor. The almanacs of Moula are still considered to have authority. The encouragement given to toles in those times gradually increased their number to such an extent that almost every respectable village had its tole or

toles. But, however numerous those toles were, they were all included in one or other of the four shomajs.

I will here touch upon the mode in which the pundits are remunerated, and the true cause of the decline of toles will be seen therein. Our professors of learning do not take any fees from their scholars. The sophists of Greece used to teach for money; even Socrates himself used to receive pay, but the great boast of our pundits is, that so far from *selling* their learning, they furnish their students with board and lodging *gratis*.

Time was when princes and zemindars considered it alike their duty and their pleasure to contribute to the support of pundits and their toles. But those days have alas! gone by; and here I cannot refrain from naming Rajah Krishna Chunder Roy, the Mæcenas of his age. He gave lands rent free and made princely donations to all Brahmins who had any pretensions to learning. The custom of inviting Brahmins on all occasions of festivity received an effectual impetus from him. He was not only liberal himself, but exerted his best influence over his fellow zemindars, and induced them to take part in the good cause. To Nabadwipa he was particularly favorable, and it is doubtful whether the later pundits of Nabadwipa could have maintained the glory shed over it by Shiromani, Jagadish and others, had it not been for the munificent patronage of this rajah and his successors.

"A gift to an ordinary Brahmin," says Manu, "is doubly meritorious, but one to a learned Brahmin is ten thousand times more so." But this state of feeling is now a thing of the past. A great change has taken place in the religious and social feelings of the people, and the reverence given to pundits is considerably lessened. Gifts to them are generally considered as so much waste of money. Festivals, marriages and shrads are the occasions on which the pundits are invited, and presents are made according to the celebrity of each; but with the introduction of Western ideas among the richer class of the community (who alone can afford to pay) these invitations have become few and far between.

But even if the patronage of the public had remained the same as before, the necessities of the time would have rendered the pundits comparatively poorer. The same income that would have enabled them to pass their days in affluence a few years ago, would now barely suffice for their mere subsistence. Our pundits no longer retain the simple habits of the patriarchal age; archaic simplicity is no longer to be seen in their households. But while a taste for the refinements of civilized life is being gradually acquired, the income of the pundits has diminished rather than increased.

This two-fold cause will account for the miserable plight to which the professors of learning have been reduced, and the consequent low estimation in which the profession itself is now beginning to be held. With reference to Nabadwípa it must be noticed that the two or three first-class pundits earn about Rupees 2,000 annually. The second-rate pundits receive an amount barely sufficient to support themselves and family; and as for the others, their income is simply *nil*. Hence there is an absence of a rising class of pundits. I have seen many young men, intelligent and well versed in Sanskrit, doing scarcely anything; because, though possessed of the talents and even the will, they want the pecuniary means to erect toles and to feed and lodge their students.

Their prospects in life proving so gloomy, the pundits of Nabadwípa are now sending their children to English schools, and so the old system is fast dying away. In the several toles of Nabadwípa I could not find more than a dozen Natives of the place. In Professor Wilson's time there were 25 toles there and from 500 to 600 students. At present the number of toles is 15, inclusive of 2 akras,* and the number of scholars 209. The numbers are decreasing annually in a constant ratio, and if Government does not lend its helping hand now, toles will ere long be reckoned amongst things of the past.

It is highly interesting, however, to observe that Nabadwípa, even in its present decayed condition, enjoys so much of its ancient celebrity as to attract students from remote parts of India. We still find 9 students from Bikrampur, 11 from Barisaul, 8 from Mymensing, 3 from Chittagong, 2 from Bogra, 10 from Mithila, 4 from Toilunga (Northern Circars), 1 from Orissa, 1 from Nepal, 2 from Jeypore, 2 from Canouj, 1 from Brindabun, 3 from Delhi, 1 from Máharastra, 1 from Benares, 1 from Kurukhattro, and 5 from the Punjab, receiving instruction in smṛiti and logic from the learned professors of Nabadwípa.

The Kumarkata (Halisháhr) shomaj is now in utter ruin. Through the encouragement of some respectable inhabitants of the place, three toles have indeed been lately established anew, but they are comparatively of little importance. There is besides a tole, with a professor of logic ready to teach but unable to procure a single student.

* In Nabadwípa such toles as are not regularly and purposely constructed, but are held in *chandimandapas* and *dalans* attached to gentlemen's dwelling-houses, and in which grammar and a little literature are taught, are called akras.

The professors of Bhatparah claim their descent from the priests, to those five Brahmins whom Adisur procured from Canouj. This claim is probably founded on truth, as they are well-known to be the spiritual teachers of Brahmins of high caste, and as such consider it a religious degradation to accept gifts from a Sudra. Bhatparah has also produced, though only of late, some of the brightest scholars in logic, literature, grammar and smriti. In the list of general scholars, and especially of profound logicians, stands conspicuous the name of Halladhur Tarkachuramani, and next to him of Jaduram Sharbobhum, both of whom died a few years ago. Even now Bhatparah ranks next to Nabadwípa in point of scholarship, and entertains 12 Toles with 150 scholars in all. There are besides about 7 qualified professors unable to set up toles for want of pecuniary resources to support students.

In conclusion, I beg leave to point out some of the defects in the system of instruction pursued at present in toles, and to suggest remedies.

1. Some of the most important branches of the Hindu Shastras, such as astronomy, pattiganita, bijganita, the pooráns, &c., are quite neglected; those generally studied being logic, smriti, and grammar, with a little literature.

2. Even those branches that *are* studied are not all studied by one and the same student. It is true that devotion only to one branch is necessary to acquire a profound acquaintance with that particular branch; but that devotion to it should not be suffered to be so exclusive as utterly to neglect even the rudiments of every other study. We find profound logicians utterly ignorant of, and even bearing an antipathy to, kabya (poetry), smriti, &c., and *vice versa*.

3. The instruction imparted in toles, though of a philosophical character, is by no means of a practical nature. It is a matter of no small regret and surprise, that after passing some thirty years of his existence in study, the student should be miserably ignorant in the casting up of the most necessary accounts, and, what is more, should make the grossest orthographical and syntactical blunders in writing an ordinary letter.

4. The majority of students, instead of penetrating into and mastering their books, read them partially and superficially, and in a manner simply calculated to make them shine in sophistical wrangling so as to gain the applause and favor of popular assemblies.

● To remedy these evils, it is necessary to introduce into toles the broad outlines of such Western sciences as have a tendency to dispel prejudice and to become useful in practical life. It is also desirable to fix a standard course of studies and to introduce the system of written examinations. To carry out these measures it is necessary to appoint able teachers of science and to award scholarships to students.

Most of the professors, especially of the middle and the lower class, though wanting neither in zeal, nor in qualifications, are so poor that they are incapable either of maintaining toles already existing, or of establishing new ones. It is therefore highly desirable that some regular pecuniary assistance should be rendered to them.

HEALTH.

1.—*An Introduction to Investigations regarding the Public Health.*

By DR. A. V. BEST.

[Read on the 26th July 1867.]

THE object of the Section of this Association, to which I have the honor to be joint Secretary along with Babu Kanhay Lal Dey, is one that must command attention not only from the most selfish, but also from the most philanthropical. The former attends to it, and strives to obtain it solely for his own benefit, while the latter knows it to be his duty, both to himself and to his fellow-men, to use every means in his power to obtain health for the good and well-being of all. There are many other means by which we may benefit our fellow-creatures and render their sojourn in this world more prosperous and happy than is their apparent ordinary lot, but the first, the greatest blessing, the one without which all others are valueless, and the one which, as far as it lies in human power, we are bound to obtain for our fellow-creatures, is that of health. The administration of every country that has risen to any eminence, has endeavoured to attend to the health of its people, and the *salus populi* will ever be a true test of the flourishing condition of an empire. Where sanitary laws are neglected, we know that disease and death speedily find their congenial home. This has been the case from the earliest times, and the laws of health, which are now very well defined, are immutable.

In ancient times we find Moses laying down laws for the observance of cleanliness in his camp, and his instructions on many other subjects were all for the benefit of the vast assemblage, that accompanied him in his wanderings in a land, where, as in our own, the punishment of a breach of sanitary laws or neglect must speedily follow the breach itself.

The Greeks and the Romans, as far as their knowledge allowed, the latter by magnificent and gigantic public works, strove to secure the cleanliness of their town and the *salus populi*; and in the present day, so far as the capabilities of cities and countries allow, with very few exceptions, the same desire exists, to endeavour by sanitation to prolong life, and, while it lasts, to secure its enjoyment.

With regard to the comparison of the Native of India with the European, I do not think we can make any distinction as to

their liability to disease. The same marsh poison that gives the one fever and ague gives the other dysentery and spleen, and *vice versa*. I have seen on the Pall Ghat range above Cochin master and coolie alternately cooking for each other when the fever was not on them; they have shared their quinine, and the same medicine that saved the one saved the other.

It is often remarked, when a Native recovers from a severe accident,—“If he had been a European, he would have died.” I admit the truth of this remark, and believe it justified in many cases, not by the physical incapacity of the European to recover from serious injuries in this country, so much as by the restlessness and feverish anxiety of mind that he feels for the distress that, in the event of his death, may fall upon his family and relatives from the loss, in many cases, of their best friend and only supporter, and also from anxiety as to his own spiritual condition. I am sure that all who have passed through the crisis of a long or even a short dangerous accident or illness (and there are few who escape this at one time or other during an Indian career) will agree with me that these are the most trying ordeals that the sick European has to go through. Pain of body is forgotten before that anxiety of mind, that yearning to look once more on dear faces, and the regret that some days that are past cannot then be recalled.

The uneducated Native, on the other hand, generally meets death with perfect indifference as to those he leaves behind him (at least such has been my experience), and, be he Mussulman or Hindu, troubles himself little as to what is to become either of his family or his soul, so long as he is assured that his body will be disposed of according to his creed.

In this placidity of *kismet* lies some ground for the idea that the Native recovers when the European would not. I need hardly say that the belief and the anxiety of the European are alike creditable to him as a Christian and as an enlightened man.

I have thus digressed from my original subject—sanitation—to follow out a slight comparison between the more common class of the Natives of this country and the European, and the effects of disease or accident upon each. Sanitation, however, is not all, and the short analysis of the questions which the health section have submitted to most of the medical officers and to many of the civil, both European and Native, and which I intend to bring to your notice, will, I hope, show to what view our attention

has been directed, and how, by obtaining facts and ascertaining causes and effects, we hope to be able to find a clue, first to evils and then to remedies, if necessary, and give the benefit of the experience and habits of one district to the inhabitants of another; thus by an interchange of experience (no channel for which, I am sorry to say, now exists) extending the knowledge of, and benefiting, the population at large. I need scarcely say that we hope for much assistance from the Native community, and we really trust *that* hope will not be disappointed. They can do much, if they try both by reforms in their own houses and by their weight as public men; and from the number I see here to-night, I think our section may feel confident that, as we have the countenance, so we may expect the assistance of many influential and able Native gentlemen.

There have been many noble labourers in the field of sanitation, most of them fortunately alive now. In our Indian list we have Chevers, Bedford (unhappily now no more), Mouat, the Macphersons, and our efficient and energetic Health Officer, Dr. Tonnerre, and as for books, we have Parkes and Gordon on Hygiene, but still we want the suggestions and co-operation of all. I will only mention one sanitary result lately carried out during Sir C. Beadon's administration that has led to wondrous benefit. Some enlightened members of the community have, although strenuously opposed, partially succeeded in preventing the pollution of the river Hooghly by dead bodies. Why, I ask, should it still be polluted in a much more dangerous way by choleraic and other excreta—a practice known to exist, and countenanced, I am sorry to say, by the authorities. I adduce this as an infamous wrong still done to the seamen on the river and to the Hindu on its banks. We know that choleraic and dysenteric excreta produce cholera and dysentery when received, however diluted, into the animal economy. This was first brought to my notice by my industrious fellow Secretary, Babu Kanhay Lal Dey, and I had ocular and nasal proof of the fact soon after. I may mention that a young officer, who was present the night I allude to, was taken ill of cholera on his return home, and died certainly *post hoc* if not *propter hoc*. We have yet to see, and I may say to fear, the spreading of the sewage of Calcutta over the salt water swamp. A suggestion was made some time ago by Dr. Chevers to have this sewage, which is the cause of so much anxiety, taken down the river in covered boats towed by steam to the distance of eight or ten miles, carried by a canal inland, and there mixed with the soil. The objection to this is that in the event of a storm Calcutta would be deprived of the out-let. It has been proved by my friend, Dr. Fawcus, after a

series of experiments, that nothing deodorizes so quickly and effectually as dry-earth, and singular to say, within certain limits, its deodorizing power increases after its mixture with organic matter; that is to say, the same quantity of earth, after having been well mixed with feculence and allowed to remain for six months, produces a more decided deodorizing effect on a fresh quantity of feculence added to it, than a similar quantity of unpolluted earth would produce. I believe it has very lately been suggested to adopt the dry-earth conservancy plan for the excreta of the suburbs, which by means of a pug-mill might daily be thoroughly deodorized and spread over a large tract of land, which would soon be let at a greatly enhanced rent to the Natives, who, although they will not manure in this manner themselves, are always ready to avail themselves of the benefit. Dr. Chevers' suggestion has not been acted upon, and the nuisance still exists.

One other question, that affects the health of the European in Calcutta, is, that no means exist of assisting the distressed European except private charity. I believe a poor house exists, but I only know one man who was ever in it. It is true that the British distressed sailor will be returned to his country, and most other nations have followed our example, but by no means, except private charity, can a European, who has lost his situation, and very often his savings, through failure of the tea districts or otherwise, find his way to England. The mass of men who were, and still are, absolute beggars, though still trying to keep up an appearance of respectability, would astonish any one who is not actually brought into contact with them.

In Bombay a different state of things exists, and when I was there in 1863, an institution had been started by which any European could be sent to his home, did no suitable employment offer in one month. At first the numbers shipped off were very large, to the great diminution of crime and misery, and he must be bad indeed who prefers the life of a loafer in India to the return to his home, where he has the chance of a fresh start, and where the greater likelihood exists of his starting again. This state of things demands attention both from Government, the police and the public. A loafer of another description presses his claim to notice,—I mean the pilgrim. The incalculable evil that he occasions by the spread of the diseases that accompany him, is infinitely greater than the effects of the European's eccentricities, bad and productive of disease and death as they are to himself. All along the long way from Gungootree to Juggernath you find the bones of the pilgrim, and not only *his*, for cholera accompanies him, and I

know no more certain cause of an outbreak of this scourge in a village or in a detachment encamped near, than the arrival of these pests of the country.

Having now touched upon a few of the more obvious causes of disease, I shall enter on the subject of our first series of queries, and while I cannot, not having as yet received any returns, give you an analysis of the results of our enquiries, I will, to a certain extent, endeavour to explain the drift of them and to show why we circulated them.

The queries then relate to the subject of diet.*

Looking at the European population, which mainly consists of soldiers, the whole subject has been well considered in the report of the Bengal Sanitary Commission for 1864-65, and were several of the suggestions made therein carried out and more generally acted upon, great benefits could not but follow. The civilian eats and drinks what he likes, but the small pay of the soldier often obliges him to *long* for a little change.

“Whatever theory may suggest in respect to this matter, we find in reality that the soldier in India will absolutely refuse to exchange the habits in which he was reared for those of the Natives by whom he is surrounded. ‘As a matter of fact,’ says Mr. Strachey, ‘Europeans are no more inclined to adopt a vegetable diet in India than they are in Europe.’ ‘Bread and fruit and vegetables are generally in India of indifferent quality.’ ‘Not very palatable.’ ‘And although it may be true in theory that we all eat too much animal food, we feel in practice that we shall eat it or nothing.’ ‘European appetites in India during extreme heat are constantly in an abnormal state, and more or less capricious, and it is useless to place people upon a diet which they dislike, however excellent it may be theoretically. It must be added that the hot and rainy season, when meat is supposed to be especially objectionable, is the very time when there are hardly any vegetables which an Englishman can eat.’”†

The constituents of the diet forms an important feature in our investigations, and the opinions and reasons for the same we doubt not will be very various.

The first four questions of the circular issued by the Section can only be satisfactorily responded to by the Native community.

* The circular will be found at p. xii—xiii of the Introduction.

† Appendix J., para. 24, p. 6. Report of Commissariat Commission.

No. V. The varieties of leaves used as *sag* during the late famine was, I believe, little short of 150. A report from the Rajmehal district in 1863, when no famine existed, and of which I have unfortunately been unable to obtain a copy, gave 154 varieties, I think, in occasional use. The Natives of South-Western Bengal during last year were driven to eat everything. Cattle poisoning, in order that the carcase might be shared, was frequent, and all kinds of articles tried as food that would for a time stay off the pangs of hunger.

The Bowries, Dhangas, Coles, and Sonthals will ordinarily eat most things, but during last year their jungles were ransacked; roots, leaves, snakes, rats, and polecats were all welcome. I need scarcely mention that the Sonthal eats with avidity the tiger, leopard and bear, and evinces a peculiar avidity for red ants, even in seasons of comparative plenty. I believe the prohibition to distil mahwa has had a bad effect upon the jungle population.

Nos. VI and VII will, we hope, if answered honestly, bring out a great deal of information. It is useless to deny the prevalence of the use of the substances mentioned in the former question. Stimulants, narcotics, and nervines are used in great quantity all over India. Among the higher and consistent class of orthodox Mahomedans and Bengalis they may be shunned, and we have to regret the prevalence of the notion that one necessary step towards European manners and civilization is the use or abuse of spirituous liquors. We shall also find that opium, datura, ganja, and, I believe, arsenic, are much more largely used than is generally supposed as nervine stimulants.

In reply to No. VII we hope to hear of the grains that are suspected or proved to be unwholesome. Some are justly condemned, we believe, and others unjustly. The enquiry is very important.

No. VIII can be best answered by the Native community. There is no doubt their treatment of children is most prejudicial, but the explanation is annoying—*dustoor*.

Nos. IX and X appear to me to call for a great deal of consideration. We know as a fact that the heat-producing elements, especially the oleaginous and saccharine, are longed for and demanded in the cold regions in the most extraordinary way, and that a European, amid the rigors of a polar climate, will eat a slice of seal blubber with relish; but why do we find that the Hindu subsists so extensively on heat-producing food, and that the Punjabea and Afreedee scarcely ever consume it, some of the hill men looking on milk and butter as an excretion, and consequently abhorring it.

Let us consider how far the purely chemical theory of food is to be trusted. Mr. Lewis informs his readers * that a great mistake is made when it is imagined that the nutritive value of food chiefly resides in the amounts of carbon, nitrogen, oxygen, and salts which they contain. It resides, as he well observes, in the relation which the several substances bear to the organism they are to nourish; thus, the indications of chemistry in regard to the relative values of food are often at variance with the results of experience. For example, he mentions that wheat contains only 2·3 per cent. of nitrogen; beans, 5·5; lentils, 4·4; and peas, 4·3; and yet, wheat is in reality superior in nutritive value to beans, lentils or peas. So in regard to the often repeated assertion that in a cold climate, the carbonaceous or respiratory elements are most requisite, and in a hot, the nitrogenous. He informs his readers that the Sicilian and Neapolitan eat more oil than the Swede; that, according to theory, the Hindu should eat very little non-nitrogenous food; whereas, according to fact, he eats very little nitrogenous food, and a great deal of heat-making food. These are anomalies it will be interesting to endeavour to reconcile.

Nos. XI, XII, and XIII can be answered by the Natives only in a satisfactory manner.

No. XIV somewhat associates itself with No. V, as it is suspected that husks of grain, sand, saw-dust and probably gypsum, a substance largely used in China for the adulteration of sugar, may be in use in this country for similar purposes where procurable.

No. XV. Men in severe bodily training, especially wrestlers, *khaliphas*, eat an enormous quantity. I have known a man devour 3 seers of goat's flesh, $1\frac{1}{2}$ seer of flour, $\frac{3}{4}$ seer ghee, and I cannot say how much milk in one day.

No. XVI. We regret that we have no Hayell to undertake a crusade against this hydra-headed subject; but we fear it would do little good, for the disgrace of discovery in knavery is not much felt in this country. I believe that the idea of imposition would tickle a *bunneah* excessively, and the poor purchaser, though suffering himself, would join in the laugh at the next victim. The question, however, demands our attention for the common good.

No. XVII. Poisonous vegetables are known to exist, which are rendered innocuous by cooking; some of them by boiling become

* *Phys. of Common Life*, p. 40.

entirely so ; others still retain somewhat their intoxicating qualities. I regret that my limited botanical knowledge of the Indian flora prevents my giving the scientific names of various roots I have seen, but I may mention that they belong principally to the *Solanaceæ*.

No. XVIII. The custom of fasts and their effect upon health will require the experience, and I hope the truthful testimony, of our Native coadjutors.

No. XIX. The obstinate caste prejudices which prevail in the neighbourhood of the Bagfrati and Gunga, have no influence at a distance, and tanks and springs accordingly take the place of these, if very holy, at all events certainly very filthy rivers. A few remarks on the subject of tanks from a paper on Indian epidemics and sanitary reform is well worth hearing, and it is very generally true ; so much so that it is a most difficult matter to find water fit to drink. The poorer Native does not, however, find it difficult ; he drinks what is nearest, and suffers in consequence.

"TANKS.—Bengal is a land of tanks ; and every town is an exaggerated epitome of the country. It would be difficult to state the comparative area of land and water in Indian cities ; but we shall hardly err in roughly estimating it as averaging twelve to one. This large supply of the pure element has arisen out of the demand natural to a warm climate, which has induced wealthy and philanthropic men to dig receptacles for it. To form a tank, or build a temple, secures, among the Natives of Hindustan, a larger amount of respect and admiration than can be secured by any other public work ;—and hence their number. It has unfortunately happened, however, that the desire of making a name has preponderated over a more deeply seated love for posterity : and, as the tendency of Native society is to pay more homage to a man who makes a tank than to him who keeps it in order, repair and cleanliness, we have a constant succession of new ones, while those whose builders are dead fall into decay, dirt and filthiness. A well-formed turf-banked tank, filled with clean pure water, is an object no less pleasing to the eye than grateful to the body ; but an irregular shaped hole, bounded by broken dirty banks and ruined ghâts, and covered with a coat of slimy duck-weed, is painful to the sight and deeply injurious to health. Which of these conditions prevails in Indian towns, we leave it to mofussilites to tell. Our own experience dwells upon an array of green stagnant pools, out of which the neighbouring residents bathe and drink, generally forming a little bay of clean water in one corner, by warding off the weed by bamboo barriers.

Such is the appearance of the pure element in the open parts of towns; but if we inspect the tanks in the more secluded portions, we shall find many instances of their being fringed with privies, which actually project over their surface. In some stations, during the dry season, the level of the water falls, leaving a muddy surface rich with decomposing matter, thus assuming a similar character to sewers in England."

Having thus cursorily gone over some of the subjects to which our attention will be directed, I have again to request your co-operation, especially as to furnishing us with facts. And as you are well aware that it is only the desire to arrive at truth, as our able President reminded us in his introductory address, and not any paltry curiosity that animates us, we hope to command your attention, aid, and favour.

2.—*On the Laws of Health considered with reference to the habits and peculiarities of the Natives of India.*—By BABU KANHAY LAL DEY.

[Read on the 26th July 1867.]

The prevalence of miasmatic diseases which often visit different parts of this country, and the unusual death-rate which is the natural result of such visitations, make the study of the laws of health a subject of the highest importance. One great peculiarity, and an unfavorable one, to be frequently observed in the habits of my countrymen, both the enlightened and the uneducated, is their phlegmatic indifference to such matters. No attempt is ever made to trace effects to their causes and prevent their recurrence. Passive submission to the natural course of things is the greatest curse of the nation.

Though the laws of health, as deduced from established scientific principles, can never be made intelligible to the masses of the people, their study and practicable application amongst the higher orders is expected to produce the desired effect, by their habits and practices being made the models for imitation by those who have neither the capacity nor opportunity for studying for themselves. Our mode of living, as exhibited in our dwelling-houses, our food and clothing, admit of great improvement. We must adapt them, to altered circumstances, so that they may fully meet our requirements.

In treating of health and the laws which govern it, we must discourage an overstretched application of those laws, often the indication of a distorted imagination. Imperfect knowledge and too much knowledge, when combined with that unhappy temper of mind which obtains for the person the epithet of idiosyncratic, are equally mischievous. There are some who are every moment haunted by the fear that the atmospheric air is impregnated with the germs of gout and fever, and therefore, scrupulously coop themselves in the brick-kiln of a sleeping chamber. Others again fancy that the constituents of all waters are poison, and, therefore, never think themselves secure, except when they take measured drops of a heated fluid. Many, again, oppressed by fancied ills, take more medicine than food, and, like Phippen in the story, always imagine that there is something wrong in their "clogged apparatus." I have known men of the highest intelligence who are always dissatisfied with their state of health and imagine disease at every turn, and who,

not content with worrying their medical advisers for remedies which are not wanted, secretly drug themselves with no end of quack simples. But there is little fear of such examples serving as guides for the people. They may act as beacons to warn us off the shoals, but can never entice us to a course of living so much at variance with reason and common sense.

It is a matter of no small regret that what we value as knowledge is generally neither substantial nor practically useful. On the other hand, a knowledge of natural laws and of their practical application to the purposes of health and physical well-being, is utterly neglected. This proceeds as much from a defective education as from a natural imaginative turn of the national mind. Hence it becomes an object of paramount importance to direct attention to the study of the physical laws and the causes which mitigate suffering and prevent untimely deaths.

I shall in this discourse briefly advert to those agents which form the chief constituents of life, and also refer to the conditions essential to health. My remarks and illustrations, I need not say, will have special reference to the habits and peculiarities of the Natives of this country, both as regards their mode of living and their indulgence in practices which impair health and shorten life.

The chief conditions under which animal life can exist, are an adequate supply of air, water, and food. Want or deficiency of any of these agents is incompatible with its existence. And these must be supplied in a state which shall conduce to the end they are intended to serve. Vitiating and contaminated air and water, containing an admixture of ingredients other than their natural constituents, will produce the same or greater evil than when they are either wholly wanting or scantily supplied. An unsophisticated person may naturally ask in what the purity of air consists. Its purity consists in its freedom from all extraneous matter. Its natural elements are one-fifth of oxygen and four-fifths of nitrogen in a given bulk, with a very minute addition of carbonic acid gas. And the extraneous matter with which it may be impregnated are the exhalations which the earth yields in abundance. The air we inhale is pure, but when breathed out it is poisoned. It is then no longer fit for animal use, for the simple reason that organic life requires a supply of oxygen for its existence, and any cause which neutralizes it deprives it of its vitality. A knowledge of the fact that oxygenation is an indispensable necessity of animal life, will convince us how necessary it is to secure a copious supply of fresh air in our dwelling-houses and places of business and recreation. A man in health, according to Dr. Parkes,

requires at least 2,000 cubic feet of fresh air per hour, and a sick man from 3,000 to 4,000. He always requires a sufficient supply of oxygen to feed his lungs and keep the blood in the veins in a state of purity, and he suffers immensely when this supply fails, or when it is so contaminated as to be unfit for the purpose it is intended to serve. In tropical climates the necessity for this change of air is greater than in cold and temperate ones. We know from experience that closeness in hot weather gives an unpleasant and oppressive sensation. We try to avoid it, but we never take the trouble to ascertain whence the unpleasant feeling proceeds, and how its recurrence may be guarded against. I make no apology for quoting largely from a writer, whose exposition of the principle is as just as the reasoning is convincing.

"On examining the subject of organic matters," says Dr. Angus Smith, "it seems to me clear that we are annoyed by its presence exactly in proportion to the warmth of the atmosphere. One of the chief reasons, I believe, is simply this: the matter is volatile, and being so, it fills the air exactly in proportion to the warmth applied. In cool weather the exhalations of the person are readily condensed, whereas the presence of one individual for an hour in a room of a size frequently used is sufficient in warm weather to cause unpleasant closeness. The same room would be sufficient for many in cold weather. Two main evils then annoy us—carbonic acid and exhalations from the person caused by warmth. If we can bear 1,000 of carbonic acid in one million (1,000,000) of air at a temperature of 50° Fahrenheit, we may be quite unable to bear it at a temperature of 70°. More than that, I believe that when the proportion of carbonic acid is extremely low, we may still have such warmth that the exhalations will be volatile and the air extremely oppressive. Why do these exhalations annoy us? They probably act like anæsthetic substances preventing oxidation, and therefore diminishing first the clearness of the mind and then the strength of the body. We require to remove them from us when it is well known that no carbonic acid in any injurious quantity is present. This is one reason why we desire the air to be changed more frequently in warm weather; it is not only that there is a desire for lower temperature, there is a desire for air perfectly freed from exhalations. It is for a similar reason that men can live in narrow huts made of ice without any attempt at cleanliness. The limit of endurance is probably measured in such cases by the carbonic acid only, and not by the organic matter which ceases at that temperature to be volatile."*

* Dr. Angus Smith on the air of houses and work-shops.

It is a common practice in this country amongst the lower orders of my countrymen for many persons to sleep in the same room, especially for family men and men sojourning on business. The rooms usually are narrow and low-roofed, and the little available space not occupied by the bed is filled with luggage of all descriptions. Stand near the threshold of the door of one of these rooms on a morning when it is first opened, and inhale the air which is rushing out. You will feel as if you are being suffocated by a volume of offensive vapours, the odour of which is indescribable. Look at the inmates with their reeking bodies thickly coated with grease and dust, and sooty clothes not cleansed of the oil and filth for a week. In able-bodied persons there is an air of langour and lassitude accompanied with hard breathing; in children a falling of the pulse and disturbed circulation, in some cases looking as if deprived of animation. Can we wonder that, when such practices are repeated day after day, the germs should be sown of a variety of diseases, some affecting the lungs and others engendering sores and eruptions on the body?

I will quote another instance from our national usages, illustrative of the neglect or ignorance of our countrymen of the truth, that impure and vitiated air is destructive to animal life. On the occasion of festivals, when they are celebrated by *jattras* and *nautches*, from two to three hundred people are usually assembled in a house; and the company consists of persons in all conditions of life, from the ragged, greasy and dusty cooly to the gossamer-clad Babu, perfumed with *attur* of roses. The quadrangle, in which these assemblies congregate, though an open space, is carefully shaded over-head by a thick canopy or *shumeanah*, and there are at least from 50 to 300 lamps burning, consisting of candle lights, oil lights, and gas lights; add to that the smoke of dozens of hookahs incessantly at work, and no end of cigars; enter the house one hour after the multitude have assembled, and then examine the state of your senses. Select the clearest and most secluded spot in the compound or gallery, still you will hardly escape from the evils of a variety of odours and organic emanations, from persons the last in the world to be particular about dress and cleanliness. The fatigue and exhaustion, and that feeling of indescribable uneasiness following nights passed in such company, will not be owing so much to the want of sleep as to the inhalation of the deadliest poisons imaginable. Such assemblies, though not of daily occurrence, are sufficiently numerous to deserve notice.

What has been said has reference to the contamination in this important principle of life from the practices of private indivi-

duals. Impurities are similarly engendered on an extended scale by the exhalations arising from the accumulated excretions of a whole community. The black putrid mud of the drains and sewers of a large city, and the pools of fœtid matter forming the receptacles of the business refuse of the town, may be pointed to as fitting illustrations. It will not be necessary to go far in quest of proofs as to their action on the animal system; the denizens of this city of palaces have a bitter experience of such influences.

The condition of the poor of all countries is miserable enough. Poverty and filth are inseparable concomitants. But there are circumstances in which men are helpless for good, and in such cases the interference of the legislature may be justly invoked. In no part of the world can we expect to find every individual of the community owning a comfortable house for his dwelling. Palace and hovel everywhere stand side by side. And from this condition our city is not exempt. Behind long rows of princely mansions lie thickly studded the humble shelters of the poor, some mud-walled, and some with walls of mat—almost all on each other's shoulders. In localities far removed from the business quarters of the town, there is some relief, for there they can afford to have a little breathing space. But take at random any tenanted plot of ground, and you will generally find that, except on the side having the advantage of road frontage, the little apertures which are but mere apologies for windows scarcely admit a ray of light or a puff of wind. Pass into the interior of these quarters, and you will see a state of things more frightful still. As you proceed, you are obliged to stop your breath. At every third step you encounter an extempore privy, a miry ditch, or a collection of stagnant, black water teeming with noisome vermin.

It was in one sense an advantage in a sanitary point of view when there was no prohibition against thatched roofs. The periodical fires which devastated the town, and reduced to ashes whole ranges of these houses, acted as disinfectants, and greatly mitigated the evils incidental to miasmatic influences. But now that tiled roofs are compulsory, such visitations have become rare. What then is the remedy? The only one which appears to be practicable, though not wholly efficacious as regards the end in view, would be to insert a penal clause in the Municipal Act, compelling landowners to keep roadways traversing the whole length of their property, and broad enough to allow a city cart to pass easily. In cases of extensive tracts exceeding a beegah, provision should be made for an increased number of these roads so constructed as to intersect each other. It might go a step further, and define the

number of tenants which a given plot of land should contain. Such a provision would not be an encroachment upon the rights of private property, and if it were, the claims of health and life should obtain a preference over every other consideration.

The next great agent or constituent of organic life is water. It is as essential to the existence of animals as air, and the evils resulting from the admixture of extraneous impure matter, other than its primary constituents, are equally great. But this fluid, which chemically is described as an oxide of hydrogen, is never found in a state of purity in nature. The impurities which enter into its composition depend upon the nature of the ingredients through which it percolates. In some cases it holds in solution chloride of sodium, in some carbonic acid, sulphurated hydrogen, sulphate or carbonate of lime, or magnesia, animal and vegetable matter in a state of decomposition, and so on. The impurities of water thus arise either from chemical union or mechanical mixture with other bodies. In the first case purity can be obtained only by distillation—a process not practicable under ordinary circumstances; but the impurities arising from mechanical mixture may be easily removed by filtration. In order that it may efficiently perform its allotted work in the economy of animal life, it is necessary that water should be used in a state of purity; and the evils of an impure mixture will be best understood by a consideration of the uses to which it is applied. Water forms the principal ingredient of animal bodies. A man weighing 154 lbs. holds 111 lbs. of water in his tissues, or nearly three-fourths of his bulk is water.* In order to maintain the proportion of this ingredient to the other components, a constant supply is required. The most important quality which this fluid possesses is its solvent power. Every article, taken in the shape of food, it dissolves and conveys to the tissues, and the oxygen which vitalizes those tissues is conveyed by water. The starch, the fat, the protein, in short every proximate or intermediate principle of food, is digested and absorbed by water. The same solvent power, which enables it to dissolve the ingredients of food, also dissolves those impurities described before in the shape of organic and inorganic matters. From the inorganic world it may take up the salts of lime, lead, and other compounds in such quantities that, when taken into the human body, it is not only unfit for healthy life, but may become the source of immediate disease or death. Like the air, it may become the medium of those definite organic poisons,

* Dr. Lankester on Health.

which, kindling similar poisons in the living system, are at once the source of disease to others and the death of the individual suffering from their action.* Let us now glance at the sources from which water is usually drawn both for drinking and for bathing and washing purposes.

In all countries the water used for drinking is either rain-water or spring-water, well-water, or the water drawn from rivers. In Bengal Proper spring-water is comparatively scarce, and it cannot, therefore, be considered a recognized source of drinking water. Well-water, though seldom or never used for drinking purposes in the lower, is perhaps the only resource in most parts of the upper, provinces. In Bengal Proper wells do not exist in most places, not merely because their want is not felt, but because the nature of the soil does not admit of such excavations. In the districts in the Delta of the Ganges, and in those adjoining it, the country looks as if just emerged from the ocean bed, dank and dripping, and the soil is so soft, being chiefly formed of sandy clay, that the sinking of a well is impracticable.

Of well-water it may be remarked that it is purest when drawn from a depth below the strata of vegetable mould, sand, clay, or the beds where water from the surface of the earth near towns and popular villages is collected. In such localities the greater the depth of the well, the purer its water. Amongst us there is a strong prejudice against well-water in general in consequence of its not being exposed to the sun. The water of wells, they say, is heavy, and it induces diseases of the lungs and eruptions on the body. I have no room here to enquire into the truth of this statement, but it is good that this prejudice exists in regard to well-water in this country.

Of tank-water it may be said that the evils of surface well-water generally occur in it in a glaring manner, inasmuch as the impurities which in one case mix by percolation, pour bodily into the other. The greater, therefore, the remoteness of such collections of water from the habitations of men, the more free they will be from such impurities; but still, in populous towns and villages, it becomes impossible to exclude the impurities of sewage matter. Some of the tanks in the maidan in this city are perhaps the best collections of water that we possess, but still they are not unexceptionable as regards the salubrity of their water.

* Dr. Lankester on Health.

One great defect, and a serious one too, which may be remarked in all tanks attached to Native houses is that they are usually the receptacles for the washings of the premises and the surrounding compound.

Where the country possesses the advantage of being contiguous to streams and rivers, the water for drinking and washing is chiefly drawn from this source. To this practice there is a remarkable exception in some of the districts of Eastern Bengal, where river-water is never used for drinking; for bathing and washing it is seldom used. River-water, generally speaking, though indispensable under peculiar circumstances, has one draw-back which disqualifies it for drinking purposes. "The great distinguishing feature of river-water is that, being exposed to the air, it becomes the medium of life to both plants and animals. We have not only fish and snails and reeds and pond weeds growing in river-water, but we have innumerable forms of microscopic animals and plants."* Besides, rivers, it must be remembered, are the public drains of the country through which they run.

Any thing, however, which might be advanced on the score of unhealthiness of river-water will never deter the Hindu portion of the inhabitants of this country from drinking Ganges water and performing their ablutions in its sacred stream. It is the last blessing vouchsafed to sinful man for his salvation, and whoever neglects it, wilfully and perversely shuts against himself the door of heaven. Many of us perhaps are incapable of forming an adequate conception of the degree of reverence in which it is held. We, who live on its shores and may be perhaps the most orthodox of Hindus, are still indifferent about it, because we see it every day, drink its water every day, and may bathe in it as often as we choose. But those to whom this blessing is denied, who live far removed from its hallowing influence, will, for the purpose of dipping their bodies in the sacred stream, perform a pilgrimage attended with hardships greater than were endured by the most fanatical crusader of the middle ages.

One thing, however, I may venture to affirm that for drinking purposes the purest water we can obtain is rain-water. It is the first condensed water which passes from the sea into the atmosphere. The object, however, will be defeated if we collect what runs out of the spouts of our houses, especially of those situated in a densely populous city like Calcutta. Hindu medical writers also strongly recommend the use of this water.

* Dr. Laukester's Lecture on Water.

They maintain that "rain-water, when preserved in a clear vessel, possesses the power of curing diseases, bile and phlegm, and improves the health. It keeps the mouth clean, and improves the state of the tongue, teeth, and memory."* I would warn my countrymen not to be deceived by any water being cool, transparent, and sweet; such properties do not naturally imply an exemption from vegetable and animal decomposition. I annex an analytical table showing the properties of the different descriptions of water used in different parts of the country, which will afford convincing proofs of what has been advanced above.

Air and water alone will not sustain animal organism. It requires "to be supplied in its food with the elements necessary for the play of those chemical forces which result in life." Hence it becomes necessary to consider what food is, and also what is the best food for man to take. It must, however, be premised that as yet the enquiry on this subject has not resulted in any definite conclusions.

Man is made to live on a mixed diet of vegetable and animal food, both of which may be resolved into ultimate and proximate principles. The ultimate principles of animal and that of vegetable food are nearly the same, namely, carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen, with this difference that in one case there is a mixture of insoluble animal matter, in the other a small portion of sulphur, phosphorus, and earthy salts. The proximate principles of vegetable food are starch, gluten, albumen, saccharine principle, gum or mucilage, lignum, pectine, fixed and volatile oils, wax, resin, balsams, gum-resins, camphor, tannin and colouring matter. Of animal food, they are fibrin, gelatine, albumen, oil and fat, osmazone, kreatine, caseine, and also sugar.

The choice of food must depend upon the consideration as to which of the alimentary articles possess the requisite proportions of heat-giving, flesh-forming, and mineral substances. Every part of the body requires a certain proportion of one particular principle according to the function it is destined to perform. "The blood must be supplied with chloride of sodium and iron; the bones with phosphate, carbonate and fluoride of lime; the muscles with potash, the bile with sulphur, the saliva with cyanogen, the teeth, hair, and nails with silica. A diet deficient in any of these materials may be the source of disease."† Remembering,

* Hindu system of Medicine.

† Lankester on Health.

then, the principles which should regulate the choice of food, our great object should be to select such substances from the vegetable and animal kingdoms as possess in adequate proportions the flesh-forming and heat-giving principles. There is a continual waste going on in the human system inseparable from our condition as working and thinking beings, and all that food is intended to do is to supply that waste. The average quantity of matter we lose daily has been calculated by some at nearly three pounds. What we call disease is nothing more than the condition of health consequent upon the absence from our system of some one of its constituent principles arising from this waste. Medicines do the work of food by supplying the particular want in a concentrated form. Thus the loss of fat is a characteristic of that dangerous malady—consumption—and the best remedy is the use of oleaginous matter in the shape of oils or cream.

In the selection of food, while nutriment and digestibility must always form a material consideration, due regard should also be had to their adaptability to climate as well as to age, sex and constitution. In a hot climate we all know that the evaporation from the skin predominates, while in cold weather a greater proportion is excreted by the urine; again, a higher temperature diminishes the quantity of carbonic acid exhaled in a certain time, and consequently by warmth the two most important products of decomposition are diminished; it is therefore indubitable that in summer the excretion is lessened and in winter increased. To excretion correspond nutrition, the formation of blood, and the digestion; hence results the necessary conclusion, confirmed by daily experience, that in summer we digest a smaller quantity, and that more slowly. In a country, therefore, where weakness of digestion is a normal condition, where the desire for food is less in consequence of the consumption of tissues being less a smaller quantity of nutritious food, or less nutritious but easily digestible aliments are to be taken. For the same reason stimulating food, whether spices or alcoholic drinks, should be sparingly used.

In children and youths, whose bodies are in a state of growth and development, the consumption of food is required to be greater than the excretion. Keeping in view this important fact, we should always provide them not only with wholesome and nutritious food, but food which may be taken frequently and in abundance and digested with facility. In old age the activity of the tissue-change begins to decrease, as well as the proportion of water and fat in the bones. The tissues have also another

composition; in old age less carbonic acid is breathed out, less urea formed. The food of the old must, therefore, undergo a change in composition and quality as well as in quantity.

In constitutional make and physical organisation there is perhaps no difference between women and the male sex; but the fact of there being a great difference in their respective habits and temperaments, causes a corresponding difference in the demand for restorative nutriment.

In the ordinary condition of a woman's life she requires less nutritious food, or nutritious food in smaller quantities. This arrangement of diet undergoes a little variation in the condition when she has to form blood both for herself and her offspring; then there should be an increase in the supply of nutritious food which is easily digestible. This perhaps is not a fitting place to dwell on the regimen of females during confinement, except that it should increase in strength as the period of confinement advances, care being taken to supply them with albuminous aliments in order to the formation of the caseine of milk. Women have a particular fondness for acid fruits; ordinarily this indulgence is a matter of indifference, but a suckling mother should be cautioned to avoid them, as they dissolve the caseine of the milk-globules, and when taken in considerable quantities, diminish the milk and render it less nutritious.

Writers on Hindu medicine are very particular in their dietetic rules. These rules embrace every circumstance and condition of life in which any particular kind of food is to be taken, and also define the specific varieties which should be included in the category of human food. Their list of aliments is as comprehensive as it is curious. But their warnings and directions in regard to the rejection and adoption of any particular kind of food do not bring conviction home. They do not condescend to address our understandings. They offer their conclusions as the dicta of a tyrant, to be acted upon and not to be enquired into. They want us to do their bidding and not to question.

They adopt various classifications of food, sometimes according to taste, sometimes according to their medicinal properties, and sometimes in relation to the effects they produce as articles of diet. Taking the taste of dietetic articles, they divide them into sweet, acid, salt, bitter, pungent, and astringent. Sweet articles, they say, increase the semen, the milk and the fat; they also cure derangements in air and bile, and are useful in correcting the effects of poison; they retain the body in health and promote longevity. Acid articles promote

appetite and digestion, increase the blood and restore irregularities and derangements in the air, bile, phlegm. Salt articles promote digestion and increase appetite, they promote perspiration, remove derangements of the bile, phlegm, and blood. Bitter food, if taken before eating, improves appetite, removes worms, thirst, poison, leprosy, epilepsy, nausea, heat of the body, and fever. Pungent articles of food increase appetite and milk, and diminish thirst and fever. They also cure diseases of phlegm, diseases of the throat and head, itchiness and internal pain. Astringent articles of food are cooling and cure diseases of the bile and phlegm; they also remove diseases of the skin and heal, wounds and sores.* These descriptions of food have also their unfavorable sides. The sweet articles induce asthma, worms, and affections of the throat. Acid articles, when often taken, produce weakness, emaciation of the body, and sometimes blindness. Salt articles relax the bowels, they are bad for the eyes, and if long continued, the skin becomes covered with irregularities upon its surface followed by leprosy and weakness. Bitter food is unpleasant to the taste, is dry and light to the stomach, increases bile and air, and produces dryness, heat, and diseased milk. Pungent articles, if immoderately used, produce thirst, weakness, shooting pain over the body, and derange the skin. Astringent articles, repeatedly used, produce costiveness, a swelling of the abdomen, thirst and weakness, and retard the circulation of fluids in the body.* Current practice, however, does not seem to be based upon the principles inculcated in the medical *shastras*, for acids and sweets are invariably condemned, and pungent articles are better known as having a tendency to produce costiveness and burning of the body than to increase appetite and milk.

Fruit and vegetables will naturally constitute an important article of food amongst a people with whom they are common and within easy reach. The fruits which are indigenous to this country may vie in delicacy, flavour, and taste with the fruits of any country in the world. Our apples, mangoes and nuts have not their equals in any part of the world, but they alone can never form the exclusive food of the people, as their constituents are principally water and a small proportion of starch and sugar, which, we know, are more heat-giving than flesh-forming materials. Our *rishis*, however, it is said, supported life exclusively by fruits which they plucked at the end of their day's devotion from the trees growing nearest their hermitage.

* Hindu system of Medicine.

One or two of these fruits deserve notice. Mangoes are universally prized above all fruits, being considered as an inestimable gift of nature to mortal man. In their season they are such an important auxiliary to our daily food, as to form an appreciable addition to the dietetic expenditure of every family in the country. In popular estimation they are considered cooling and nutritive, and as possessing diuretic and purging properties. They are also considered as capable of increasing the blood and improving and refining it. How far this belief is well founded is a matter of question. All that we know about them is that they are very palatable, and, when consumed largely, produce worms in the stomach and boils and eruptions on the skin.

Cocoanuts are deservedly esteemed. They possess real medicinal virtues, and every part of the tree and fruit is in one way or other subservient to our use. The water of the fruit when green is a good emulcent drink, being cooling and digestive. Its pulp is also an agreeable diet. When dry, its hard kernel is used as a condiment in a variety of dishes.

Plantains form an important addition to the European table in this country, both on account of their deliciousness and nutritive elements. But we consider it as an occasional food, to be sparingly consumed, lest it increase the humours and induce elephantiasis, to which it is supposed to have a marked tendency. In Hindu dietary the principal varieties of corn and pulse form the staple food of the people. The most important of these varieties are rice, wheat, maize, barley, &c. Bengal, by its soil and climate, is peculiarly adapted to the growth of rice, as the dry regions of the upper provinces are to the growth of wheat and its companion species. As an article of food, rice does not possess those elements in sufficient proportion which are chiefly wanted for the support of animal life.

In this respect, wheat, maize, barley, and similar varieties, which are peculiar to the dry regions, have superior recommendations.

From the annexed table of analysis of the principal articles of Indian food, it will be seen that in rice the proportion of starch or heat-giving elements to the flesh-formers is nearly as eight to one, whereas in wheat the proportion is but as five to one. Hence writers on dietetics condemn the use of the former as the principal ingredient of food. One thing, however, may be observed that, in the selection of food, the choice of a nation is not determined by considerations of its nourishing properties so much as by those of cheapness and abundance. Bengal is peculiarly

a rice-growing country. Its climate and soil are remarkably well adapted to its growth. It grows in abundance, and is available to all classes of people at a comparatively small cost.

There are at least fourteen varieties of rice which are cultivated with more or less care in this country, according to their demand for dietetic consumption and according to the facility of growing them. All of them yield three crops in three different seasons. The most common crop is that which is reaped between November and December; the second crop is that of spring rice or rice of 60 days' growth, which is gathered in September; and the third is sown in December and reaped in April. The wholesomeness and digestibility of rice gathered from the three crops vary with the seasons of their growth. Rice of the winter crop is extensively cultivated and universally consumed. The consumption of the spring and autumn crops is generally restricted to the peasantry and the laboring classes in the interior of the country; they are raised more for local consumption than general use.

Writers on Hindu medicine consider the rice of 60 days' growth, or that which is reaped in September, as wholesome, but people leading a sedentary life are incapable of digesting it; hence its use, as an article of food, is chiefly confined to the laboring classes in the country.

The process of husking rice for the purpose of consumption goes a great way towards determining its nutritive agency. The rice intended for common use is obtained by first boiling the paddy and then drying it in the sun; but *átap* or sun-dried rice is husked by the last process only. The intermediate process of boiling the paddy, as we can well imagine, diminishes its nutritive or flesh-forming property; but so feeble is the race who use it that they cannot digest an article itself not sufficiently substantial without extracting its stamina; and yet complaints are heard of the economical arrangements of our ancestors, which do not admit of the introduction of more strengthening food in our dietary. There is an idea of purity in a religious sense attached to the rice prepared by the last-mentioned process, hence it is the only rice offered to the gods on *poojah* occasions; and respectable Hindu widows who lead an austere life use no other. It is also the rice which is served up at the tables of Europeans in this country and largely exported to England.

In cooking rice for food, whether sun-dried or otherwise, we take the precaution of mixing with it water in the proportion of two to one, so that, when boiled, there is left one part of it in the

shape of washing which is strained out. This washing is a white glutinous liquid containing the pith of the rice, and, though used as drink for domestic cattle, may be also used with advantage by man for the purpose of food. *Kangy*, which is a celebrated component in Hindu medicine, and often prescribed as a remedy in some of the most intricate chronic complaints, is also a rice-washing, only with this difference that it is the rice water that has undergone the lacteous fermentation in its last stage ; the first, being washing of rice obtained by boiling, the second, of cooked rice steeped in water.

I have alluded to the process by which paddy is husked, and also said that rice husked from boiled paddy is considered wholesome.

The genteeler classes of our countrymen live on a diet which may be considered as the regimen of convalescent patients. The rice they eat must not only be the produce of boiled paddy, but requires to be sufficiently old to be fit for food. To be wholesome, it must remain in the barn at least nine months after harvest time. New rice is considered heavy and indigestible, and as having a tendency to increase phlegm, and writers on Hindu medicine ascribe to it the property of giving an oleaginous appearance to the body and promoting secretion of semen. The peasantry and laboring classes, however, who can hardly afford to wait long, begin consuming it immediately after harvest, and are not the worse for it.

Rice, the staple food of this country, is used as an article of diet in a variety of ways, the most common and important being that of cooking it for daily food. It is also parched, fried, and beaten flat to form food for the people.

Men's tastes are sometimes very curious. Amongst the Natives of East Bengal rice gruel is considered a luxury and greedily consumed by all classes of the people. It is a mess of rice gruel, jagree or raw sugar, and dried cocoanuts made into pulp. It is considered a delicacy by some, and offered with complacency as a sweet food to invited guests. Amongst the Burmese a similar food is served, called by them *nappy*. It slightly differs from the first in its composition and preparation, being composed of gruel, chips of dry cocoanut, and raw meat, all of which are boiled together until formed into the consistency of paste. It resembles the food which is prepared for dogs in this country, and, though its appearance and odour provoke nausea, it is a delicacy with the people who eat it.

Referring again to the table of Indian dietary, it will be seen that in the class of fibrinous food we have wheat, bajra, barley, jowár and other varieties of cereals. Wheat, we all know, is not common in Bengal, I mean it is not grown here in abundance, and though, as an article of food, it is, next to rice, consumed largely by all classes of people, it is not considered as the food like rice. In the upper provinces, where the soil and climate is well adapted to its growth, it holds the same place in the list of dietary as rice does in Bengal.* The poorer orders, however, live on cheaper food than wheat, of which bajra, jowree and barley are most common. Barley meal or *sattoo* is a favorite food of the lower orders of the up-country people. Its chief recommendation is its cheapness. It is usually consumed dry, the only condiments used being red pepper and salt.

I have said above that the nutritive property which this article of diet possesses as compared with rice is as five to one. In fact it is more nutritive than most other cereals, containing 13 parts of flesh-formers, 72 heat-givers, and 2 of mineral matter in 100; or, to be more particular, there are in 100 parts of ordinary flour—

Starch	...	...	67.78
Gluten	...	...	9.02
Sugar	...	...	4.80
Gum	...	...	4.60
Bran	...	...	2.00
Water	...	...	12.00*

Though so well adapted for food, in consideration of the quantity of gluten it contains, it cannot be said to be quite congenial to the Bengali constitution. Our unleavened flour cakes, though lighter by far than the weighty *chapattees* of the up-country people, are not eaten with impunity. Our digestive power is so weak that the stomach can bear scarcely anything stronger than rice. It takes three and half hours to digest leavened bread; it must take four to digest unleavened cakes like what we eat, whereas the longest period which boiled rice takes is about an hour,† so that the best food in point of nutriment is not always the best for all people.

Leguminous seeds which appear in the table under the head of caseinous food, like the dhall and peas with which this

* Pereira on Food and Diet.

† Dr. Beaumont quoted by Pereira,

country abounds, afford more or less the most substantial elements of food which we can consume to support our system—*moog*, *máshkaldy*, *urhur*, and other species of the same class, all containing from 19 to 28 per cent. of flesh-formers, and from 56 to 62 heat-givers. They are used always with rice in the form of porridge or soup, and in this state they are well suited to the stomach of all healthy persons. It is my firm conviction that an able-bodied person living exclusively on rice and dhall to the extent* of a seer at each meal will be found capable of undergoing any amount of labor without impairing his health.

The Bengalis are remarkably fond of fish. Living in a country abounding with numerous streams and extensive marshes, they are able to indulge their craving for this article of diet to any extent imaginable. It may be observed that, unlike most other nations, they are generally averse to the use of fish salted, dried, or preserved. The most common and popular way of cooking it for food is either by frying or boiling. The soup of fish boiled with greens and vegetables is considered an indispensable adjunct of Native diet. It is supposed to strengthen the system by the increase of blood to which fish-soup contributes. Fishes of low standard of respiration, or black fish, are always considered healthful; they are usually given as good food to invalids, children, and persons having loose bowels. The most popular fishes are the *hilsa* and *tapsí* (mango-fish), which are found in abundance at certain seasons in the Hooghly and Pudda rivers, and though indigestible in consequence of their containing a large proportion of oily matter, are eaten with avidity by all classes of the people. The digestibility of fishes vary according to their species and the place where they are preserved. On an average, boiled fish is digested in an hour and a half, or two hours, and fried fish in from three to four hours. It is, therefore, better to eat fish boiled than fried. Fish diet, according to some, produces skin diseases, such as leprosy and elephantiasis, and according to others they increase secretion of bile if immoderately consumed.

The Hindus of old, it appears from the *Shastras*, were not an exclusively graminivorous people; neither was the prohibition against certain classes of animal food originally a condition of the Hindu system. The flesh of quadrupeds and poultry, which are now reckoned as food amongst nations other than Hindus, was as much a recognized article of Hindu diet as any other, and we meet with evidence of this fact from the enumeration given by Hindu medical writers of their several properties,

and instructions and directions as to the mode of preparing and cooking them for food. I have no room here to dwell on the various legends extant showing how beef came to be forbidden food, but it may be mentioned as a fact that there was a time when the most rigid Hindu did not reckon beef-eating a crime. Even now, there are some races of Hindus, living in the hilly district of Tipperah, who do not consider pork and poultry to be objectionable diet. I make this statement on the authority of some persons who sojourned on business in that part of the country, and who, as guests of some rajah or zemindar, received presents of provisions consisting of, amongst other articles of food, a live pig and some fowls. Amongst the lowest castes of Hindus all over the country, pork as food is common, though beef is religiously abstained from. As existing practice goes, the flesh of sheep and goats is allowed, as well as the flesh of ducks, geese, pigeons, and snipes; in short, almost all birds except fowls.

With regard to animal food, it may be said that fish, which is largely consumed by Natives of all classes, possesses nutritive properties in the proportion of 14 flesh-forming to 7 of heat-giving parts. Flesh meat contains nutritive properties in the proportion of 22 flesh-forming to 14 of heat-giving. From a comparison of these properties with those of the classes coming under the head caseinous and fibrinous food, it will be seen that flesh meat does not possess superior advantages as regards nutrition. Moreover, as the stimulating power is greater in the latter, occasioning thereby an excitement and irritation incompatible with residence in a tropical climate, its use is considered by several eminent medical authorities as not indispensable to the support and invigoration of the animal system. Its moderate use in the case of invalids is only recommended on the ground of its easy assimilation.

On the subject of the relative importance of animal and vegetable diet, I cannot do better than quote the opinion of Dr. Norman Chevers, whose long residence in this country entitles him to speak authoritatively on this subject. "To those who inhabit within the tropics," says Dr. Chevers, "where the respiration is not active, where the muscular movements of the body are necessarily languid, and where the action of that organ which has principally to remove nitrogenized and carbonized materials from the system—I mean the liver—is from many causes liable to become over-excited, those articles of food which aid the production of inward heat and of muscular flesh are far less necessary."

Another substance of equal importance in human dietary is *milk*, which is consumed in large quantities by all classes of people of all ages, from the infant in its cradle to the able-bodied adult. "Out of the caseine of milk are formed the albumen and fibrine of the blood and the proteinaceous and gelatinous tissues. The butter serves for the formation of fat, and contributes with the sugar to support the animal heat by yielding carbon and hydrogen to be burnt in the lungs. The earthy salts are necessary for the development of the osseous system; the iron is required for the blood corpuscles and the hair; while the alkaline chloride furnishes the hydrochloric acid of the gastric juice."* Cow's milk is undoubtedly superior to woman's milk in nutritive properties, and therefore may be recommended as a healthy drink for infants. Early weaning, therefore, of which Native women have the greatest dread, may be carried out with perfect impunity.

Clarified butter, however, which is only the fatty substance of milk, is, from ignorance of the people, supposed to contain a higher nutritive property than milk itself. But the fact is that it possesses only heat-giving and fat-forming qualities, without a particle of nutritive element.

With regard to the necessity of securing a sufficient supply of healthy food, it may be added that a man's capacity for enduring the fatigues of life will always be in proportion to the quantity and quality of food he takes, and that wholesome food is not more necessary for his physical well-being than for a healthy action of his intellectual faculties. Ill fed and insufficiently nourished children never grow up into vigorous manhood, and men laboring under the same disadvantage often dwindle into untimely decrepitude and mental infirmity. There is a serious defect in the domestic economy of the middle and lower orders of my countrymen, that it does not sufficiently provide for this necessity. That dubious social arrangement which often encumbers a single person with the maintenance of a numerous family, does not allow him, with the usually limited means at his disposal, to secure for himself and those who have a natural claim upon him for support, an adequate supply of the necessities of life. The evils of living upon insufficient and innutritious food in childhood and youth, when the body is in a state of growth and development, tell most injuriously in after-life. That look of palor and emaciation and the utter absence of animation, so remarkable in the Natives of this country, may as much be ascribed to insufficient diet as to their

* Pereira on Food and Diet.

habitation in unclean and ill-ventilated apartments. A debilitated constitution and premature decay, which are characteristic of the people of this country, are not so much the evils of a tropical climate as the result of a universal neglect of the laws of health.

I have alluded to our domestic economy as being the cause of our inadequate provision for the necessities of life amongst the bulk of the people; but I may also add that my countrymen, as a nation, are remarkably penurious in matters which deeply concern their physical and intellectual well-being. The person who would unhesitatingly squander away a life's treasure on a wedding or a *shraddh*, will cut and clip the items of food and clothing from his family budget, until they are reduced to a minimum figure barely sufficient for existence. The millionaire, who, when occasion requires it, will blaze in pearls and diamonds, will think it perhaps the height of extravagance to change his linen oftener than when it becomes unbearable. The working man, who can hardly make both ends meet, will starve himself and his wife and children, that he may lay by a portion of his earnings in a few *tolas* of silver and gold, and the thought will never occur to him that by this short-sighted parsimony he is abridging the brief span of their existence and crippling his own powers of acquisition.

I cannot also condemn in sufficiently strong terms the Hindu institution of early marriage, as it lays the axe at the root of that physical development so essential to health and long life. It has, by the direct effect of undermining the constitutions of those immediately affected by it, a tendency to deteriorate the race. In fact one of the puniest races of the human family is doing the very thing which will lower the breed and give it the impress of degeneracy.

Along with this, and as intimately connected with the cause of deterioration of race, is the practice of forming improper and unsuitable alliances by marriage. It argues an habitual disregard of one important principle that next to abusing our health by our misdeeds, it is necessary to guard against the production of unhealthy and sickly offspring. This can be done only by securing alliances by marriage between persons of sound health and strong constitutions. But in practice we usually confine our enquiries to the birth, connexions, and fortunes of the families between whom intermarriage is intended, and never extend them to points touching the health of the parties to the alliance. Thus sickly and unhealthy parents continue to generate a sickly and unhealthy

race, and diseases which might have become extinct by the death of the persons immediately subject to them are perpetuated by transmission.

Bodily exercise is another condition of health. In a hot country, to those whose occupation in life entails upon them a fair share of corporeal exertion, no special provision for exercise need be recommended. But where sedentary habits are a condition of life, whether arising from the nature of the occupation pursued, or from favorable worldly circumstances, some arrangement must be made for imparting activity to the muscles. Except in solitary cases, exercise is not a rule of Bengali life; its necessity and importance is not understood. And where the rule is acted upon, the existence of other habits and pursuits neutralizes its effects. Here we may take a lesson from the habits and pursuits of the up-country people.

It is not necessary for me to repeat a well-known established fact that, from the dependence which the mental faculties have upon the brain, which is itself a portion of the animal system, a moderate exercise of these faculties is necessary to ensure to it a healthy action; and that undue exertion of any one of these faculties has as much a pernicious effect upon the system as the disuse of the whole. But I must notice the state of health of the youth of this country competing for scholastic and academic honours. The rules under which these honours may be gained make it imperative upon them to undergo a degree of mental exertion, which in some cases wholly undermines the system or extinguishes its vitality, and in others sows the germs of those diseases from which they suffer in after-life. The great defect of the present system of awarding academic honours lies in the fact that as the condition of gaining these honours is proficiency in certain branches of knowledge, implying a ripeness of the intellect, the absence or want of that maturity is made up by putting to the stretch one or two faculties, of which memory performs a prominent part. We all know that for securing an adequate proportion of intellectual health, all the faculties of the mind must be equally exercised, and that overtasking one perniciously acts upon the whole man—physical and intellectual.

Statement showing the properties of articles of Native dietary.

ARTICLES OF FOOD.					Flesh-formers.	Heat-givers.	Mineral matters.	Watery & fatty matters.
AMYLACEOUS.	Rice	...	...	...	7	78	1	14
	Sago	...	...	...	4	82	1	13
	Arrow-root and Tapioca	...	...	...	
	Potatoes	...	...	...	2	23	1	74
SACCHARINE.	Sugar	...	...	...	0	100	0	0
OLEAGINOUS.	Butter and Ghee	...	...	...	0	100	0	0
FIBRINOUS.	Wheat	...	...	...	13	72	2	13
	<i>Panicum miliaceum</i>	...	...	...	
	Jowár	...	...	...	9	74	1	16
	<i>Sorghum vulgare</i>	...	...	...	
	Bájra	...	...	...	10	73	2	15
	<i>Penicillaria spicata</i>	...	...	...	
	Kángni	...	...	...	12	70	1	17
	<i>Panicum miliaceum</i>	...	...	...	
	Oatmeal	...	...	...	17	69	3	11
	Barley	...	...	...	11	72	2	15
	Fish	...	...	...	14	7	1	78
	Cooked meat	...	...	...	22	14	1	63

Statement showing the properties of articles of Native dietary,—
continued.

ARTICLES OF FOOD.				Flesh- formers.	Heat-givers.	Mineral matters	Watery & fatty matters.
CASEINOUS.	Gram	19	62	3	16
	Chullár Dhál ...	...	...		
	<i>Cicer arietinum</i> ...	...	...		
	Pigeon Pea	20	61	3	16
	Arhar Dhál ...	...	...		
	<i>Cajanus indicus</i> ...	...	...		
	Common Pea...	25	58	2	15
	Mutur Dhál ...	...	...		
	<i>Pisum sativum</i> ...	...	...		
	Lentils	24	59	2	15
	Musoor Dhál ...	...	...		
	<i>Ervum lens</i> ...	...	...		
	Vetch	28	56	3	13
	Khesaree Dhál ...	...	...		
	<i>Lathyrus sativus</i> ...	...	...		
	Chowlee	24	59	3	14
	Burbuti Dhál ...	...	...		
	<i>Dolichos sinensis</i> ...	...	...		
	Green Gram	24	60	3	13
	Moog Dhál ...	...	...		
	<i>Phaseolus mungo</i> ...	...	...		
	Mash Kolay Dhál	22	62	3	13
	<i>Phaseolus radiatus</i> ...	...	...		
	Green Peas	7	36	2	55
	Milk	5	8	1	86

N. B.—Flesh-formers are nitrogenous matters which supply nutriment and form the tissues of the body.

The heat-givers or carbonaceous food consist of starchy, saccharine, and oleaginous matters, which supply fat and heat to the animal system.

Mineral matters are those which supply various salts which enter into the composition of the blood and tissues.

ECONOMY AND TRADE.

1.—*On the Domestic Economy of the Hindus.*—By BABU KOILAS
CHUNDRA BOSE.

[Read on the 26th July 1867.]

THE word economy, according to Webster, means a system of management; primarily, the management, regulation, and government of a family, or the concerns of a household. Domestic economy, therefore, applies to the management, regulation, and government of a family living in the same house. A Hindu household, however, presents such a strange combination of relationships, rights, and interests that it challenges the most intelligent observer to reduce them to anything like order, to separate them into groups, to place them at well considered distances from one another, to view them in their relative bearings, and to arrive at a correct estimate of the value and importance of each. The task, itself formidable to one brought up in the midst of those relationships, rights, and interests, becomes almost hard of achievement by one who is compelled to regard them from beyond their outward paling. Some theorists, nevertheless, incline to an opinion, of which the soundness is open to question, that a person most fitted to depict a nation is a foreigner. There is a semblance of philosophy in this argument. Every-day occurrences, familiar objects and persons, do not strike the imagination or rivet the attention so forcibly or so quickly as things unknown and unseen before. The attraction lies in the novelty of a thing; and the powers of observation are at once quickened and engaged in the examination of the object by the observer. But he is at the same time liable to form hasty generalizations, to run away with some new, but indistinct, impressions in his mind, and, if he gives them to the world, he either commits himself to the most egregious blunder, or to a position only half-way from truth. This has been the case with many writers on the affairs of a foreign people, particularly with those English and French authors who have ventured to discuss the peculiarities of the Hindu social system—a system which, from its internal construction and arrangement, more than that of any other nation, eludes the grasp and balks the understanding of a foreigner. Most foreign authors, by barely looking at the surface of things, a deeper investigation being repelled

by the internal force of the things themselves, have landed, like the blind men in the story who quarrelled about the appearance of an elephant, in conclusions the most absurd and ridiculous. The story runs thus :—" In a certain country, there existed a village of blind men, who had heard of an amazing animal called the elephant, of the shape of which, however, they could form no idea. One day an elephant passed through the place, the villagers crowded to the spot where the animal was standing, and one of them seized his trunk, another his ear, another his tail, another one of his legs. After thus endeavouring to gratify their curiosity they returned into the village, and sitting down together, began to communicate their ideas on the shape of the elephant to the villagers; the man who had seized his trunk said he thought the animal must be like the body of the plantain tree; he who had touched his ear was of opinion that he was like the winnowing fan; the man who had laid hold of his tail said he thought he must resemble a snake; and he who had caught his leg declared he must be like a pillar. An old blind man of some judgment was present, who, though greatly perplexed in attempting to reconcile these jarring notions, at length said :—" You have all been to examine the animal, and what you report, therefore, cannot be false; I suppose then that the part resembling the plantain tree must be his trunk; what you thought similar to a fan must be his ear; the part like a snake must be the tail, and that like a pillar must be his leg." In this way the old man, uniting all their conjectures, made out something of the form of the elephant." The same caution and judgment is necessary to make out something of the form and shape of that huge animal called Hindu Society, from the scattered and fragmentary relations of foreign writers, who see a bit here and a bit there, and assume the nature of the whole. But while these writers are apt to fall into grave inaccuracies and misrepresentations, Native authors are not free from another kind of blemish, though the more harmless of the two, namely, of slurring over important matters as trivial and common. This arises, according to a natural law, from the loss of the power of observation of familiar objects. What can be a more significant proof of this than that, while we behold the most glorious and awe-striking phenomena which the heavens daily present to our eyes, the sun, moon, and the stars in their diurnal course, with indifference and unconcern, the appearance of a stranger in the ethereal canopy, a comet or a falling star, fixes the gaze of millions of wondering spectators, and leads them almost involuntarily to associate their destinies, their earthly happiness and misery with the appearance

of that strange and uncommon phenomenon. Thus it is that while the most important concerns of life, because of their daily recurrence, escape notice and observation, the most trivial novelties have an all-absorbing, an all-engrossing interest for the human mind. To writers, therefore, on the concerns of their own nation or family, nothing can be of greater value than the power of discriminating between what is really important and what is trivial, while to foreign authors the power of avoiding hasty generalizations is a gift and a merit of a very high order.

In proceeding to consider the various phases which the domestic economy of the Hindus presents to the eye of an observer, the question suggests itself, what are the several obligations resting on the members of a family, the aggregate of which constitutes that economy, and whence do those obligations derive their sanction? Nature, in her bounty, has implanted in the human mind certain passions and affections, which, as an equal and a common rule for their actions, guide them without distinction of country, sect or religion, towards their happiness and well-being. These domestic affections are the basis of certain duties which, as fathers and sons, mothers and daughters, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, masters and servants, we owe to each other. By some nations these duties have been codified or reduced to statute law, while by others, though known and practised universally, they are left in the form of mere common or unwritten law. With the Hindus, the love of codification, it seems, was carried to an inordinate length, for the minutest social duties and obligations have been recorded with an unmistakeable force and clearness, together with the penalties involved in their violation. The most complete code is that which bears the name of *Manu*, and which, according to modern researches into Hindu antiquities, was drawn up in the ninth century before Christ. That Code, however, has been considered by some historians, not as a picture of the real state of society at the time when it was drawn up, but as designed to set forth the idea in the mind of the legislator what the state of society ought to be under Hindu institutions. "Its injunctions," says Elphinstone, "are drawn from the model to which it is wished to raise the community, and its prohibitions from the worst state of crime which it was possible to apprehend." Surely, all legislation proceeds to a certain extent upon assumption and the calculation of possible contingencies; but of those contingencies existing society must always afford certain positive indications, for all human knowledge is but experience, and all human foresight a deduction of that experience. If there are no such indications, the contemplation of a baseless fabric is altogether;

impossible in the human mind. The Institutes of Manu must, therefore, be accepted as a just reflex of the actual condition of the people of ancient India, and though that condition has undergone certain important and noticeable alterations through the several religious and social revolutions, which have from time to time taken place, yet the accord in the social laws, habits, and manners of the present generation with those described in the Code of 2,700 years ago, is in the main so exact that it would appear that Manu still reigns supreme, and who can say that he does not? Are not the rites and ceremonies to which living Hindus still adhere, are not their daily practices at home and abroad, in conformity to the laws of Manu? Are not their hearths and homesteads, their social etiquette, their out-door intercourse with each other, all governed by the laws of Manu? To Manu, therefore, one must look for the solution of any social problems which may arise in connection with Hindu institutions past and present.

Among the domestic virtues, duties or obligations, by whatever name they may be called, which devolve upon the constituent members of a Hindu family, the relative duties of parents and children first deserve attention. To a Hindu father, a son is an object of religious value. He is not only the light and comfort of his eye in this world, but the instrument of his salvation in the next. In the *Dāya Bhāga*, it is said, "since a son delivers his father from the hell called *put*, therefore he is named *puttra* by the self-existent himself." A childless man cannot escape perdition. To die, therefore, without issue is regarded as one of the greatest of all calamities. It is for this reason that the birth of a male child is attended with greater rejoicing and merriment in a Hindu household than the birth of a daughter. In addition, therefore, to natural affection, religion lends its weight in increasing the value of male children. They are, therefore, reared up in the midst of tenderness, affection, and caresses which are carried to such an extravagant length that they sometimes do more harm than good to the objects upon which they are lavished. Hindu parents do not love their children; they caress and spoil them. In them they love the trophies of their vanity, the pastime of their idleness, the fancied instruments of a mistaken salvation. Bedecked with pearls and gold, the Hindu child in its infancy contracts habits of pomp and show which in manhood cannot be useful either to himself or to society. The fondness of Hindu parents for adorning their children with gold and jewels is so inordinate that a person occupying a very humble position in society, doing no more honorable business than that of a collecting sircar and earning only Rs. 16 a month,

is obliged by social tyranny and convention to buy at his son's *annaprashan* (or the ceremony for initiating the child in rice-eating) at least 20 sicca weight of gold (value Rs. 320), which the neighbouring goldsmith is ready to convert into trinkets for the occasion. It is known of a man who actually raised money to celebrate this pleasing rite by mortgaging his ancestral domicile, the only one he had on earth to put his head under.

A Hindu father's duties to his son are various and multiform, the principal of which are the ceremonial rites. These are the *annaprashan* or the eating of rice, the *churakuran* or the shaving of the head and the boring of the ears, the *upanayana* or the assumption of the sacerdotal thread, and *libaha* or marriage, each of these ceremonies involving considerable expense, and which a man's vanity sometimes leads him to give gigantic proportions to, often beyond his means. The obligation of parents to marry their sons seems, however, the creation of the modern *Shastras*, for no mention is made of it by Manu. On the contrary, texts occur in his code which would give a man the liberty and choice of marriage without parental influence. "A man," says Manu, "aged 30 years, may marry a girl of 12, if he find one dear to his heart." It plainly indicates that in the age of Manu, every young man could marry, according to his own sweet will, the object of his choice, without being hampered by parental authority. The same liberty, it appears, was extended on the side of young women. "Three years let a damsel wait," says Manu, "though she be marriageable, but after that term let her choose for herself a bridegroom of equal rank." Further, "if, not being given in marriage, she choose her bridegroom, neither she nor the youth chosen commits any offence." It was not perhaps till Koolinism was invented, at a very recent period of Hindu society, that the valued prerogative of man to marry at the pleasure of his own will was transferred to parental shoulders, which have ever since been doomed to sustain all the burden of their children, even at the risk of supporting them in idleness. Under the present regime, Hindu parents are not only required to maintain their sons and families, but a moral obligation is almost imposed upon them by the tacit consent of society to find adequate provision for them in life, according to their own rank and dignity. Thus, all sense of independence and self-exertion is snapped asunder, and we find in many Hindu families of wealth and rank grown-up young men, who might have been the pride and ornament of their families and their country, withering in sensualism and inanity. The gross dependence of children on their parents, their complete helplessness and incapacity to make their own way, is chiefly characteristic

of the Hindus of this country, whose energies are paralyzed, whose enterprise is cramped by nothing so much as parental fondness and parental government. The views on this subject of one of the most distinguished writers on Political Economy of the day, which may at first sight appear to orthodox Hindus novel and strange, because not in accordance with their pre-conceived ideas, are nevertheless well worthy of their attention.

"The duties of parents to their children," says John Stuart Mill, "are those which are indissolubly attached to the fact of causing the existence of a human being. The parent owes to society to endeavour to make the child a good and valuable member of it, and owes to the children to provide, so far as depends upon him, such education and such appliances and means as will enable them to start with a fair chance of achieving by their own exertions a successful life. To this every child has a claim, and I cannot admit that as a child he has a claim to more. There is a case in which these obligations present themselves in their true light, without any extrinsic circumstances to disguise or confuse them; it is that of an illegitimate child. To such a child it is generally felt that there is due from the parent the amount of provision for his welfare, which will enable him to make his life, on the whole, a desirable one. I hold that to no child as such any thing more is due than what is admitted to be due to an illegitimate child; and that no child for whom this much has been done has, unless on the score of previously raised expectations, any grievance if the remainder of the parent's fortune is devoted to public uses, or to the benefit of individuals on whom, in the parent's opinion, it is better bestowed."

Mr. Mill's argument may jar against the affectionate feelings of Hindu parents; but it is still suggestive of a very important consideration, namely, whether the thought of making provision for children, over and above what is necessary to enable them to start in life, should be allowed to act as a dead weight on a man's capacity and desire to do public good. The Hon'ble Mr. Maine, in his address at the convocation of the Calcutta University in 1865, publicly lamented the want of Native liberality on this side of India, and brought forward in strong contrast instances of Parsee munificence towards public and useful objects. The explanation of this difference between the public spiritedness of the two races may perhaps be found in the importance that is given by the people of this country to founding a family fortune to the exclusion of objects of public benefit. It is not to be understood, however, that parents should be alto-

gether mindless of making a pecuniary provision for their children, but that such provision should be made within certain defined limits, so that the claims of society upon each individual member for his share of contribution to the public weal may not be overlooked. "In order to give the children," says Mill, "that fair chance of a desirable existence to which they are entitled, it is generally necessary that they should not be brought up from childhood in habits of luxury, which they will not have the means of indulging in after-life." And yet this is a duty which is often most flagrantly violated by those of our countrymen who have terminable incomes—Government clerks and other office-holders who have little or no property to leave. When the children of rich parents have lived, as it is natural they should do, in habits corresponding to the scale of expenditure in which the parents indulge, it is generally the duty of parents to make a greater provision for them than would suffice for children otherwise brought up. But allowing that those children have a just ground of complaint who have been brought up to require luxuries which they are not afterwards likely to obtain, and that their claim, therefore, is good to a provision bearing some relation to the mode of their bringing up, yet it is really no grievance to any man if, for the means of marrying and supporting a family, he has to depend on his own exertions. Hindu parents, by marrying their children at an early age, unduly incur the responsibility of supporting them and their families, thereby giving rise to a system of family dependence, the effects of which were most correctly described by the Hon'ble Mr. Phear at a recent meeting of the Bethune Society. It raises up a body of hangers-on on the bounty of the head of the family, creates a feeling of dependence and servile submission among the receivers of that bounty, and withholds from society the services of many of its members, who might otherwise have added to the labour and capital of the country by struggling for their own means of livelihood. The vanity of marrying one's children is, however, a modern peculiarity of our system, which does not derive its sanction from Manu, and it is therefore to be hoped that it will not be long before this custom, which continues in existence from the pleasing effect it has on the minds of parents, will cease to be countenanced by the more enlightened section of our community, who are themselves heads of families and fathers of children, and who can regulate their conduct, unfettered by custom or prejudice, on the most approved principles of political economy and justice.

But the most important of parental duties is that of finding a sound, comprehensive, and practical education for one's children;

so that as individuals, social beings, and citizens they may fulfil with honor and credit the great ends of their existence. Education in Ancient India, during the times of Brahminical ascendancy, was confined to the privileged classes alone, namely, the Brahmins, the Kshatryas, and the Vaishyas, or the three great divisions of society—the priests, the soldiers, and the merchants.

The first devoted a life-time under the roof of their preceptor to the learning of the Vedas, and the rites and sacrifices ordained in them. The most rigid discipline and pious austerities were imposed upon the disciples, calculated to subdue their passions and elevate their minds above the grosser wants and desires of human nature. They were thus eminently fitted for the performance of religious ceremonies in all households, and mixed freely with the female members, who prepared clarified butter, milk, and curds, and assisted generally in the preparations for the holy offerings.

The education of the Kshatryas, or the military class, consisted in a knowledge of the use of arms and of the principles of government. A Kshatrya, according to Manu, must excel in the use of arms. He must protect the weak from the strong, espouse the cause of the oppressed and the forlorn, honor women and virtue, and pledge his sword always in the right cause. The Kshatryas were, in a word, the *chivalry* of Ancient India. They faced dangers with unconcern; they endured fatigue and trouble with a cheerful heart, and they dared to do what men will dare when the soft and bewitching eyes of woman gleam along their path.

The education of Vaishyas consisted in a knowledge of agriculture and of the rules of commerce:—

“Let the Vaishya,” says Menu, “having been girt with his proper sacrificial thread and having married an equal wife, be always attentive to his business of agriculture and trade, and to that of keeping cattle.

“Of gems, pearls, and coral, of iron, of woven cloth, of perfumes and of liquids, let him well know the prices, both high and low.

“Let him be skilled likewise in the time and manner of sowing seeds, and in the bad or good qualities of land; let him also perfectly know the correct modes of measuring and weighing, the excellence or defects of commodities, the advantages and

disadvantages of different regions, the probable gain or loss on vendible goods, and the means of breeding cattle with large augmentation.

"Let him know the just wages of servants, the various dialects of men, the best way of keeping goods, and whatever else belongs to purchase and sale."

Thus, in the age of the institutes of Manu, which intervened between the settlement of the Aryan conquerors on the plains of the Gangetic valley and the complete establishment of sacerdotal authority over the affairs of the settlers, were the duties of each class definitively arranged, and followed with inviolate precision and regularity. Each of these classes of society had its own teachers and preceptors, and the marked boundaries which divided one class from another could not be trenched upon with impunity, the transgressor being tried, convicted, and punished according to the law of the land. The age, however, which is now passing over our heads is the precursor of a social revolution, the inevitable tendency of which is to leaven into one mass the divided interests of the country, to sweep away the traces of those ignoble barriers which divide and disintegrate the great Aryan family into petty sections, limiting and restricting the aspiration of each within certain narrow limits, which are jealously watched and guarded by the defenders of the system of caste. But the force of education has already effected a wide breach through these ancient battlements, and a youthful band, composed of all classes, untrammelled by the associations and prejudices of their caste-loving ancestors, are eagerly pressing forward to establish a commonwealth of their own, where each may follow his avocation according to his own taste and inclination, without being hampered by the conventional rules and usages of a by-gone age. But until this social revolution is an accomplished fact, the evils of a transition state must be meekly borne. The choice of a profession being no longer dictated by the authority of state or religion, young men from all classes whose forefathers were either weavers or *bunneahs*, carpenters, braziers or blacksmiths, flock to our schools and colleges, chiefly those that are supported by missionary enterprise, and with high academic honors blooming fresh upon them, disdain to revert to the occupations of their forefathers, and thus, without any definite aim or object before their eyes, sink into the condition of unpractical or useless members of society, swelling at the most the ranks of *kraneedom* and accepting the minimum salaries which an overstocked market and an open competition

naturally bring about. The pursuit of knowledge for its own sake is no doubt as valuable to the meanest artizan, who has to depend for his bread upon the sweat of his brow, as to the possessor of a princely fortune, who can cultivate letters and science without being harassed by the cares of gaining a subsistence. But the inequality of condition and rank is almost a natural barrier against mere literary pursuits to the humbler classes, who recruit the ranks of artizans and manufacturers in all countries, and must be set primarily before the eyes of all parents in those classes for the due protection of the interests of their children. The weaver, the carpenter, the brazier, and the blacksmith who send their sons to an English school cannot direct their attention to the study of literature and philosophy without disqualifying them for their own and those other practical professions by which they can earn an honest and independent livelihood, and thereby prove themselves useful and valuable members of society. Our system of natural education is already defective as regards the exclusion of the practical arts and sciences, and the undue preponderance given to the luxuries of literature, which should be reserved alone for the rich and those higher classes who cannot take to any of the handicrafts or those manual employments which are considered the legitimate occupations of the poorer and humbler classes of Indian society, may fairly be regarded as a deterrent element in the social progress of the nation. But rank or social status here is not determined merely by wealth or affluence, which may be the distinguishing marks of a gentleman among other nations. So long as the system of caste survives, the order of precedence will be taken, according to the supposed original division of the human race into classes by divine ordinance. A Brahmin is superior to a gentleman, for his person is sacred, and his occupation the study of the divine sciences. A Kshatrya is a warrior and a protector from ill, and a military spirit is incompatible with, and disqualified for, mechanical employments. The Vaishya, whose profession consists in commerce, will engage himself in husbandry, or attendance on cattle, but will not stoop to any of the manufacturing professions, which are exclusively the business of the mixed tribes, and are therefore considered more dishonorable than agricultural pursuits. A true gentleman in the proper sense of the term comes from the Sudra class. Inferior to the three first tribes as regards social rank, position, and privileges, he is as much above and superior to the mixed tribes as the Brahmins are to him. Among the several families of the Sudra class the Kayasthas are the most pre-eminent, claiming, as

they do, their descent from the five men who attended the priests invited from Kanya Koolya. The word *Kayastha* literally means the stayer at home from *Kāya Sansthita*.* Hence it means a gentleman, a person who does no business, stays at home, regulates his household according to his means and circumstances, or for want of subsistence at the most waits on princes and monarchs, deriving an honorarium for the performance of the clerical business of the courts. Among the Bengal *Kayasthas*, three families hold the first rank, and eight the second. The rest, comprising seventy-two families, are of inferior rank, and assume titles common to the whole Sudra tribe. The three first families, who are Koolins and who are the real gentry among the Hindus, are the Ghoses, the Boses, and the Mittras. The next eight who hold the second rank are the families of Dey, Dutt, Kara, Palita, Sen, Singh, Dass, Guha. Each of these classes is noted for certain peculiarities of character, which the *Ghultucks* or Hindu genealogists are loud in proclaiming. The Ghoses and Boses are the most admired for their frankness of disposition and overflowing charity; the Mittras are said to be most shrewd and crooked in their ways of dealing, while the Duttas are ridiculed for their jealousy and envy of the social position and rank of the first three tribes. The pride of caste is so strong in them all that, except serving their king and their master in the capacity of counsellors, writers and accountants, they will not follow any of the mechanical professions or handicrafts which are assigned only to men of inferior birth. For instance, the *Kumbhakara* or potter, the *Tantravya* or weaver, are said to be sprung from a Brahmin by a girl of the Kshatriya class. The *Kansakara* or brazier, and the *Saukhakara* or worker in shells, are said to be born of a Vaishya woman by a man of the sacerdotal class. The *Karmakara* or smith, the *Dassa* or mariner, are sprung from a servile man by a woman of the military class. The *Chandala* from a Sudra father and a Brahmin mother, his profession being to carry out corpses, and to execute criminals, and officiate in other abject employments for the public service. The musician, the painter, and the sculptor belong to classes sprung from intercourse between the first and second tribes. Thus employment in handicrafts and manufactures is associated with inferiority of birth, which precludes the purer tribes, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and the original Sudras, from such occupations. The consequence of educating all the classes, whether pure or mixed, has been that while the latter, abandoning their own arts and professions, have encroached upon the province of the former, the men who have

* Colebrooke on the Indian Classes.

hitherto monopolized the learned professions to whom caste is dearer than life and who sacrifice its comforts and conveniences at the altar of family rank and pride, are the chief sufferers; while on the other hand the value of mechanical employments from want of labourers in the field has gone up so high that articles of common use are not to be had at even four times their original price.

The duties of Hindu parents to their female children are of a very simple kind. They are to support them till they are married, to treat them kindly, to keep them always in a pleasing temper, to adorn them with jewels, to instruct them in household duties, and to give them in marriage to worthy persons. Under the roof of their parents, Hindu girls are treated with the utmost tenderness; for the idea of separation at marriage being always present in the minds of the parents, they are ever watchful of the happiness of their daughters. With his exuberance of fancy, Kalidasa has invested one of these parting scenes with a tenderness and pathos which are as inimitable as they are true to nature. Even the prosaic historian, Mr. Mill, has succumbed to its influence. "The scene," he says, "which takes place when Sacontala is about to leave the peaceful hermitage where she had happily spent her youth, her expressions of tenderness to her friends, her affectionate parting with the domestic animals she had tended, and even the flowers and trees in which she had delighted, breathe more than pastoral sweetness." These affectionate parting scenes occur almost in every Hindu family in which there are marriageable daughters, and indicate the love and affection which their parents cherish towards them. The declaration in Manu, that "by a girl or young woman, or by a woman advanced in years, nothing must be done, even in her own dwelling-house, according to her mere pleasure," does not imply, as is apt to be supposed by European readers of the text, the existence in a Hindu household of unworthy restraints on the actions and desires of unmarried women; they are such only as parents should impose on their daughters to rear them up in virtue and those noble qualities, both of mind and heart, which are a woman's best ornaments. There was a time when education of a very high order was given to our daughters, and which fitted them to hold *Swyamvaras*, at which they were permitted to choose their own husbands after trying them by their own standard of learning. But though the practice of educating their intellect has fallen into desuetude, the moral training which they yet receive under the paternal roof is capable of producing those sweet-tempered and amiable angels who adorn our households. The best proof wo

have of the effects of such training is the perfect ease and content with which a Hindu girl reconciles herself to the situation to which she finds herself suddenly transferred after marriage in the house of her husband. Isolated from parents and relatives, and the boon companions of her youth, she does not at all regret the change, but is a picture of humility and submission to the relatives of her husband, and at once contracts that love and affection for them, which are to continue unbroken through her whole existence. Taught by the anxious mother to anticipate, even when too young, her future destiny, the Hindu girl evinces no ordinary moral strength in being able to form new associations and relationships, and to throw her whole life and soul into them, as if the associations and relationships from which she was parted only yesterday had never existed. It is the result of the severe moral training which Hindu mothers give to their daughters, and which, if allowed to combine with a sound and healthy education of the intellect, could not fail to add infinitely to those charms of social behaviour of which they are now the possessors. But if intellectual culture were only an alternative to moral training, it would be far better that no education at all should be given than that a woman should be brought up in learning and letters, devoid of those excellent moral qualities which can alone be acquired under the domestic government to which she is now subject. But intellectual education, under existing circumstances, cannot be so fully carried out as might be wished, owing to the prevalent system of early marriage. In this respect the Hindus have much fallen and deteriorated from the position which they held in the time of Manu, when the marriageable age of their daughters ranged from 12 to 15 instead of from 9 to 10. These early marriages are attended with such a forced maturity, that it is not unusual to see a girl of 12 with a child in her arms. The languor and pallor which succeed such premature development are not only destructive of physical health, but conduce largely to mental decrepitude and decay. The freshness of youth is invaded by the cares of early matronhood, and at the age of 25, when European ladies are mostly spinsters, a Hindu woman is strongly marked with age. The institution of early marriages is, however, indicative of a state of society other than that of extreme poverty; for the difficulty of gaining a livelihood is one of the most effective checks on inconsiderate marriages, and is one of the most powerful causes now in operation for restraining the increase of population among the poor in all countries in Europe and America. The capacity for maintaining a wife and family is the best criterion we have of judging of the

condition of a people, among whom such social indulgences are liberally allowed: Blessed with a rich and fertile soil, the Natives of this country can, with very little labour and skill, command a sufficiency of food and the other necessities of life to enable them to maintain a host of relatives, friends and kinsmen. Hindu parents are anxious to marry their sons and daughters, not merely that they may thereby discharge a duty which they owe to themselves and to their children, but that they may, while deriving an inconceivable pleasure from the play of the affections, secure the honor of the family from the degradation to which prolonged celibacy and its supposed natural concomitants, illegal and immoral sexual unions, may bring upon it. The social reproach, however, would not have been itself so powerful a motive to the celebration of early marriages, if the requisite means and expenditure were not so easily obtainable as they are in India. The checks to marriage and population which poverty brings to bear upon a nation, would have had their full play in this country, but for the richness of the soil and the comparative facility with which a livelihood is obtained.

As regards the filial love of the Hindus, it may be remarked that it amounts almost to blind submission and obedience, which takes away from them all independence of thought and action. It is owing to this excess of filial piety that they cannot stir out of their homes to see and study for themselves distant countries and nations, or do anything that does not lie within a beaten track. Of the respect due to parents, the text of *Manu* gives the following illustrations:—

“That pain and care which a mother and father undergo in producing and rearing children cannot be compensated in a hundred years.” “Let every man constantly do what may please his parents; and on all occasions, what may please his preceptor; when those three are satisfied, his whole course of devotion is accomplished.” “As long as those three live, so long he must perform no other duty for his own sake, but delighting in what may conciliate their affections and gratify their wishes, he must from day to day assiduously wait on them.” “By honoring those three, without more, a man effectually does whatever ought to be done; this is his highest duty; appearing before us like *dharma* himself, and every other act is an *upadharma*, or subordinate duty.”

Among all nations, whether wise or uneducated, the honor due to parents is recognized in some form of devotion or other.

But nowhere is a man forbidden to do anything *for his own sake*, to recognize no other duty than that of assiduously waiting on parents as long as they live, to conciliate their affections and gratify their wishes. True filial love, as the law of nature prescribes it, consists, on the side of children, in the practice of those actions which are useful to themselves and to their parents. It has its origin,—*1st*, in sentiment, for the affectionate care of parents inspires, from the most tender age, mild habits of attachment; *2ndly*, in justice, for children owe to their parents a return and indemnity for the cares, and even for the expense they have caused them; *3rdly*, in personal interest, for if they use them ill, they give to their own children examples of revolt and ingratitude, which would authorize them at a future day to behave to themselves in a similar manner. But are they bound to understand by filial love blind submission and obedience, or a reasonable submission founded on the knowledge of the mutual rights and duties of parents and children—rights and duties without the observance of which their mutual conduct is nothing but disorder? To those who have fathers and mothers still living, it is not desirable to suggest any deviation from the course they have been hitherto following, for they have been brought up by those fathers and mothers under a tacit and implied contract that they should obey them in all respects, even in their whims and caprices; but those among us who are fathers of children should do those children the justice which, as educated and sensible men, with expanded minds and liberal hearts, they are bound to render. The rising generation would thus have under their enlightened auspices greater independence of mind and liberty of action than it has been our own lot to enjoy, and would be able to achieve those much needed reforms which their fathers are now barely permitted to speculate upon.

The nature of the conjugal affection of the Hindus next demands notice.

“Conjugal love,” says Volney, “is a virtue, because the concord and union resulting from the love of the married establish in the heart of the family a multitude of habits useful to its prosperity and preservation. The united pair are attached to and seldom quit their home; they superintend each particular direction of it; they attend to the education of their children; they maintain the respect and fidelity of domestics; they prevent all disorder and dissipation; and from the whole of their good conduct they live in ease and consideration; whilst married persons who do not love one another fill their house with quarrels

and troubles, create dissension between their children and the servants leaving both indiscriminately to all kinds of vicious habits; every one in turn spoils, robs and plunders the house; the revenues are absorbed without profit, debts accumulate, the married pair avoid each other or contend in lawsuits; and the "whole family falls into disorder, ruin, disgrace, and want."

As a parallel to this truly graphic picture of the duties of married life, which would apply to all ages and nations, the Hindu law prescribes the relative obligations of husbands and wives in the following words:—

"Married women must be honored and adorned by their husbands.

"Where females are honored, there the deities are pleased; but where they are dishonored, there all religious acts become fruitless.

"Let women, therefore, be continually supplied with ornaments, apparel and food at festivals and at jubilees by men desirous of wealth.

"In whatever family the husband is contented with his wife, and the wife with her husband, in that house will fortune be assuredly permanent.

"Certainly, if the wife be not elegantly attired, she will not exhilarate her husband; and if her lord want hilarity, offspring will not be produced.

"A wife being gaily adorned, her whole house is embellished; but if she be destitute of ornaments, all will be deprived of decoration."

Similarly on the part of the wife, Menu says—

"Him, to whom her father has given her or her brother with the paternal consent, let her obsequiously honor while he lives, and when he dies, let her never neglect him.

"No sacrifice is allowed to women apart from their husbands, no religious rite, no fasting; as far only as a wife honors her lord, so far she is exalted in heaven.

"A faithful wife who wishes to attain in heaven the mansion of her lord must do nothing unkind to him, be he living or dead."

These rules are followed to the letter in every Hindu family. Except by the utterly depraved, women are honoured and adorned in every house. They are the lights of the zenana,

not only casting their halo on us while we are within doors, but exercising a more lasting influence on all our thoughts and actions. They are the tutelar deities to whom we pay all the homage that is due to them. They are in fact the disposers of our social destinies; and we, far from being the cruel tyrants we are sometimes represented to be, willingly submit those destinies into their hands. Really, if one were disposed to draw a picture of conjugal felicity that would approve itself to the taste and admiration of all mankind, he could not select for his purpose a better subject than a married Hindu couple, who are the impersonations of mutual kindness and forbearance, who are the comfort, strength, and source of happiness of each other. But while the scandalous allusions by foreign writers to the condition of Hindu women as one of actual slavery cannot be too strongly deprecated, it cannot, on the other hand, be denied that there is a shady side of the picture, some dark spots which detract in no small degree from the merit and value of the whole. These dark spots occur in the shape of certain restraints on free social intercourse between man and wife. They might be the institutions of a barbarous age. They might have had their origin in certain local peculiarities and customs, but their continuance on the Statute Book and their practice up to the present day are scarcely creditable to those who, holding their women in the highest esteem, suffer themselves to be led by force of habit to outrage their own understanding.

Take, for instance, such an ordinance as this—

“Let no man either eat with his wife, or look at her eating, or sneezing, or yawning, or sitting carelessly.”

Now one of the greatest promoters of domestic happiness is the family board, at the head of which the mistress of the house has a right to sit, to quicken the glow of social enjoyment by her presence. Her exclusion from it by Hindu law may, to some extent, be explained by the share which Hindu women originally had in the cooking of the food and in the serving of it to all the members, including the servants of the house. The law also declares that “a husband is to be revered as a god by a virtuous wife,” and their eating together may justly militate against that law. But in the present advanced state of our society, when the women of the house generally neither cook their own food nor serve it with their own hands, and when the godship of the husband is generally understood to be a mere

figure of speech, the introduction into every respectable Native house of a family board, where a man and his wife with their sons and daughters and daughters-in-law may eat together, cannot fail to develop those social amenities in which we are now so particularly deficient. Female companionship is a desideratum in Hindu society, the want of which every educated Bengali in his heart cannot but deeply regret. As long, therefore, as we do not succeed in removing the existing restraints which prevent women from mixing in the society of men, so long do we not only give a handle to our traducers to charge us with cruelty and unkindness to the weaker sex, but we lend ourselves to the continuance of a system which is at once pernicious, and opposed to our truest aspirations after happiness. The charms of female society are enhanced by nothing so much as music, and it is to be regretted that whilst by almost all the Indian races, the Mahrattas and the Hindus of the Upper Provinces especially, music is reckoned as one of the principal accomplishments of women, it should be forbidden among their sisters in the Lower Provinces. In Ancient India music and dancing were considered as the most necessary accomplishments of women. When the *Pandooas* took shelter during their exile in the dominions of the king of Virata, Arjun offered his services as a music and dancing master, and was immediately introduced by the rajah to the ladies of his house, who were brought up by Arjun within a short time so perfect in the arts of singing and dancing, that the rajah was delighted with their performances. In all schemes of female education now being followed out, the teaching of music should have a prominent place, and when our daughters and our wives are able to sing to us with their charming voices, or to play upon some of our favourite instruments, we shall have a home made sweet, for the want of which we are now only full of vain regrets.

Fraternal love is the love subsisting between brothers, which enables them to establish the strength, security, and conservation of the family. Brothers united defend themselves against all oppression; they aid one another in their wants; they help one another in their misfortunes. The Hindu joint family system, under which brothers live together in the same house, may from this point of view be regarded as a source of strength to the family; while at the same time it is natural to expect that such close associations and daily intercourse will make the family attachments and affections stronger than if they lived separately. But it is very doubtful whether in reality this happy union and concord are invariably attained. It seems more natural to suppose that difference of tastes and tempers, diversity

of aims and pursuits, inequality of incomes, and the consequent unequal distribution of comforts and conveniences, tend to produce jealousy and dissension among brothers. Blessed is that family indeed where the causes of such jealousy and dissension do not exist. But the agreeable result of such an association is an exception rather than the rule, while at the same time it appears more probable that, by living separately, the causes of jealousy and discord are removed, while the natural yearning for brotherly affection and kindness is intensified by absence and want of daily communion. The family strength is not a whit impaired by such separation, for brothers will help each other more earnestly and liberally in wants and misfortunes, than when one is a perpetual burden upon another, in which case the recipient of continual favors, instead of being an object of sympathy, love, or tenderness, is looked upon with feelings the very reverse of those which one brother should entertain for another.

The duties of masters to servants are not clearly defined in the Hindu Shastras, though we can bear testimony to the gentleness, obedience, and faithfulness of Hindu servants in general, as also to the kindness and consideration which they receive at the hands of their employers. There is a just equality between the service rendered and the recompense paid, that is to say, the wages are equal to the labour performed. Besides, there are the extra gains which are not merely tolerated, but acquired under the direct sanction of their masters. These are the presents bestowed on them at festivals and jubilees, not only by the members of the family in which they are employed, but by distant relatives and friends of their masters. The only respect in which the treatment of servants, though intrinsically kind and considerate, has an air of ill usage, is the kind of language used by Hindu masters to their servants. In the first place, their names are purposely corrupted to make them sensible of their state of servitude. Ram Chunder, on accepting service, accepts with it the contemptible abbreviation of his name into *Ramo*, Sham Chunder into *Shamo*, Gokul Chunder into *Goclo*, and similar other corruptions according to the taste and fancy of the employers. Reprimands and threats are also conveyed in indecent and vulgar language, such as one could scarcely use towards another, however low his social position may be, without causing an immediate breach of the peace. Thanking a servant for the performance of a duty is unknown in Hindu society; while every true-hearted Englishman cannot dismiss from his presence any of his menials who has executed an order without a gentle nod of the head, accom-

panied by an utterance of thanks from the mouth. Certainly a politeness of manner is due to servants, however kind you may be to them in other respects : and it therefore ill becomes educated Native gentlemen, who are pioneers of social reforms and models of etiquette and good-breeding, to indulge in the epithets which their unpolished forefathers were in the habit of lavishing on their servants.

Among all the domestic virtues, the practice of economy is one most essential to the preservation and well-being of a family. Economy, in its narrower acceptation, means the proper distribution of every thing that concerns the existence of a family. The idea of saving or accumulation does not necessarily come within its meaning ; neither does it imply parsimony or niggardliness. It means the capacity for so distributing a man's income as to be able to meet his own wants and those of his family or dependents with an appearance of completeness in each department of living. In the exercise of this faculty it is not necessary that a man should avoid luxuries and confine himself to the necessaries of life—for luxuries are as essential to human existence, to keep one in cheerfulness and health, in love with one's self, one's neighbours and one's kindred, as the bare supply of the wants of life—food, house and raiment. Certainly that existence would be burdensome, and therefore perhaps not worth having, that would have to content itself with eating the same food, wearing the same apparel, and living in the same house, from the day that its possessor first saw the light of the sun to the day when he ceases to look on it. From the king on his throne to the humblest of his subjects, every unit of humanity has his luxurious comforts and indulgences ; and so equally the king and his humblest subject have need of the exercise of economy in their respective scales of living. That economy consists in the act of being liberal in one kind of expenditure and in being saving in another, for if a man be liberal in diet, he should be saving in apparel ; if he be liberal in the hall, he should be saving in the stable ; if he be liberal in acts of charity, he should be saving in his sports and amusements, for "he," says Bacon "that is plentiful in expenses of all kinds will hardly be preserved from decay." To apply this principle to a Hindu family, reference has already been made to the extravagant demands upon a man's income or resources, and it has been shown how, under the joint family system, the earning of a single individual is cast upon a dozen idle people, and how, after providing for the wants of each, the saving is applied to the performance of rites

and ceremonies. A child's *annaprashan*, a son or a daughter's marriage, a father's or mother's *shraddh*, either swallows up the scrapings of years or throws a man into irretrievable debt. Certainly in matters that come but once in a way, a man may afford to be magnificent or extravagant, but occasions for unusual expenditure occur so often and at such regular intervals in a Hindu family, that a man cannot be too careful or too scrupulous about spending money on these occasions. He may, if he chooses, for once celebrate his son's or his daughter's marriage, so long as Hindu society may continue to recognize the giving of such marriages as a part of parental duty and obligation, with that rude show and glitter which are considered irreproachable and even meritorious; but when a man has many sons and many daughters to marry, he cannot recklessly indulge a lavish outlay upon each without ruining himself or bringing misfortune upon those very children, upon whom he spent his fortune for no earthly good to them or himself. There are instances of men still living upon whose marriages many lakhs of rupees were spent by their reckless parents, who are now paupers and dependents for their bread upon private friendship and charity. But there are so many other demands upon the resources of a Hindu family besides those for appointed rites, obligations or ceremonies, that they literally swallow up the fortune of a Croesus by their too frequent recurrence and unusual heaviness. The exchange of presents between friends and relatives is a mark of esteem, love, or affection. But who is there in Hindu society who has not at some time or other been made painfully sensible of the real nature of these presents? Are they not *exactions* alike discreditable to those who give and to those who take them? Who that has married daughters has not suffered anguish of heart and vexation of spirit at the approach of those numerous festivals and seasons, when one must do his best, beg, borrow or steal, to send his son-in-law and his host of relatives presents, not according to their own means and competence, but suited to the rank and dignity of the recipients. If considered ineligible, they are received with taunts and derision, which the bearers of those presents are directed to repeat to the sender. Who, again, that has married his son into a family richer than his own has not had to pocket similar insults from the relatives of his own daughter-in-law? The exchange of presents has been so systematized that there are regulated limits to the character and value of each present. One who cannot come up to the prescribed standard is degraded in the eyes of his friends and relatives. But irrespective of the claims of near relatives and friends

to such presents, there are various outside demands which a man cannot avoid, or insufficiently meet, without making himself amenable to social reproach. If you are invited to a wedding either on the part of the bride or the bridegroom, you must send suitable presents in clothes and eatables. If you are invited to a poojah, you must put in your pocket a couple of rupees, a rupee, a half-rupee, or even a quarter of a rupee to present at the place of worship, and you must calculate upon your reception according to the value of your present. It was once the subject of talk in Native society that at a certain respectable Native gentleman's house, the guests were actually treated to dinner in three different styles,—a first class dinner being given to those who paid a rupee, a second class to those who paid half a rupee, and a third class to those who paid a quarter. These interminable presents, which are neither the tokens of friendship nor love, are intolerable bores and nuisances which do not enrich the man who receives them, but make him who gives them poor indeed. Awakened to the folly and extravagance of these expenses, we should consider whether, having regard to those higher demands upon our resources which as kinsmen, citizens, and subjects we are bound to satisfy, we should blindly submit to custom and convention, and do as our forefathers did, or whether we should take lessons from those around us and learn to regulate our expenditure with a juster regard to our means. There are even among the Hindus men of open-handed charity who are exceptions to the rule, but their existence does not in any way palliate or cover the fault of the class to which they belong.

To this cursory review of the domestic life of the Hindus, considered under the principal heads of their relative duties to each other as members of a family living together under the same roof, it only remains to add that, if parents have been warned of the consequences of bringing up their children in habits of luxury which they will not have the means of indulging in after-life; if children have been admonished of their blind submission to the whims and caprices of their parents at the sacrifice of their own independence of thought and liberty of action; if brothers have been reminded of the propriety of living separately, clear of subjugation to the family; if habits of frittering away the acquisitions of labor on vanity, feeding and unprofitable objects have been reprov'd; the warnings, admonitions, and reproofs also point to a model of domestic economy the most perfect of its kind for the people of this country to follow, namely, that presented by their Western brothers, "who are their

own masters and maintainers ;" who are the architects of their own fortunes ; who spend it at their own will, and upon whom the stroke of misfortune falls singly and individually without involving others in their ruin. If they have risen high in the scale of nations ; if they form, as it were, the vanguard of modern civilization ; if they are the masters of the sea and the terrors of the battle-field ; if they are at the same time the first nation in the peaceful arts ; if they are the mould of form and the glass of fashion ; if charity beams in their countenance and patriotism glows in their hearts ; it is because "every man's aim among them is to stand by himself in the world," to look to his own individual means and resources and no other, and yet act in subordination to the good of all mankind.

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THE REV. K. M. BANERJEA.
THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARIES OF THE
ASSOCIATION.
H. H. LOCKE, Esq.
BABU CHUNDERNATH BOSE, M.A. } *Secre-*
taries.

III.—HEALTH.

T. FARQUHAR, M.D.—*Chairman.*
MAJOR G. B. MALLESON.
" F. B. NORMAN.
J. EWART, M.D.
J. ANDERSON, M.D.
A. V. BEST, M.D.
NORMAN CHEVRES, M.D.
S. G. CHUCKERBUTTY, M.D.
J. FAWCUS, M.D.
A. J. PAYNE, M.D.
J. FAYEE, M.D.
BABU KOYLAS CHUNDERA BOSE.
THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARIES OF
THE ASSOCIATION.
BABU KANNY LAL DEY, *Secretary.*

IV.—ECONOMY AND TRADE.

T. FARQUHAR, M.D. *Chairman.*
MAJOR F. B. NORMAN.
J. B. KNIGHT, Esq.
MANOOKJEE RUSTOMJEE, Esq.
A. MACKENZIE, Esq., C.S.
J. G. BOWERMAN, Esq.
C. LAZARUS, Esq.
BABU GERESH CHUNDER GHOSH.
THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARIES OF
THE ASSOCIATION.
JAMES WILSON, Esq., *Secretary.*

RULES.

OBJECT.

I. The object of the Association is to promote the development of Social Science in the Presidency of Bengal.

MEMBERSHIP.

II. Any person who pays an annual subscription of Twelve rupees, or a life subscription of One Hundred Rupees, shall be a member of the Association.

III. Every member shall have the right of attending and voting at the annual, quarterly, and special meetings of the Association, of being eligible to any of its offices, and of receiving a copy of its Transactions.

IV. The annual subscription shall be payable in advance on the first day of January in each year.

V. Any member whose annual subscription shall not be paid before the end of the year for which it is due, shall be liable to have his name struck off the list of members by the Council.

VI. Any member desirous of withdrawing from the Association must communicate his wish to the Secretaries in writing, but he will be liable for the subscription of the year in which such communication is received.

OFFICERS AND GOVERNMENT.

VII. The Association shall have a President, two Vice-presidents, and two Honorary Secretaries, who are also Treasurers.

VIII. The Association shall be governed by a Council, consisting of fifteen ordinary members, besides the above office-bearers. The Council may fill up vacancies in its own body as they occur during the year.

IX. All office-bearers and ordinary members of Council shall be elected at the annual meeting, and shall hold office till the annual meeting next ensuing; they shall be eligible for re-election. This rule shall apply to all Officers elected by the Council during the year.)

X. The Council shall ordinarily meet once a quarter, and when specially summoned together by the President of the Association, or at the requisition of any five members of the Council.

DEPARTMENTS AND SECTIONS.

XI. The Association shall be divided into four departments: the *first*, for *Jurisprudence and Law*; the *second*, for *Education*; the *third*, for *Health*; and the *fourth*, for *Economy and Trade*.

XII. The Council shall divide itself into sections corresponding to the above departments. The President and Secretaries shall be *ex-officio* members of every section. Each section may appoint its own Chairman and Secretary, who, if not already members of the Council under Rule 9, shall have the right of taking part in its deliberations and of voting at its meetings.

XIII. The work of a section shall consist in collecting, classifying, and arranging the papers and information relating to its own department. For this purpose it may associate with itself other members of the Association.

SUB-COMMITTEES.

XIV. The Council may also form other Sub-Committees of its body for special purposes, and such Sub-Committees shall also have the power of adding to their number other members of the Association. The President and Secretaries are *ex-officio* members of all Sub-Committees.

MEETINGS.

XV. The meeting of the Association shall be annual, quarterly, and special.

XVI. The annual and quarterly meetings of the Association shall be held in Calcutta. The former shall be convened by the Council in January of each year, and the latter in the months of January, March, July, and November.

XVII. Special meetings of the Association may be convened by the Council at such time and place, and for such purpose as they shall think fit.

XVIII. At the annual meeting of the Association, the President, or one of the Vice-Presidents, shall deliver an address, and the general and sectional reports for the past year shall be read.

Regulations relating to papers.

v.

XIX. The quarterly meetings of the Association shall be held for the reading and discussion of papers merely.

SECRETARIAT.

XX. The Honorary Secretaries shall, by mutual agreement, divide the duties of their office between them, reporting such arrangement to the Council.

ACCOUNTS.

XXI. The accounts of the Association shall be audited by two members of the Association, not being members of Council, who shall be appointed at the annual meeting.

XXII. The funds of the Association shall be lodged in the Bank of Bengal, and cheques shall be drawn only upon the signature of the President (or one of the Vice-Presidents) and one of the Secretaries.

BRANCH ASSOCIATIONS.

XXIII. The Association shall correspond with, and affiliate to itself, Branch Associations established out of Calcutta.

XXIV. As a condition of such affiliation, Branch Associations shall pay to the funds of the Parent Association a sum of six Rupees per annum for each one of their members, in return for which such members shall be entitled to a copy of its Transactions, and to the privilege of attending its meetings in Calcutta or elsewhere.

REGULATIONS RELATING TO PAPERS.

1. With a view to direct the communications of members and others into the most useful channels, the Council have drawn up certain heads of enquiry in each department. But it is not intended to confine discussion to these particular subjects; papers on other interesting topics which may occur to individuals will also be accepted by the Council.

2. All papers should be sent to the Honorary Secretaries at the Metcalfe Hall, at least one month before the meeting at which they are to be read. On the first page of every paper should be written the subject, and the name and address of the author.

3. As a rule, all papers shall be submitted by the General Secretaries to the section which they may concern, upon whose recommendation alone they shall be accepted by the Council, provided that in special cases in which the President may think it conducive to the interests of the Society, he may, on the inspection of a paper, exercise his discretion in accepting it without previous submission to the section.

4. A paper will ordinarily be read by its author, or by some friend nominated by him for the purpose; failing such, it will be read by the Secretary in the particular department which it concerns.

5. Papers, when read, should be left with the Secretary to the department, by whom they will be returned to the General Secretaries.

6. No paper, already published, can be read. No paper, which has been accepted, can be published privately, except by permission of the Council.

7. The Council may print any paper either in whole or in part, or may exclude any paper altogether from the Transactions, as they see fit. Members of the Association will be entitled to twenty spare copies of any printed papers which they may contribute.

8. All papers should be composed in as clear and concise a style as possible. They should be confined, as far as practicable, to the relation of facts and observations bearing upon the question, and should avoid, as far as may be, the enunciation of general principles and of philosophical theories and reflections. It is quite true that the promotion of Social Science demands that deductions should be drawn from ascertained facts, but it is believed that the requisite *data* have not yet been accumulated, and that the Association will, for the present at least, be most beneficially engaged in the collection of Social Statistics.

9. With a view to preserve the object with which general meetings of the Association are held, *viz.*, the discussion of the subjects which may be then introduced, no papers shall be read *in extenso* which will occupy more than a quarter of an hour in the reading, but in the event of the paper being longer, a *précis* or abstract shall be read instead. Such abstract shall be submitted for the approval of the Council together with the original paper.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1867.

In presenting their first Annual Report, the Council desire to refer to the Introductory Part of the first number of the Society's Transactions, published a few months since, for a brief narrative of the early history of the Association. Notwithstanding several resignations which took place at the beginning of the year, the number of the Society's members has steadily increased, and there is therefore every reason to suppose that the Association is gaining confidence and importance in the eyes of the community. The total number of members who have been enrolled during the year, inclusive of the members of the Connaghur Branch Association, who are in a manner members of this Association also, is 202. It must be remembered that hitherto the Association has, as it were, been on its trial; but now that it has completed the first year of its existence, the Council have every confidence that it will receive the warm support of all those who are interested in the social welfare of this country.

Meetings.—A quarterly session of the Association was held in July, and extended over three evenings. Besides the President's inaugural Address, ten papers on various subjects were read in the different Sections, and the greater part of them have since been published in the Transactions of the Association. In November the Council exercised their discretion in postponing the ordinary quarterly meeting of the Society, as no papers were reported to be ready for reading and discussion at that meeting.

Council.—The subjects which have engaged the attention of the Council since the meeting in July last are (1) the condition of the agricultural classes in Bengal; (2) the condition of the native artizan classes in Calcutta, and the expediency of holding an Exhibition of native arts and manufactures in connection with the Society; and (3) native female education. Questions regarding the agricultural classes were printed and widely circulated.* They were also translated into Bengali for the use of those gentlemen who were unacquainted with the English language; and the Council are happy to state that replies to these queries are now being received almost daily. The inquiries relating to the artizan classes and female education have also been issued.* It is to be hoped that those interested in either subject will aid the Society with the information requested, and that both the mercantile and trading communities will show their appreciation of the utility of the proposed Exhibition by active co-operation with the Association.

Transactions.—One number of the Transactions was published during the year, and copies have been distributed to the members of the Association free of charge. The Council have much pleasure in acknowledging the support which has been accorded to the Society's publication by the Supreme and the several local Governments.

The Government of India has subscribed for 25 copies.			
"	"	of Bengal	20 "
"	"	of North-West Provinces	50 "
"	"	of Punjab	12 "
"	"	of Madras	25 "
"	"	of Bombay	41 "

173 copies.

* See pages xi—xiv.

Finance.—The total subscriptions for the year aggregated Rs. 2,382, of which Rs. 1,498 have been collected. The Council regret that so large a balance should still be outstanding, and they trust that members will in future see the necessity of punctuality in paying their subscriptions, in order to enable the Secretaries to meet the engagements of the Association. There have been some small receipts from the sale of the Transactions. The annual expenditure during the year amounted to Rs. 1,202, leaving a balance in hand of Rs. 491. The liabilities of the Association amount to Rs. 569 against assets, which are estimated at Rs. 638. The financial results of the year are therefore encouraging so far as they show a surplus. The accounts for the year have been passed by the Finance Committee, and under Rule 21 it is now necessary to appoint as auditors two members of the Association who have not also been members of the Council during the past year.

Branch Associations.—One of the objects of this Association is to promote the study of social questions by the affiliation of Branch Associations in the Mofussil. One such Association has been affiliated during the year at Connaghur, through the exertions of Babu Shib Chunder Deb of that place, and the Council are desirous of encouraging the formation of similar Societies elsewhere.

Library.—It was notified at the last session that a commencement had been made towards the formation of a Statistical Library of Reference, and it is now the pleasing duty of the Council to acknowledge the numerous presentations they have received during the year from the various Governments as well as from private individuals. A list of these books will be appended to the next number of the Transactions.

The Rules of the Association which were drawn up on the basis approved in January last, and the regulation regarding papers which have been prescribed by the Council, require the confirmation of this meeting. The Council would recommend, however, a slight alteration in the constitution of the Association. It has been found desirable that the Secretaries to the different sections should also be admitted to and take part in the meetings of the Council, and it is therefore proposed to add to Rule 12 the words "who, if not already members of the Council under Rule 9, shall have the right of taking part in its deliberations and of voting at its meetings." As this is an alteration which affects to some extent the constitution of the Association, the Council do not consider that they have the power to effect it of their own motion.

The Annual Meeting at which the above Report was read, was held in the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the evening of Wednesday, the 29th January 1868. It was unfortunate that the day in question was the great Hindu festival of *Sri Purnomi*, and this fact doubtless prevented the attendance of many Native gentlemen who were desirous of being present at the Meeting. The occurrence of the festival was not brought to the notice of the Council at the time the day was fixed, and when the mistake was discovered, although a meeting of the Council was specially called to consider the matter, it was found impossible to make any alteration in the previous arrangements. As it was, there was a considerable audience of members and visitors, and the meeting was attended by His Excellency the Viceroy, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. The annual address was delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Phear, President of the Association, and will be found in the present number of the Transactions.

The Council and the Office Bearers elected for the present year are as follows :—

President.

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE PHEAR.

Vice-Presidents.

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE NORMAN.

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE DWARKA NATH MITTRA.

Council.

W. S. ATKINSON, Esq.

T. FARQUHAR, M.D.

J. B. KNIGHT, Esq.

THE REV. J. LONG.

A. MACKENZIE, C.S.

F. J. MOUTAT, M.D.

SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I.

MAJOR F. B. NORMAN.

S. G. CHUCKERBUTTY, M.D.

THE REV. PROFESSOR K. M. BANERJEA.

BABU JUGGODANUND MOOKERJEE.

„ RAM CHUNDER MITTRA.

„ GREESH CHUNDER GHOSE.

MANOCKJEE RUSTOMJEE, Esq.

MOULVI ABDUL LUTEEF KHAN BA-

HADOOR.

Secretaries.

H. BEVERLEY, Esq., C. S.

BABU PEARY CHAND MITTRA.

The quarterly session of the Association was held on the following day. The sections of *Jurisprudence and Law* and of *Economy and Trade* met in the morning, and those of *Education and Health* in the evening. Most of the papers that were read on that occasion, and an abstract of the discussion that ensued, will be found in the following pages.

It may not be out of place to add that, at the request of the Council, His Excellency the Viceroy, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and the Lord Bishop of Calcutta have accepted the office of Patrons of the Association, and in doing so, have expressed their entire sympathy with the objects of the Society and their readiness at any time to render it such assistance as may lie within their power.

H. BEVERLEY,
PEARY CHAND MITTRA, } *Hon'y. Secretaries.*

Abstract Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for 1867.

	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	By amount of subscriptions received sale of the Transactions ...	Rs. A. P.
To Stationery and petty charges ...	300 5 6		...	1,498 0 0
" Meeting charges ...	72 9 9		...	196 4 0
" Establishment charges ...	579 9 0		...	
" Advertising and Printing charges ...	226 2 0		...	
" Postage account ...	24 3 0		...	
	1,202 13 3			
Balance in hand ...	491 6 9			
	Rs 1,694 4 0	Rs.		1,694 4 0
LIABILITIES.				
Bills for printing the Transactions, &c. ...	569 0 0		Amount of subscription bills ... 2,382 0 0	
			Collected ... 1,498 0 0	
			Irrecoverable ... 324 0 0	
			1,822 0 0	
			Balance of bills in hand ...	560 0 0
			Amount due by the Punjab Government for 12 copies of the Transactions ...	25 6 0
			Amount due by the Madras Government for 25 copies of the Transactions ...	53 4 0
	569 0 0			638 10 0

Audited this day.

F. B. NORMAN, Major.
M. RUSTOMJEE.

The 17th January 1868.

SUBJECTS OF ENQUIRY.

Inquiries regarding Female Education.

1. How many schools do you know of in your district, or neighbourhood, for the instruction of females? and are such schools for girls only, or for the instruction of girls and boys together?

NOTE.—In the replies to this question, some designation or description of the schools referred to should be given, so that, in the event of the same schools being returned in different answers, they may be identified, and not counted more than once.

2. How many female scholars are there on the rolls of such schools collectively, and what is the average daily attendance?

3. Can you say whether caste has any influence upon the admission of girls to such schools?

4. At what age do girls generally enter school, and how long do they remain?

5. State the causes, so far as you are aware of them, of the withdrawal of female pupils from school?

6. What is the course of study generally pursued in the schools with which you are acquainted, and state in particular whether English or needlework is taught in them?

7. Have you observed any difference in the progress made generally by all the girls in a school, as compared with that of the pupils in a boys' school of a similar kind?

8. State as nearly as you can the number of male and female teachers respectively employed in the schools to which you are referring, and whether any school is under female superintendence or charge solely?

9. To what extent does it appear to you that education is continued after the girls are withdrawn from school?

10. To what extent do you consider that female education has increased within the last five years, both as to the numbers taught and the nature of instruction imparted?

11. Do you think *zenana* education more adapted to the circumstances of the natives of this country than school education?

12. State whether any social difficulties hinder the instruction of females in the family house, and in particular whether the Hindu family system places any peculiar difficulties in the way of young married women being educated by their husbands?

13. What is your opinion on the subject of normal schools?

14. Do you approve of the suggestion to select widows as teachers, or do you think the employment of married women preferable?

15. State any opinions which you may entertain as to the best means of promoting and extending female education?

Answers to the above questions, or any information bearing upon the subject of this paper, may be sent to either of the Secretaries of the Association (H. Beverley, Esq. C.S., or Babu Peary Chand Mittra) at the Metcalfe Hall, or to the Secretary to the Education Section, H. H. Locke, Esq., Bengal Club.

Inquiries regarding Agriculture and the condition of the Agricultural classes.

1. What crops are grown in your district, and in what proportions?

2. How many crops are produced on the same land in the year? State what they are, distinguishing between those that are sown simultaneously and those that are sown in rotation. Is land in your district allowed to lie fallow? If so, at what intervals, and for what period?

3. What is the average extent of ground actually cultivated by each ryot?

4. Do ryots to any extent (and if so, to what extent) employ hired labour? Or does any practice exist under which ryots holding *distinct* lands assist each other by the *loan* of labour and implements?

Is there any cultivation carried on by means of an educated class applying their own capital to the purpose, and themselves directing the cultivation by hired labour?

5. To what extent do individuals or families combine in taking and cultivating land? Is there any competition in regard to the taking of land, and if not, how are rents regulated?

6. What capital does a ryot usually possess in the shape of cattle, implements, grain, or other stored produce, buildings, or available money? How many acres is it commonly estimated that each plough will cultivate?

7. Is there any ryot in your district who has capital as above, so as to be independent of the Mahajun?

8. What shape do the Mahajun's advances usually take, and in what shape and to what extent are they repaid? Is the account between the ryot and the Mahajun annually settled and the balance discharged?

9. State the manner in which the produce of the soil, distinguishing between different crops, is disposed of? Trace it from the field to the consumer. Does the cultivator go to the buyer or to market with his produce, or does the buyer come to him? Does the sale take place by sample?

10. Give the market price of each class of produce for as many years back as you can.

11. Is marriage among the agricultural classes a matter of course at any customary age, or is it governed by any consideration of the means of living?

12. Do the ryots' children receive any education? If so, at what age are they taken from school to be employed upon the land?

Inquiries regarding the Artizan classes of Calcutta.

1. What is the nature of your business?

2. What is the number of native artizans in your employ? and how is their labour distributed?

3. Do they work on your premises or at their homes?

4. Distribute them as far as possible according to caste, age, sex, and place of birth?

5. What proportion of them live in Calcutta and in the Suburbs? Do their families reside with them?

6. Have any of them been attracted to Calcutta from agricultural pursuits by the prospect of higher wages?

7. How were they trained to their occupation? Have they received it from their fathers, or is any system of apprenticeship in use amongst them?

8. What proportion are able to read and write?
 9. Can you give any information as to their habits? Are they intemperate or otherwise?
 10. What wages do they earn? State the maximum and minimum given by you?
 11. Are wages higher than they were ten years ago, and to what extent?
 12. Do all your workmen receive monthly wages, or are any of them paid by the job?
 13. Are you in the habit of making advances?
 14. Do the Native artizans work through Sirdars?
 15. Do any of them save money out of their earnings? Would the institution of Savings Banks be likely to foster a spirit of prudential economy?
 16. Are they in the habit of working at home on their own account? And do they employ others under them?
 17. Do they belong to any societies, benefit, or trade, or are they limited or practically controlled by caste?
 18. Is the supply of labour in your branch of trade increasing or diminishing? and what is the cause?
 19. Is your work performed by hand labour or by machinery? Where machinery is in use, are the results satisfactory?
 20. Do you use principally European or Native tools? Do the workmen find their own tools?
 21. How does the work of Native artizans bear comparison with that of Europeans, as to skill and as to speed of execution?
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BENGAL SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

ADDRESS

BY THE

HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE PHEAR,

PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

[Delivered on the 29th January 1868.]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

So short a period of time has elapsed since I last had the honour of addressing the members of this Association from this chair, that no considerable amount of material has meanwhile accumulated to call for report or summarizing at the hands of the President. What I have to say on this head would of itself occupy a very small portion of the time allotted to the Address of this evening, and, therefore, I venture to think that I may usefully open the proceedings of this meeting by attempting to complete the survey, upon which I entered last July, of the extensive field of labour lying open to the working promoters of Social Science in this country. On that occasion, I omitted to touch upon the subjects comprised within our fourth and last section, *Economy and Trade*, and I propose now to call your attention to some of the more salient topics of consideration, which appear to me to arise from them.

It will occur at once to most of you that many of the matters with which this section deals, fall under the general designation of Political Economy; and you may, not unnaturally, feel unwilling to spend an hour in listening to any exposition from me of so well-worn a subject as this is. But our words *Economy and Trade*, while embracing, as they undoubtedly do, all that Political Economy represents, extend much beyond it, and give us warrant for entering precincts within which the political economist

would be entirely out of place. But even upon the area usually covered by political economy itself, it may not be uninteresting to you to be reminded how much there is in this country, to which the principles of political economy as a science are necessarily inapplicable, simply because the assumptions of fact, upon which the truth of those principles depends, cannot here be made. If, therefore, I should trespass upon your patience by dwelling upon some matters which in Europe are disposed of by a few of the elementary propositions of that science, I hope you will find excuse for me in my desire to exhibit some of the reasons why, as I conceive, calculations, made in strict conformity with its rules, must, in a community subject to the social conditions which obtain in India, so often lead to incorrect results.

By far the most important part of the *economy* of this country is that which concerns the production and distribution of articles of food, chiefly of grain and pulse. It divides itself naturally into two distinct branches of industry, namely, the cultivation of the soil, and the conveyance of the produce to the consumer. I will ask you to consider for a few moments the peculiar circumstances under which the former is carried on in India. Of course we all know that not only is labour required for the cultivation of the soil, as for all other reproductive processes, but also some capital is necessary for it. The labourer must have the means of living while he is preparing for the future crop; he wants a roof to cover him, clothes, implements, draught-cattle, and from time to time, at any rate, he needs manure for the soil. All these things are capable of being represented by a money value, because they can be obtained in exchange for money, and therefore when capital is spoken of in the aggregate, it is convenient and usual to mention its money equivalent only. I need hardly remark that although no process of reproduction can be carried on with absolutely no capital at all, still most of them admit of various degrees of successful activity with the application of different amounts of capital ranging from deficiency to waste. This is eminently the case with agriculture. And it is evidently of prominent interest to the public that the cultivator of the soil should have available for his use at least as much capital as is needed for the maximum of production in the year. Let us see what means he has in Bengal of procuring this amount, or, rather, let us enquire in what way the capital which is employed by him reaches his hands. My residence in

this country has not been long enough, nor have my opportunities of observation been sufficiently numerous, to enable me to speak on this topic otherwise than with great diffidence as to the correctness of my conclusions. Still such as these are, I am bound to be guided by them in asking you to follow me in pursuit of some infirmities, which seem to have made themselves apparent to me in your agricultural economy.

From the best information which I can glean, the whole of the grain and pulse cultivation in this Presidency is effected by *ryots*, whose holdings range in extent from five to thirty *beegahs* of land. Probably the average quantity of land held by each *ryot* is about 9 or 10 *beegahs*, say 3 or 5 English acres. For this he pays rent to a landlord who may or may not be the *zemiindar* responsible to Government for the revenue. I may presently make one or two observations as to the state of relations between the *ryot* and his landlord. For the present I will confine myself to saying that those relations seem to me devoid of any personal element. The landlord is simply a rent-charger, whom the *ryot* scarcely knows, and from whom he has nothing to expect in the way of sympathy, advice, or of assistance; the most that he can generally look for is, that in times of great distress he may obtain from him some relaxation in the payment of his *kists*. Any improvement which is to be done to the land, or any security to be raised against flood or storm, must be at the *ryot's* own expense, and all losses fall upon his shoulders, so that, as regards risks of all kinds, he is in the position of absolute owner of the land, under the obligation to pay an annual quit rent, but without the material advantages of real ownership. Placed in this situation, he is, it must be remembered, though naturally intelligent, still a supremely ignorant man, possessing no education whatever beyond that which is involved in his having been brought up in the open field to the business of his forefathers. And it must be added that except in rare instances, so far, at any rate, as regards Western Bengal, he either has no capital at all, or what he has is very insufficient for the working of his little plot. In view of these facts alone, an Englishman would be greatly at a loss to imagine how cultivation of the soil could be maintained with any sort of method or permanency. In truth, it is only by the introduction of an element which is, I believe, essentially peculiar to India, that the difficulty is got over. The *ryot* obtains what capital he wants from the *mahajun*. The usual course of dealing between these two persons, as I understand it,

may be described, for Lower Bengal, pretty accurately as follows :— The *mahajun* provides the ryot with seed for sowing, which is to be returned to him in kind at the harvest with a surplus of 50 per cent. in quantity by way of interest, irrespective of time. He also advances money for the payment of the landlord's rent, for purchase of new implements and repairs of old, as well as for other exigencies ; and this is to be repaid him with interest at the rate of about two per cent. per mensem, either in the shape of an equivalent of paddy, reckoning at bazar prices, or in money, at the option of the lender. And, finally, if, as generally happens, the ryot should fall short of paddy for the subsistence of his family before the coming in of the new crops, the *mahajun* furnishes him with so much as he needs for this purpose, on the same terms as if it were borrowed for seed. As security for the due discharge, by the ryot, of his indebtedness, thus incurred both in money and grain, the *mahajun* takes an hypothecation of his debtor's future crop, and eventually places a bailiff at the threshing floor to insist upon his lien. In this way the whole of the principal crop of the year usually passes, in the first instance, into the hands of the *mahajun*, and the ryot himself only gets what is left after his creditor has satisfied his own claims. This margin is seldom considerable, and may sometimes be nothing. And I think I may venture to assert without risk of material error, that the amount of produce which thus falls to the share of the cultivator, together with the cold weather crops, very rarely suffices to maintain him and his family for the whole of the year. Consequently the round of borrowing commences again, and so year by year renews itself under a necessity from which the unfortunate debtor can scarcely ever hope to escape.

If the representation, which I have just endeavoured to give, is fairly faithful to the actual facts, we have before us a reproduction of the English agricultural triad, namely, the *labourer*, the *capitalist*, and the *rent-owner*, each essentially separate from the other, for the cases in which the ryot unites the character of capitalist to that of labourer are so few that they may be disregarded in a general view. It is obvious, however, that the mutual relations between the *ryot*, the *mahajun*, and the *zemindar* respectively, as I have described them, are very different from those which obtain between the *labourer*, the *tenant farmer*, and the *landlord*, in England. And I think it is also pretty clear in reference to the division of the produce of the soil between these persons, that the rules which are found to

regulate the proportions between the labourer's wages, capitalist's profit, and landlord's rent in the more advanced countries of the west, have as yet very little applicability in India. For instance, the celebrated Ricardo theory of farming rents is founded upon the hypothesis that the farmer brings a capital for investment, and that he will not be satisfied with a less profit in agriculture than the same capital would bring him, if employed in another direction. Now, if the ryot be the real rent-payer, he is certainly guided by no such considerations as this, for he has no capital to carry elsewhere, if he would. And if the *mahajun*, by reason of being the source from which the ryot draws his means of paying his landlord, exercises any control over the rate of rent, I apprehend that it is too indirect to cause such a result as could be made the subject of separate discrimination. There is no obligation, contractual or otherwise, as between him and the landlord, and whenever he pays the rent, he does so, not in pursuance of a previous undertaking, but merely because he sees that it is worth his while, having regard to his civil remedies against the ryot and his crops, to lend the tenant so much money. Moreover, even if it were accordant with fact that the *mahajun* had a direct hand in the arrangement of the rent to be paid by the ryot, I doubt very much whether, in the present social condition of this country, anything like a competition of capital would make itself apparent in the matter. *Mahajuns* are in a great degree local monopolists. Each one planted in the midst of a group of mud huts has his own set of clients, bound to him by a tie of indebtedness, such as renders it almost impossible that they should transfer themselves from his books to those of any rival who might be supposed to offer them better terms. The business passes down from father to son, and, in some of its features, recalls to the mind the idea of the small petifogging attorney and money-lender, who still holds sway in out-of-the-way European townships. But I suspect that its profits have not yet come to be governed by the influence of the subtle law of competition.

While thus alluding to the general character of a village *mahajun's* business, it may not perhaps be out of place for me to remark that during the late Orissa famine, the executive officers of Government curiously allowed themselves at one time to be misled by a mistaken deduction from the apparent behaviour of the *mahajuns*. When ryots were dying by hundreds from sheer want of food, it was still believed that there were large

quantities of rice shut up in the *mahajun's golahs*, and that only a higher price was needed to bring these into the markets. The event demonstrated that this was a grievous error, and I cannot help thinking that it was an error which never ought to have been committed. It seems to me that it was against all reasonable probability that the *mahajuns* should, as a body, look quietly on, while starvation and ruin were rapidly destroying the very elements of their own trade, without making an effort to arrest their progress. Surely it would have been more just and more consonant with experience to have expected that the *mahajun* would, at least, never permit his clients actually to die before his eyes, as long as there was a mouthful of paddy in his *golahs*, and, therefore, to have recognized in the daily increasing death-rate the surest possible sign that all grain had disappeared from the village centres.

To return to the subject of rent.—If its rate be not in any material degree dependent upon a competition of capital through the channel either of the ryot or the *mahajun*, there remain three other modes in which it may be adjusted, namely, personal competition between the ryots uninfluenced by consideration of returns for capital, custom, and the award of a third party, as, for instance, of a Court of Justice, invoked by either landlord or tenant for the purpose. I am disposed to think that the first of these is but little exhibited in practice. The general habits of the country are in a great degree unfavorable to it. Where the ryot is, there he remains as a rule; he seldom thinks of moving merely to better himself, and if he leaves his plot, it is generally because he has been completely sold up and deserted by his *mahajun*; and as the landlord, if he only gets his money, is just as careless who is on the land as the tenant is disinclined to go from it, it comes about, even in these days of landlords' power and English notions, that the ryot has, practically speaking, a permanent tenure, so long as he chooses to pay the ordinary rents of the neighbourhood. In the main, these rents are, I apprehend, solely referable to custom. But the third method of regulating the rent to be paid by the occupier, to which I have just alluded, is largely had recourse to by landlords of a certain class, namely, purchasers at execution sales, and will probably in time work results of much moment to the agricultural community. No doubt, as long as the cultivating tenants in a country are not removed beyond the condition of peasantry, the only system upon which the rents

to be paid by them can be satisfactorily settled is one which recognizes a right of occupation in the cultivator, and at the same time either takes custom as the controller of the rate of rent, or submits the arrangement to the arbitration of a Court of Justice, provided that in the latter case the proceedings be simple and inexpensive, and the principles of law prescribed to govern the decision be distinct, equitable, and of easy application. It would seem, therefore, that the agricultural rents of this country are, speaking generally, as a matter of practice, the offspring of just such a system as is best adapted to the condition of the people. Whether the action of the courts is exactly what is to be desired, I will not now stay to inquire, though the topic affords a tempting opportunity for discussion. It is enough for my present purpose to say that agricultural rents throughout the country, however arrived at, do not appear to be as yet higher than what might be easily paid by a solvent thriving cultivator.

We have then the cultivation of the soil conducted by a class of labouring occupiers, on terms of tenure which are practically permanent and independent, and at rents which are reasonable. Is the state of agriculture under these circumstances good, or is the social condition of the people engaged in its pursuit prosperous? The answer to both questions must, I think, be an emphatic negative. I believe that the amount of produce now raised on all lands which are not periodically fertilized by natural agencies, is less than was formerly the case. And, certainly, anything so deplorable as the poverty-stricken life of the average ryot in Western Bengal, I have never witnessed in the poorest districts of England, Ireland, or France. His days are passed in careless, unintellectual, though, no doubt, not severe labour; he is ignorant and superstitious beyond any degree of comparison; his dwelling is a mud-plastered hut, bare of everything that can be denominated furniture; a charpoy, a couple, perhaps, of pitarahs, a gumlah or two, some lotahs, one or two platters, and the universal chillum, constitute the whole of his household goods. Nothing ever meets his eye, fitted to excite a sense of intellectual pleasure; and the finer feelings and faculties with which nature has endowed him in common with the rest of mankind lie torpid, except so far as they exhibit themselves irrepressibly in the rude proverbs and traditions of an uncultured people. Verily, it makes one's heart ache to reflect that multitudes of fellow-creatures are doomed hopelessly to an existence so little removed from brute life as this is! And the picture

suggests to my mind a grave doubt, whether the exactions made by despotic powers in periods of irregular government can be worse in effect upon the condition of the tiller of the soil, than is the operation of a vicious social arrangement, backed by the resistless force of regularly maintained municipal law. So long as the cultivator sees all the produce of the soil, beyond what is sufficient for a bare subsistence, swept out of his reach, it must be matter of small difference to him who is the agent of removal. I can even understand that he should prefer to take the chances of escape afforded by arbitrary and capricious spoliation, with intervals of repose, to the ceaseless and inevitable action of a public or private creditor, armed with legal powers. If there is weight in this consideration, it may serve to show why a strong government, confessedly preserving order, and administering equal laws, may fail to command that sympathy and affection which would seem to be its natural due.

Gentlemen, zemindars resident in this city, I have taken you thus in detail, much I am afraid at the expense of your patience, through what I conceive to be the circumstances surrounding the agricultural industry of your country, in order to impress upon you how much there is in them, as I see them, which deserves your earnest consideration as members of this Association. You cannot, I am sure, be content with the condition of your ryots or with your own relations towards them. You cannot believe that the interests of the public are rightly served, when the production of the great food staples rests with so ignorant and destitute a class as are the cultivators of your soil. And the source of the mischief is easy of detection. Can you do nothing towards its removal? The actual person by whom the cultivation of the soil is effected, and who bears the risks of ownership, is a mere ignorant labourer. The capital absolutely necessary to maintain some sort of tillage and no more, is doled out to him by one who is a stranger, who has no hand in the mode of its employment, but who, nevertheless, is in a position to demand and to sweep away in return for it all the produce of the land which does not go to the landlord, or is not needed for the bare subsistence of the ryot and his family. Is it possible that agriculture should improve, or the cultivator should raise himself in the scale of humanity, when the daily struggle is carried on upon these terms? May it not be generally affirmed with truth, that no branch of industry can flourish, which is wholly or mainly dependent upon capital borrowed from a stranger, and where, in consequence, the claims of the creditor are

overwhelmingly superior to the interests of the actual managers? At any rate, in a community which is familiar with Indigo concerns, an apparently apt illustration of this position is not far to seek. But, gentlemen, if you recognize the viciousness of the existing system, you can hardly fail to see the nature of the responsibility in regard to it, which especially rests upon yourselves. And you cannot rid yourselves of it by seeking shelter under the inexorable doctrines of political economy, for they have no place here. The irresistible force of competition, whether of labour or capital, is, practically speaking, out of the problem, and all that remains is amenable to control. It is now an accepted maxim that property in land has its duties as well as its rights, and the welfare of the ryot in particular is a trust which you cannot neglect, without disregard of the written law which guarantees your peculiar interest in the soil of this country. It is, however, as a material element affecting the well-being of the whole community, and which, therefore, concerns us all alike, that I press the subject on your notice, and I do so earnestly, because with you lies the power of affording some remedy. To this end, the ryot must be enlightened. He needs capital to be furnished him on reasonable terms, or laid out for him with intelligence and skill; and he ought to have the opportunity given him of appropriating to himself habitually something more of the produce of the soil than is just sufficient to meet his physical necessities. Education, fairly long leases at fixed rents, and the substitution of the landlord for the *mahajun*, would be so many strokes at the root of the evil. The power to effect them seems to be in your hands. I know that the exercise of it is to a considerable extent trammelled, and I have elsewhere remarked on the immense hindrance which exists to the access of capital from the land-owner to the soil, in consequence of your complicated system of tenures and sub-tenures to possibly the ninth or tenth degree, and to the extravagant form of coparceny, family and foreign, in which these tenures are held. But this double complication is, after all, only the work of custom; it is capable of being reduced, if the will for the purpose generally prevailed. It needs but a healthy public opinion, which it is the especial duty of this Association to attempt to create; it needs but a wide-spread feeling on the part of landed proprietors that each ought to be his own master, in order to cause these entanglements to resolve themselves into their separate threads, and ultimately to place the practical ownership of land in the hands of individuals, free and willing to do their duty to themselves and the public. If, however,

you do not exhibit any tendency to approach the solution of the question in this way, if you are content to remain landlords in name, but in reality incumbrancers of the worst kind, inasmuch as you have the power of raising your claims, then you may be sure that the time will come, when it will be matter to consider whether the public interests do not require that some means of commutation should be devised, by which, at least, you should be deprived of that semblance of a landlord's character which you wear, and should be converted into simple rent-chargers. If you will, or can, do nothing towards fitting yourselves to perform a landlord's duties, you surely cannot complain if you should be eventually shut off from exercising a landlord's power. I do not think it easy to over-estimate the social and economical importance of this side of the question. Let us suppose for a moment the case of a landed property, belonging to *A, B, C, D,* and *E*, in undivided shares; *A* and *B*, say, being brothers, owning two annas each; *C*, a cousin, owning one anna and a half; *D*, a widow of another cousin, having a Hindoo widow's life interest in two and a half; and *E* a stranger, who has purchased at an auction-sale some other member of the family's eight annas share. This illustration, in which, of course, the figures are assumed arbitrarily, you will, I think, admit is typical of the condition of a large portion of the landed property of this Presidency. Now each one of these co-sharers has the power to enhance the rent of the land separately by a suit, the result of which will not be binding between the tenants and the other co-sharers: and in practice it constantly happens that the unfortunate cultivators are in this way grievously harassed and exhausted. In fact, each undivided sharcholder of this kind, as a rule, collects his own aliquot part of the rent from every ryot, and considers himself as a sole proprietor, unconnected with the other sharers. It is obvious that all thought of the land, and any duty towards it, must be foreign to him. Of course, he does not of himself put capital into the land, and how small is the chance that all the sharers will unite for that purpose! In truth, it is impossible that the functions of a landlord should be discharged by a co-partnership of this nature; and as soon as it should be ascertained that the state of things, illustrated by this example, is likely, by reason of the habits and customs of the proprietary classes, to remain the rule, and not constitute the exception, would it not then become a grave question whether the public good would not require the interference of the supreme power of the community in some such way as that which I have indicated? But this is not the only .

mode in which the landlord's proper activity is fettered, for it must be remembered besides, that the privity between the occupier of the land and the owner of the rent which he pays, is liable to constant disturbance by the various causes which lead to the compulsory sale of a tenure or proprietary right. And it is not unworthy of remark that the traffic in judicial decrees, which is permitted in this country, lies at the root of much of the mischief which is apparent in this quarter. And, finally, the free action of the person, even supposing him to be a sole owner, who receives the rent immediately from the cultivator, is embarrassed by the power, which any one of the owners in the chain above him possesses, of sending down a wave of enhancement upon his shoulders.

Unless, then, I have most gravely mistaken the facts, I am, I think, justified in asking you to reflect seriously on the circumstances of all kinds, which attach upon agricultural industry in your country, and to press upon you the inquiry, whether the cultivation of the soil and the possession of proprietary rights therein stand upon that footing which can alone support social progress and wealth.

That branch of industrial activity which is engaged in distributing the produce of the soil, connects agriculture with trade and commerce, and naturally allies itself closely with the latter. Nevertheless, in Bengal, at any rate, it is so special, and exhibits such peculiar features, as to afford large scope for investigation which could hardly fail to prove interesting, but which I cannot now attempt even to outline. I will, however, venture to say that I should be surprised if an honest inquirer did not arrive at the conclusion that the system which exists is injurious to the interests both of the ryot-producer, and of the consumer. The middlemen between these two are extremely numerous, and absorb, in the shape of remuneration, an amount of profit which seems to be out of all proportion to the necessary work of collection and distribution. Custom, rather than convenience, apparently maintains the cumbrous succession of agencies, which now conduct the grain from the threshing floor to the cooking pot, and, apart from any question as to roads and means of conveyance, to which I have elsewhere alluded, I think it probable that emancipation from the thralldom of *dustoor* would lead not only to a reduction of prices to the consumer, but also to the rise of a freer trade, and a readier equalization of supply with local demand than now obtains. I cannot at present stay to do

more than indicate this subject to you as one in which the diffusion of true information with regard to it is eminently calculated to bring about the improvement required, and on that ground to recommend it to you as worthy of the earnest thought and attention of all who desire to see their country advance in prosperity and civilization.

The inquirer into this subject will scarcely get beyond the surface, before he will find himself face to face with that gigantic system of *dallalism* which pervades all India, and the ramifications of which reach the smallest trader and invade the most insignificant occupation. It seems hardly an exaggeration to say that the most trifling transactions of life are effected through a paid agent. A shop-keeper pays a *dallal* to purchase an article for him from his shop-keeper neighbour, and it is impossible to predict how many *dallals* may not be engaged, the one acting by the agency of the next in succession, in effecting a sale of piece goods by a merchant to the retailer, who lives in the next street! At first sight it certainly seems that the prevalence of this system extends far beyond any limits which the principle of convenient division of labour would prescribe to its operation; and it is difficult to suggest any reason why it should so flourish in the face of the manifest disadvantages which attend upon it, such as the general inferiority of action by deputy to direct action, the addition of the agent's commission to the cost of the article dealt for, the uncertainty and consequent risk of litigation liable to be caused by vicarious contracting, and so on. I invite the members of the Association to make *dallalism* a matter of study, to seek out the elements of its special vitality in this country, and to ascertain as far as possible its proper bearing on the social economy of the people.

Another element in your society which strikes a foreigner as peculiar, and which must be pregnant with either much good or much ill, is the almost universal practice of lending and borrowing money among the members of the poorer classes. No sooner does a chuprassee, whose wages may be 5 or 7 rupees a month, get a couple of disposable rupees into his *kamarband*, than he lends them to some one else at a very high rate of interest per diem. If the aggregate of the money so lent is mainly, or even largely, employed immediately in useful processes of reproduction, this state of things almost represents the ideal perfection of political philosophers. If, however, on the other hand, it only goes to meet liabilities which should be discharged out of current income, the whole affords a measure of chronic indebtedness and

pressure, which cannot be other than a social infirmity of the gravest kind. Whichever alternative the more nearly accords with the actual facts, it is still satisfactory to observe that the mere existence of the practice itself indicates a very wide-spread operation of personal credit; and the good faith which must be the foundation of this ought to be potent in the promotion of national prosperity. Might not this well-founded mutual confidence be turned to better account in the form of combined action than when left to work its results thus singly? It is for example the very corner stone of all Benefit Associations, and there seems to be at least as much to be expected from co-operative societies of these kinds in this country as in Europe. One civilizing ingredient is at present utterly unknown among the lowest classes of your community, namely, a durable *pucca* house owned by the occupant. Why should not this be gradually introduced through the agency of building societies, in which the investing members and borrowing members mutually assist each other. I do not think it easy to over-estimate the moral effect worked in a man's character simply by the abiding sense of being owner of the roof which covers him, and the opportunity which a permanent structure affords for the introduction of articles contributing to comfort, or appealing to the finer feelings of taste, is of no insignificant value as an ultimate means of education. But seen from another point of view, the suggestion may carry more favour in your eyes. There can be no doubt that the conversion of the fragile huts, in which the masses of the population are born, live, and die, into substantial, well-built dwellings, would be an enormous public gain. The losses both of life and property which are periodically caused by the violence of the elements in this tropical country, solely as a consequence of the frail character of the *bustees*, are very serious, and the demoralization which always results from these disasters, produces a considerable retarding effect upon the civilization of the people. Those of you who are landlords have it very much in your power even now to exercise some control in the matter, and you ought to be glad to facilitate, as far as you can, any efforts which might be made by your tenants to help themselves. I hope, therefore, that the example which has, I believe, been set by an energetic European gentleman in the founding of a Benefit Building Society for the more English classes of this city, may be well considered, and, if possible, followed by those who desire to foster and develop a spirit of energy and self-reliance in the poor and ignorant portions of the native

community. I have already spoken of your concern with the condition of the native *bustees* in regard to sanitary consideration only. What I now insist upon is a pure matter of social *economy*. I might press upon you to the same end by arguments drawn from the side of sentiment and morality. So that, upon every ground of reason and right feeling, these places, in their present state, seem to me to be discreditable to the civilization of the Presidency, and productive of positive loss to the country. If on thought you arrive at the same conclusion, will you not bestir yourselves to wipe away the blot?

The taxation of a country is an element in its economy of which every one understands the importance, although, probably, very few persons really know anything of the principles by which, having regard to the welfare of society, it ought to be adjusted. It is beyond dispute that in a country which is not absolutely barbarous, public interest requires that very much should be done and regulated by an executive government at the public expense. And I suppose it would also be universally agreed that the funds necessary for this purpose should be raised by contribution from all members of society, in proportion to their respective abilities. Difference of opinion generally first exhibits itself, when it is sought to ascertain a proper measure of ability to contribute. Perhaps it is impossible to define any such measure in the abstract. The more practicable mode of approaching the question is to take it in detail, and to inquire for any specified tax, what persons it will ultimately fall upon, and how those persons would be affected by its incidence. Even an inquiry of this kind is by no means simple, for it generally happens that the person taxed is not the person by whom the burden is borne, and the burden itself is not necessarily represented with accuracy by the figures of the amount which is paid. It may be a much greater inconvenience to the possessor of an income of Rs. 100 a month to give up a tenth part of it to the tax-gatherer, than it is to the recipient of Rs. 5,000 a month to pay his Rs. 500. Again, a tax upon an article of consumption might actually have the effect of taking a larger sum of money out of the pocket of one in the poorer classes of society, than from more wealthy persons; yet it is from a consideration of the effect of a tax in these respects that a just conclusion as to its equality or inequality is to be reached. But equality of taxation is by no means the only thing to be regarded in the adjustment of a system of taxes; supposing that end to be assured, still the impost may be of such a character,

in regard to assessment and levying, as to cause undesirable restraint upon, or other mischief to, the productive industry of the country; it may stimulate a particular industry at an excessive cost to the consumer and loss to the community at large: the manner of its collection may be extravagantly expensive, or conducive to corruption: and finally its nature may be so distasteful as to cause wide-spread evasion of payment. For reasons of this kind, the equality of a tax may be counterbalanced by the evils which are incidental to it. Now it seems to me that investigation of the qualities of taxes in regard to the different social bearings to which I have alluded, ought to have attraction for some of the Native gentlemen of this country. None so well as they can arrive at the many details of social life which are involved in the inquiry, and they might, with comparative ease, furnish our legislators with a valuable body of statistics on the subject. They might also do much to allay a mischievous impatience of taxation which exists widely among the masses of the people, by making known how very insignificant a portion of the money raised by taxation in India goes to any other purpose than the administration of the country.

Of the specialities discoverable in the trade, internal and external, of India or Bengal, I have now little time to speak. Its free action is, I am disposed to think, greatly fettered by customs, to the detriment of the public; and the conduct of traders, manufacturers, artisans, &c., is influenced so powerfully by other motives than those which proceed only from the consideration of profit and loss, that I apprehend the laws of political economy, relative to prices, profits, and wages, have but very limited application here. The more prominent agencies of trade and of the interchange of commodities, namely, the currency, negotiable instruments, weights and measures, present each of them very peculiar features, and the consequent temptation to dwell upon them is very great. I must, however, resist it, and content myself with asking you not to allow these topics to escape your attention. You might do good service to society by searching out the circumstances which surround the various trades of Bengal, directing particular care to the grain factors of all grades, and giving an exposition of the causes which affect, for good or for ill, their healthy activity. An essay by a competent hand upon the extent to which credit is made use of, so to speak, as a medium of exchange, in the place of, or supplemental to, money, would be of great value. If I mistake not, it would be found on investigation that there is scarcely any such practice

among Native traders and merchants generally, excepting always the celebrated class of shroffs, as the negotiating of instruments of credit. Although the hoondie is indigenous to the East, and no doubt older than the Bill of Exchange, I have been led to believe that outside the world-known class which I have referred to, it is rarely made to perform any higher function than that of a mere money order. It is not used in connection with any other transaction than that which gave it birth, nor does it often save the actual transfer of cash in regard to that, by being made matter of account. The chief, if not sole, economical purpose which it serves among ordinary traders, seems to be its primitive purpose of obviating the necessity of transmitting money from one place to another. Yet, as I have already remarked, personal credit is given in this country with singular readiness, and within the limits of some castes the amount of reliance placed by individual members on each other's good faith approaches to the marvellous. What, then, has hindered the full development of a system of negotiating private paper in aid of a cumbrous currency? And further, it may be asked, why do Government currency notes even now obtain so limited a circulation as is the case? A close and accurate inquiry into the root of these matters, made by Native gentlemen familiar with the manners and habits of the people, could hardly fail to result in information of much importance.

Weights and measures, again, present a subject of consideration, which is not inferior in interest to any connected with the economy of a people. It is easy to see how great is the impediment in the way of free and advantageous exchange of commodities, which must result from the want, on the part of those dealing together, of a common standard of comparison in regard to weight, area, and capacity. Now, the diversity in this respect, which exists throughout India, is something quite startling, although the causes of it no doubt are easily intelligible. It is true that identity in the names of standards prevails throughout very large areas, the chittack, the seer, the maund, the hâth, the guz, and the cōss, are to be found in use almost all over India, but this in itself only causes greater confusion: for, inasmuch as the actual standard varies arbitrarily from district to district, the name thus ceases to give any indication of the corresponding magnitude. It is, I think, not difficult to see that variation in the weights and measures from district to district, within any country, is due to the originally more or less complete isolation of the

population of those districts respectively, relative to transactions of exchange; and where the same denominations prevail, the existing differences in magnitude are attributable to a sort of process of degradation, or rather deviation from a common origin, brought about probably by local causes operating without check as long as the district remained a stranger to its neighbour. In all countries which are not inconsiderable in area and population, imperfect civilization, deficiencies in the means of communication, and radical distinctions of race, are causes which at one period or another operate to split up the whole population into small subordinate communities, and thus to bring about such isolation between them as I have just referred to. I think it may be said that diversities in the standards of weights and measures always manifest themselves in accordance with those segregations. If this be so, the only preservative against the growth of distinct standards in provincial districts, and the only cure for the mischief, when once come to a head, is to be found in the gradual unification and increase of free intercourse between the populations. The differences of usage as to weights and measures rapidly disappear under the friction caused by the constantly recurring necessities of interchange. At the same time, of course, the very existence of these differences constitutes a serious obstacle to free exchange. Can then the Government by legislation do any thing to facilitate and hasten the reformation? Something it may do no doubt, but not nearly so much, I imagine, as is generally supposed. It is impossible, I believe, to root out local usage by any enactment and penalty. In spite of all legislation on this head in France and in England, the use of local standards of weights and measures still continues in the provincial districts. For instance, in Suffolk the agricultural population sell their butter by the pint, and grain by the coomb; in Devonshire they sell the first by the pound, and the second by the bag, while it would puzzle any one to reduce with exactness these pairs of denominations to a common unit. What the Government can usefully do, I apprehend, is to publish an authorized imperial standard, according to which all its own dealings will be, as far as possible, effected throughout the country. Persons engaged in wholesale trade between the metropolis and the provincial districts, or between district and district, will only be too glad to adopt it, as far as circumstances will permit, and if it be so chosen that local standards are referable to it without great difficulty, it will in this manner gradually make its way among the local communities.

It is, I think, practically impossible to insist upon the adoption of any legislative standard against the feeling of the people through the means of a penalty. You cannot descend to all the details of village life, and fine the blacksmith, carpenter, butcher, shop-keeper, &c., if they do not make their little petty contracts in terms of the authorized imperial standard ; you cannot compel them to use particular instruments of measuring or weighing any more than particular implements of trade ; you cannot make the *rajmistree* pay a penalty, because he measures up his work, and charges for it in haths, instead of metres. The Legislature may no doubt enact that in every place open for the public sale of commodities, none other than the authorized weights and measures shall be used, and may succeed by energetic supervision in enforcing such an enactment. But the result of a proceeding of this kind would be enormous oppression and distress, wherever the people were unacquainted and unfamiliar with new standards. It seems to me, therefore, on the whole, that authoritative example and education is the proper mode, rather than compulsory legislation for effecting "an introduction of new standards of weight and measure in British India ;" and that the exigencies and convenience of traders between the metropolis and the provinces, should be allowed much influence as a guide to the unit to be dealt with as the primary standard. But this object, involving as it does elements drawn from the daily habits and circumstances of the people, is one that eminently calls for attention on the part of the native gentlemen of this country ; and it is from them that we look for a full and practical discussion of it.

There yet remain a multitude of topics within the area of *Economy and Trade*, of which I have not specifically spoken, but I trust that the examples which I have attempted to put before you this evening may have served to depict to you the character of this department of our Association.

Gentlemen, in the two addresses which you have been so good as to listen to from me in this chair, I have endeavoured to explain by a series of successive illustrations what Social Science, as I understand it, means. Human beings in society constitute a very remarkable entity, of which it may be said that it grows, develops, and flourishes, or the reverse. But the vital forces of this organism are referable to the individual members of the body, and the prosperity of the whole is only to be arrived at and measured by ascertaining through a process of analysis the welfare of its constituent atoms. The

physical, moral, and intellectual ingredients of human welfare are the subjects of the so-termed laws which we detect in the creations of the great Artificer of the world, and which are to us the expressions of His will. In a very large degree we, whether acting singly or in combination, have the adjustment of these ingredients in our hands,—a function from which we cannot for a moment free ourselves, and in which we are utterly unable to remain inactive as long as we occupy a place in the social system. Regard for ourselves and for our fellow-mortals ought, therefore, to make us anxious that our action should be for good and not for ill. We ought to be earnest to learn the right and the wrong affecting every social phenomenon. Most of us no doubt cannot pursue an independent inquiry for ourselves; we believe what we are taught by authority, and we act in subjection to public opinion. Hence comes the enormous importance to the welfare of a country that the public opinion within it should be properly instructed; and fortunately in any society, whose condition is that of health and growth, public opinion is sooner or later influenced by the labours of those who earnestly and conscientiously seek out truth wherever it may be found. Social Science is, as I have already said, only another name for that body of truth upon which the interests of men in society, collectively and individually, depend. You may be blind to its existence; you may refuse to believe that there is any such thing as natural law in connection with this matter, but you cannot disregard it with impunity; and rest assured that there never will be a time when the whole truth will be known,—the task of inquiry at an end. The very progress of society itself introduces new facts and new conditions. All increase of information brings fresh truths to light, or serves to throw the old into a more comprehensive form. It will not do for you to say:—"We are satisfied with things as they are. What was good enough for our fathers is good enough for us. We want no change." These are but so many vain and empty words, because change comes in spite of you, and, granting that your forefathers in their day were in possession of all available truth, an assumption, however, which is altogether without warrant, altered circumstances have rendered it incumbent upon you to increase your knowledge. If, for example, in the presence of your modern complicated and subtle system of land tenures, of railways, of telegraphs, and so on, you persist in believing that the precepts to be gathered from *Manu* and the *Puranas* are sufficient to ensure the welfare and progress of your community, the magnitude of your mistake is only paralleled by the ignorance

which it indicates. The fact is, that to stand still is impossible. You must then look about you, and face boldly the problems which advancing civilization presents to your notice, bearing with you a hearty desire to arrive at the bottom of the truths which they involve.

There are a great number of gentlemen in this country who have leisure and means for any pursuit they may choose. Your family system has the effect of keeping in idleness a much larger proportion of the members of the well-to-do classes, than are found unoccupied in Europe; and, if I mistake not, these are the gentlemen who so commonly talk loudly of their country's glorious past, and dwell in speculation on her future destinies. I should consider myself fortunate if anything I have said should rouse their patriotism into present action. This Association will aid, and will sympathise with them in every effort they may make to understand social phenomena, and to discover the laws which govern social development. It is to native gentlemen especially, that the Association appeals. *Its* work is *their* work in a peculiar manner. To whom are the right adjustment of laws with their administration, the state of education, the conditions of health, and the furtherance of economy and trade in this country matters of concern, unless they are so to those who represent the intelligence of the country itself? I ask you to give your attention to some of the many topics of which I have attempted illustrations. The stimulus of European enterprise and English example has quickened the current of your daily life. Do not consent to hang on as so much useless lumber, weighting the arms of those who labour in earnest, but come forward, each one of you, and take your part in the world's struggle. The harvest must needs be an overflowing one if only labourers can be found for the work. Will you remain satisfied with the pitiful wages of ease, which placid submission to the routine of a Hindu family will yield you, when you might be earning a true man's reward in the sight of God and your fellow-creatures? Let me ask you once more to survey the field which invites your labours. Look again at the complex system of law which governs your social conduct, and you will not lull yourselves into inaction by the present belief that the Vyavasthas of your Pundits and English rule have as yet brought you anywhere near perfection of jurisprudence. Remember the end and aim of all criminal legislation, and say how closely it has been reached in this country. The efforts which have been made of late years for the education of males have met with

deserved success, but even in this department more remains to be done than has yet been accomplished. Do not be carried away by high-sounding names. While the honour of the students in the University of Calcutta is of such an order as permits a trade in stealing examination questions to flourish, never think that a community of designation indicates a community of kind, and that your Academia is near of kin to Oxford or Cambridge ! Your present system may impart information as by rote, but how many thinkers does it turn out ? How many men come from your lecture halls sobered by their training, and diffident of themselves, but thoroughly determined to enter on a course of serious manly work in the world ? And whatever may be your view of the extent of culture received by your men, you yourselves will admit that your women—in numbers one-half of your race, in office the trainers and educators of your children, in capacity all that should be the pattern of intellectual refinement—that your women are of design left in ignorance, and kept as nearly as possible without mental cultivation. Again, do the fine arts even yet find a place among you ? Where is ever an attempt made to develop taste and feeling, those gifts which so eminently distinguish man from the rest of the animal world ? Can you produce a living painter, sculptor, or musician ? How many examples are there throughout this wealthy city of a tasteful, carefully kept, ornamental flower garden ? Can you yet boast of the state of refinement at which you have arrived, when you still have not delicacy enough at your meals to interpose some instrument between the hand and the food ? And then is not your family system alike obstructive of advance in material prosperity, and injurious in its bearing upon civilization and refinement ! The Kartá is the manifestation of a law of primogeniture in a form which is mischievous from its intrinsic weakness. The petty obligation and restraints of caste offer enormous obstacles to the proper development of industry. The laws of health are scarcely thought of among you. Your agriculture and your trade are shackled by customs which seriously interfere as well with the amount of production as with complete and rapid distribution of commodities ; and even yet the population look upon taxation as so much extortion by a superior power, which is to be evaded by all available shifts.

Can you reflect upon the matters of this sketch, and not feel that there is in it ample to call for the action of all honest, conscientious men ? Your country, rich in every material element

of national welfare, needs only that her sons should play their parts with zeal, energy, and enterprise. Sit, then, no longer theorizing and professing in words your interest in the social questions of the day, but be up and doing. Impress upon yourselves a conviction of the reality of these matters, and then you will be ashamed of treating them any longer as children treat their play things. Think well of the opportunity which is open to you, and of the responsibility which rests on your shoulders. Act, each one of you, under an earnest belief in the seriousness of life, and with the desire to do honestly that little which lies before you. Then will the future of India brighten; the mists of indolence and prejudice will be gradually rolled back; a land, to which there is perhaps no superior on the face of this earth, will laugh with the harvests of plenty, and her people will rejoice in the gladness which strength, prosperity, and intelligence alone can bestow.

JURISPRUDENCE AND LAW.

1.—*The Jury system in Bengal.* By BABU TROYLUCKNATH MITTRA, M.A.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

I shall consider the subject under the following heads :—

- I. The mode of recruiting jurors.
- II. The conduct of the jurors during the trial.
- III. The operation of the system.
- IV. Its extension how far desirable.

I. Act XXV of 1861, Chapter XXIII, regulates the procedure by which the jury list is drawn up. The law makes it the duty of the Collector of the district to draw up the jury list; which is to consist of persons who, in the judgment of that Officer, are considered qualified by their "education and character" to serve as jurors. These persons are also to reside within 10 miles from the place where the Court of Session, in which their attendance is required, is held. Such are the conditions prescribed by positive law, subject to which the jury list is to be framed. Practically, however, the essential requisition of education and character is to a great extent disregarded. As a rule, the framing of the jury list is seldom or never superintended by the Collector, much less does he draw it up himself. The Legislature thought that the Collector, as the head of the executive in the district, and therefore bound to know everything relating to it, would be the proper person to furnish a list of persons of education and character resident within it. Unfortunately, however, many of the Collectors know very little of their districts. And it is difficult to determine wherein the fault lies; whether it is the fault of the individual, or of the system by which more duties are heaped upon him than one man is capable of performing. The fact, however, is certain, whatever may be its cause, that we find the Collector delegating his duty of drawing up the jury list to ministerial officers, particularly the nazir. He again delegates the task to one of his subordinates, who goes about the district collecting names. Now people consider it a hardship to be obliged to attend trials in the Courts of Session, and consequently they

endeavour to remove their names from the jury list. An offer of a pecuniary bribe, modestly called a present, is a strong argument with the recruiting officer to omit from the list the name of the person who has so pleasantly obliged him. It happens in this way that most persons of any position in the district have their names abstracted from the list, which now contains the names of shopkeepers and artisans, persons least qualified in the eye of the law to serve as jurors. Thus not unfrequently a jury of low shopkeepers and ignorant peasants is returned, persons totally incapable of understanding the nature and dignity of the functions they are called upon to perform. I know of a case which occurred in Hooghly in which a person was sent away from the jury box whose very appearance impressed the presiding officer with an idea of his low occupation; on enquiry it appeared that he was a blacksmith working at the anvil, and he begged hard of the Judge to be retained in the jury box for that day; possibly he had boasted that morning before his family and neighbours of the dignity to which he was called, of being allowed to sit in a chair in the company of the *burra sahib*, and he returned sorely mortified at being disappointed in his expectations, not knowing what to say to his friends. Such cases are not of unfrequent occurrence, and they go very far to expose to contempt and ridicule the jury system of this country. The presiding officers in the Courts of Session being always Europeans, such cases of incompetent jurors are rarely prevented; the eye of the foreigner is incapable of detecting in the appearance of the person his low occupation; to him all natives dressed in their *dhotee* and *chuddur* appear of equal respectability. If there were natives to assist the presiding officer, such scandalous cases would seldom or never occur.

The cases of disqualification are very exhaustively enumerated in the code. We cannot possibly suggest a single cause of disqualification which is not noticed in the code itself. It seems that the exemptions are not as judiciously drawn up. There is no reason why, when a medical man is exempted, a lawyer should not also be exempted; the same arguments apply to both, and are perhaps more forcible in the case of the lawyer. In the case of the medical man, possibly life is at stake; but in the case of the lawyer, life, liberty, and property, all may be at stake. It is a great injury if the medical man is imperatively called away from his patient, but it is an equal, if not a greater injury, if the lawyer is called away from his client, whom

may be he has to defend in a murder case before the Court of Session. Since the two cases are so analogous, I do not see the wisdom of exempting the one, and leaving the other liable. There is another circumstance of exemption which is not practically so well carried out as the others ; I mean the case of priests actually officiating in their several religions. I am not aware that the Collector pays the same regard to the representations of a Hindu priest which he does to those of the priests of other religions. It may probably arise, however, from the difficulty experienced by him in distinguishing between cases of genuine hardship and those which are spurious.

II.—The conduct of the jurors during the trial.

It is the business of the jurors to attend to the examination of witnesses as it proceeds. They have the privilege of putting questions to the witness at the close of his deposition, which will be recorded by the presiding officer if he thinks proper. In most cases, however, there is seldom room left for any important question. After the searching examination at the hands of the cross-examining Counsel, followed by the re-examination and the questions of the Court, the subject-matter of the case is generally exhausted ; and the foreman in such cases should be discreet enough not to show his ignorance or forwardness by putting impertinent questions or questions that have been once answered and recorded. It is a mistake however into which people are apt to fall, to think that they have naturally a professional lawyer's skill.

In the majority of cases the foreman seldom or never takes notes of the evidence as the depositions are proceeded with. Such a practice tells injuriously upon the verdict in the case. It is impossible for a man to recollect all the points of the evidence in the course of a trial of ordinary length, evidence which, in some cases, is conflicting, in others corroborative, and where the case turns entirely on nice variations or discrepancies between the depositions of several witnesses. In such cases it is hopeless to expect that a man can carry the whole in his memory ; it must be wonderfully retentive, indeed, if it is so capable. To say that the Judge will supply the facts is not quite true. The Judge may forget to mention an important fact, or give his own interpretation of it, which the jury is not bound to receive ; in questions of fact, the interpretation of the jury being more autho-

ritative than that of the Judge. To suppose that the Counsel on either side will supply the facts, is again another error. The Counsel will only give such an interpretation of the facts as will suit the particular interests of his own client, and either interpretation may be equally removed from the truth. I believe it to be desirable for the ends of justice that all the jurors, and more especially the foreman, should take notes of the evidence during the course of the trial : in that case they will be able to return a rational and an intelligent verdict without being led away by either Judge or Counsel.

The influence of the Counsel's address to the jury is great; more especially when it is addressed in a language which they well understand. In the districts of Lower Bengal, the great majority of jurors that sit in Sessions trials know only Bengalee, and slightly, if at all, possess a knowledge of English. An address in Bengalee in these Courts, therefore, is much more appreciated than one delivered in English. Hence it is that a native pleader of education and experience is more likely to carry the verdict of not-guilty with him than an English advocate whose ignorance of Bengalee is notorious. This circumstance is pretty well known to the mookhtears and the people in the mofussil, and now-a-days we rarely find English barristers engaged for the defence in Sessions cases triable by jury. The pleader's address constitute the golden words to the jury; it is the more impressive if the pleader is patient and calm in his delivery, which carries persuasion if not conviction, with it; a hot and loquacious conduct is apt to spoil the case. The judge's charge to the jury does not carry great influence with it; because it is to them mostly unintelligible. The ignorance of the Judges of good current Bengalee is well known: and the charge is conveyed in language half Bengalee, half Hindustanee, hybrid expressions at most, which the jurymen do not fully understand. If the individual words are known to them, the mode in which they are severally pronounced puzzles them. To them it seems as if they are hearing a discourse in an unknown tongue. So long, therefore, as the district Judge does not know, and cannot talk, Bengalee intelligibly and well, his charge to the jury will not carry with it that influence which it was intended by the legislature it should have. Such a tendency prejudices justice very considerably. As the expounder of law, and the only person connected with the trial who is not interested in its issue one way or another, he is the only person to guide the jury safe

through the rocks and quicksands of conflicting interpretations of law by the Counsels. To lose, therefore, from his imperfect, and sometimes ridiculous Bengalee, his otherwise enormous influence with the jury, must always be counted as a hindrance to justice.

III.—The operation of the system.

The introduction of the jury system had one great object to attain, *viz.*, to secure justice in individual cases. The former system under which the trial was conducted under the superintendence of one person as presiding officer, who was to pronounce the verdict, was liable to certain defects which the jury system was intended to remedy. In the first place, the presiding officer, may by habit or inclination be unconsciously biassed towards one side or another; and whenever this happens, there will be a failure of justice. Such cases are not often rare; it is a common occurrence that men have their individual peculiarities which influence their judgment, and they are from such circumstances likely to stray from truth. The jury system, however, is free from this danger; one man may have his judgment influenced by inclination or prejudice; but it is impossible to conceive that seven men may be in the same way influenced, and all in that one direction. What was not only possible but probable as well, in the case of one person as Judge, becomes highly improbable, nay almost impossible, in the case of a number of Judges. Prejudice or individual bias, therefore, almost becomes impossible in the case of a number.

Another defect which the jury system is intended to cure is this; one person may err in his judgment regarding a combination of facts, but the chance becomes very small that a number of persons should all err in the very same direction regarding the same set of facts: as men possessing common sense only, the unanimous verdict of a number would carry with it almost a moral certainty that their conclusion is right. Besides, the act of viewing facts alone apart from their legal bearing, carries with it advantages in coming to a correct verdict regarding the state of those facts.

There is another defect to which the former system was particularly exposed in this country, and which the jury system is calculated to remedy. The presiding officers in Courts of Session are invariably Europeans—foreigners who cannot be expected to know the manners and customs, the modes of life, &c.,

of the natives of this country. Consequently such persons are not acquainted with the motives and principles under the impulse of which a native acts, and they are not therefore in a position to do justice to the habits and feelings of the defendants in these courts, who are mostly the natives of this country. From ignorance, therefore, a defendant's case is prejudiced in the hands of such a Judge. The jurors being mostly natives to try native offenders, such miscarriages of justice can seldom occur at their hands. This evil the jury system of this country cures most completely.

On the other hand, there are certain difficulties which prevent the successful operation of the jury system. The main difficulty lies in getting competent men to attend. This will be to a great extent secured by improving the mode of recruiting jurors, and by the Collector using more personal knowledge and a stricter supervision over the enlistment. Moreover, as education is more and more disseminated among the mass of the population, it will be easier to select persons fit for the task than it is now.

It may not be out of place here to consider the question of corruption as affecting the purity of the system. The first question which must be answered, is this:—Does it at all exist? if so, to what extent? Now I believe, for I have facts to guide me, that corruption does exist to some extent to influence the verdict of the jury. I have heard of one or two cases in this district of Hooghly, and they are well authenticated, in which parties came to propose bribes to be given to the jury. In such cases, the parties seldom treat directly with the jurors; they are afraid of adding one offence to another for which they are already under trial. Besides, the jurors themselves, even though corruptly disposed, will seldom take a bribe from the hands of an unpractised rogue who may inadvertently give it an inconvenient publicity and so place their reputation as gentlemen and their personal safety at hazard. For this purpose a mookhtear given to such practices (and such men are known well enough in the district) is generally employed to serve as a go-between: arrangements are made by him with the parties on the one hand and the jurors on the other, and the matter is so quietly and secretly settled, that no whisper is heard abroad touching the transaction. Cases of such corruption are very rare, and many circumstances prevent the jurors from tainting their hands with the filthy lucre, even if so disposed. In the first place the fear of exposure and therefore a liability to punishment deters many from taking

bribes for selling votes. Neither would it suffice to secure one or two jurors by such corrupt means. It would be necessary that the legal majority should be counted upon for the purpose of a favorable verdict. Parties, when they are satisfied that they will not be able to influence the necessary majority, do not try this mode at all, as whatever money may be given to one or two jurors, would most probably be money thrown away. Thus temptations are to some extent taken away from the path of these corrupt jurors. Again, where a number of persons are to be bribed, it is difficult to manage it with secrecy enough to prevent the least publicity; the number must be very few to arrange such black transactions with dexterity between them. This circumstance prevents parties in many cases from making the necessary overtures and the jurors from accepting them. Moral elevation again prevents many from selling votes by corrupt compacts. Circumstances like these make instances of corruption more and more rare, and help to introduce purity into the system of trial by jury in this country.

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IV.—The extension of the system how far desirable.

The jury system was originally experimental, and I believe its operation in the most advanced districts of Bengal for half a dozen years, has given the system a fair trial by which to judge of its adaptation to the state of society in which it was broached. From recognised statistics it has been found that the operation of the system has been generally successful, instances in which there was a failure of justice being comparatively rare. It does not however therefore follow that, because the system has been successful in certain districts therefore its extension to others would be a desirable object. The success of the system depends upon the intellectual progress of the district where it is introduced. Unless people receive a general education, sharpening and developing their intellects, they are not competent to serve as jurors. Now it is a recognised fact that there is a great difference of intellectual progress in different parts of Bengal. Take for instance the district of Dinagepore and a district in South Bengal, say Nuddea or Hooghly, and intellectual progress will be found to be greatly at a discount in the former. It was therefore a very wise provision of the legislature by which the extension of the jury system in the several districts was left to the discretion of the executive government of the place, that being the proper authority by whom the progress of the district can

be correctly ascertained. The success of the system depends upon the intellectual advancement of the community, and the intellectual advancement of the community is attained by the education of the mass, understanding those expressions in their proper sense. The education of the mass therefore is a preliminary step; and the government of the community would perform two duties by promoting such education; a duty substantive, for it is no other, and a duty adjective, for it will tend to the success of the jury system and therefore lead to the impartial administration of justice. The extension of the system to other districts than those in which it is at present in operation is a question for the executive government to determine, according to the intellectual advancement and general education of the particular district.

Another point I should also here notice with reference to the success of the system. There is an impression very common among the people generally that they are not competent to pass an opinion in cases involving life and death, and that therefore they incur a responsibility, moral as well as social, in giving their verdict in those cases where they feel themselves incompetent. This erroneous impression is the source of an inveterate reluctance on the part of many to serve as jurors. People otherwise well-intentioned are deterred from the performance of the duty by this imaginary incompetency. It is very necessary to combat this wrong and therefore pernicious impression, and to try to remove it from the minds of many useful members of society. It is a great mistake to think that to try a case as juror, a person must be conversant with the intricacies and nice details of law. Common sense, regulated by a general education, is all that the jurymen requires to perform his duty. Facts are repeated before him, all evidence gone through *de novo* in his presence; he has the opportunity of observing the demeanour of the witnesses in the course of their depositions; the address of the counsel and the charge of the presiding officer place before him the facts in the clearest light, and the law applicable to the case is expounded by the bench as completely and as correctly as it becomes necessary for the juror to understand it. Then the juror has to find upon the facts. With so many advantages and such simplicity in the proceedings before him, surely it is a grievous error to suppose, that any man with any ordinary amount of common sense will not be able to come to a correct conclusion regarding the facts laid before him. It cannot be ex-

pected that the juror is able to do abstract and absolute justice in every case. If he finds according to the facts as laid before him, and according to his own conviction as founded upon them, he does all that can be required of him; he redeems the oath which he has tacitly taken, he incurs no moral responsibility, and makes himself obnoxious to no moral obligation. It is therefore a thoroughly erroneous impression to think that a peculiar training or a certain aptitude is necessary to perform the duties of a juror.

There are many people again who, not labouring under this misconception, are yet unwilling to serve as jurors, and therefore try to avoid being enrolled in the jury list as much as possible. They say they are obliged to attend the Courts of Session for days together to the detriment of their proper avocations, thereby incurring pecuniary loss and personal inconvenience, in some cases amounting to positive trouble. They get nothing in return to compensate for all this sacrifice; hence they try to avoid serving on the jury list as much as possible. Now the law of this country considers the services of a juror as a duty which every member of society is bound to perform; and which therefore society has a right to claim from every one of its members. It is a duty, and therefore the juror is not entitled to thanks for performing it—or to remuneration for undergoing the attendant trouble and inconvenience. No man claims any return for supporting his infant children, or thanks for undergoing labour and toil on their account, and yet nevertheless every man supports them, because it is a duty, and not a task induced by the promise of a remuneration. This is the view which the law of this country takes of the question. It is taken from a very high stand-point of social morality, and in principle probably it is correct. The jurisprudence of England however views the question in another light. It is considered there in the light of a service, to perform which a man must be paid. The advocates of the English practice argue that by analogical reasoning a juror should be paid for his services. It is a service which he does to the ends of justice and therefore a service to society; and since society derives benefit from the service, it must pay for it before it can use it. If society were not to pay for it, it would be guilty of a fraud on the individual juror; just as a private member of society would be guilty of a fraud on another, if he were to take a thing from the latter and not pay for it. This argument, however, is fallacious;

when a person renders a service to society, to whom is the service practically rendered? To society; it will be answered. Now what is society, or who constitutes society? The individual members of society constitute society; the term society being a name for an assemblage of individuals having rights and duties available against each other, originating from the fact of their integration; a service therefore to society is a service rendered to individual members of society and therefore ultimately to the individual member himself who renders it. A service therefore to society, ultimately analysed, resolves itself into a service to one's self; and it is absurd to expect remuneration for a service done to one's self, just as it is to expect fees for having made a surgical operation on one's own limbs. The fiction of a service to society resolves itself into a service to one's self; and therefore entitles a person to no remuneration for it.

Again it is urged in favor of the English practice that Judges are paid for administering justice, and why should not jurors be paid who have like services to render? The difference between the two cases is great. In the case of the juror the sacrifice is small, and therefore consistent with the well-being of the person himself and that of society of which he is a member. It is a sacrifice which every one can easily afford to make, if for nothing else, at least on the principle of reciprocity. Whereas, in the case of the Judge, if he is to serve unremunerated, he will be subjected to a great sacrifice; he requires money to support himself and those whom he is bound to support; and if he is to serve *gratis*, his other duties, equally important, would remain unperformed. People therefore would not be found to take up the duties of a Judge; and compulsory nomination would be hardship to those so nominated, and injustice to those who would be tried by them, because people forced into the service will want heart to perform the duties. Besides the high training and legal culture necessary for a competent Judge requires that Judges should be paid. If the duties of a Judge could be performed by all men, then there would be no necessity for a highly paid service. The functions could have been performed by rotation in the same way as those of the jury are performed. A man devotes his time, energy, and wealth, and obtains the special training of a lawyer; that he should be remunerated for it, is natural and reasonable; where otherwise would be the recompense for all this loss of time, energy and wealth? It is for this loss that he is remunerated,

and that the rest of the members of society agree to pay him. The case of a juror is otherwise. No special training is necessary for him. He did not incur any loss of time, energy, or wealth, to acquire this aptitude. Hence he cannot claim remuneration from the rest of society. The Judge performs his own portion of the duty and performs also the portion of others, who are incompetent to perform it themselves; for that portion of it the Judge must be paid by those for whom it is rendered and who are incompetent to perform it themselves. What they want in talent, they must pay in money. In the case of the juror it is not so: every man is competent to serve as a juror, then why should he pay another to do that for him which he himself is capable of performing? This explains the otherwise apparent anomaly of a Judge being paid for his services, while a juror is not paid for rendering the same kind of service. This is true in all walks of life; a soldier fights for his country and he is paid for it. He is paid because he does the portion of the duty of others who cannot fight and who therefore must pay for what they cannot themselves perform. It seems therefore that on this point, the jurisprudence of India is in advance of the jurisprudence of England. But for the successful operation of the system in this country, it is necessary to impress upon the people a sense of their duty in this respect and to overcome their present reluctance to serve in the jury box.

On the conclusion of the paper:—

BABU SHAMACHURN SIRCAR supported the statements of the writer, and illustrated the subject by several instances which had come within his own experience, and in which a miscarriage of justice had been caused by the inferior character and venality of juries. He would especially recommend that all Mookhtears should be excluded from the jury list.

BABU JUGGODANUND MOOKERJEE knew only one case, out of—he might almost say—thousands that had come before him, in which a jurymen had been offered a bribe. That case was in Nuddea; and he remembered another case in Hooghly, in which the jury acquitted the prisoner on the ground that he had already suffered sufficient imprisonment pending the trial. He considered, however, that the mode of selecting juries was open to objection, and he would be glad to see the duty of preparing the lists transferred from the Collector to the Judge or to the Principal Sudder Ameen, or to native Deputy Collectors who were well acquainted with the district.

THE REV. J. LONG objected to the discussion of the subject, as though the jury system were a novel institution in this country. The fact was that *punchayets* were of very great antiquity in connection with the village system of India, and probably dated further back than our own jury system. He could not support the view that a high state of education was necessary to its efficiency, as there was a natural shrewdness about the Hindu, which generally led him to sift the evidence aright, and arrive at correct conclusions.

MR. A. MACKENZIE stated that shortly before his retirement from office, Sir Cecil Beadon had written a Minute upon the subject, in which he recorded his own firm conviction that the system of trial by jury might be extended not only to all districts of Lower Bengal, but also to all classes of cases, on the broad ground that the natives should be encouraged to interest themselves in the administration of the country. He had also called for the opinions of those who were qualified to judge as to the working of the system, with special reference (1) to the improvement of the jury lists; (2) to the exclusion of juries during the trial; and (3) to the remuneration of juries. The general conclusion seemed to be that it would be difficult to secure a sufficient number of respectable jurors to form *special* juries; and, although the Judges of Nuddea and the 24-Pergunnahs gave their opinion that the system had been moderately successful, still there was a unanimous feeling against any extension, and so the question for the present lay in abeyance.

BABU GREESH CHUNDER GHOSH thought that the object of the system was not so much to secure a better administration of justice as to accustom the people to self-government. This point had been entirely overlooked by the writer. He thought the people should be gradually instructed in the working of the system.

MR. BEVERLEY would have wished the writer of the paper to have given an opinion as to the influence of caste on the working of the system. He had heard it stated—with how much truth he would like to know—that a Brahmin was generally pretty certain of being acquitted by a native jury, and that a jurymen of that caste possessed undue influence over his colleagues. If this were the case, perhaps Mr. Long would admit that further progress in education was desirable even for the well-working of the *punchayet* system. He believed indeed that, in Lower Bengal at least, *punchayets* were mainly used for the decision of questions relating to religion and caste.

BABU SREERCOMAR SIRCAR expressed himself in favour of the system.

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE NORMAN was of opinion that the present discussion might be useful in drawing attention to the improvement of the jury lists. He thought the lists should in the first instance be prepared by native Judges or by native Deputy Collectors, and be then subjected to a final revision at the hands of the Judge or Collector.

THE PRESIDENT thought that the thanks of the Association were due to the writer of the paper under discussion. There were several points in it, well worthy of consideration in addition to those which had been already commented upon, especially the remark regarding the imperfect knowledge which the Judges possess of the vernacular. He could well believe that a Judge's charge would not have that influence in guiding the jury which it ought to have, if there was any difficulty or want of power of expression in the colloquial language of the country. And even though a Judge might be a fair Bengalee scholar, still as a foreigner, he could not properly enter into the feelings and ideas of the people, and arrive at their motives of action. There was one point however in which he must correct the writer regarding the remuneration of jurors in England. Jurors were only paid in civil cases; in criminal cases they were not paid, unless it were perhaps some nominal sum as a mere matter of usage. He understood that in Assam the jurors were paid at the rate of eight annas per diem.

MR. MACKENZIE explained that a proposal had been made to increase the rate to five rupees a day, but that with the whole question of remuneration it was for the present in abeyance.

2.—*The Benamee system in its different branches.* By BABU
SHAMACHURN SIRCAR.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

Benamee is a Persian term, formed of *bé* (without) and *nám* (name). The entire word *benamee* etymologically signifies the state of being without a name,—that is, without a *real* name. In common acceptation, however, it is applied to property which bears the name, not of its real, but of a fictitious, owner. The practice has grown up of itself and is not recognized either by Hindu or by Mahomedan law. There are several sorts of *benamee* transactions, which, however, may be reduced to two main branches. Some such transactions are made without fraudulent intentions of any kind; as where the *Kurtá* of a rich family, unable or unwilling to bear or take the trouble of attending a Government Office or Court of Justice, especially the Police and Criminal Courts, takes or executes a document in the name of any of his relations or dependents, while he himself remains the real owner and manager of the property to which it relates. *Benamee* transactions of this kind have not been considered by Courts of Justice to be blameable; and suits brought upon the allegations of such *benamee* transactions were taken cognizance of, and tried, by the highest Courts in India, as well as by the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The late Supreme Court, instead of condemning, so far complied with the general practice in this country of using the names of other persons, that, in many cases, the plaintiff has recovered on notes not in his own name, but in some other name, on giving evidence that the transaction was really his: such for instance that the money lent was his, and that he took the bond in the name of another.* The High Court in its appellate jurisdiction has also given a like encouragement to the real owner of the property sued for. For instance in *Prosonno Kumar Roy Chowdhuri v. Guruchurn Sen*† it held that the real owner of the property is the person who should

* See Morton's decisions, page 249.

† Sutherland's Weekly Reporter, Vol. III, page 159.

institute a suit for it. A *benamee* holder may sue as trustee on behalf of the beneficial owner, without disclosing the name of the real owner; and if the defendant does not object to the suit proceeding in that form, and raises no issue upon the real title of the plaintiff, the suit may proceed and be decided. And the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in *Gosain v. Gosain* have rather recognised, nay, in a manner, legalized, the practice. The essential part of their Lordships' judgment in the above case runs thus:—"It is very much the habit in India to make purchases in the names of others, and from whatever cause or causes the practice may have arisen, it has existed for a series of years, and the transactions are known as *benamee* transactions. The criterion in these cases in India is to consider from what source the money comes with which the purchase-money is paid. To repeat the language of Lord Campbell, the criterion is the quarter from which the money comes; and in the greater number of instances of *benamee* purchases, they are made in the names of persons ignorant at the time of their being so made."* Thus that august tribunal lent its sanction to the practice among Hindus of making *benamee* sales and purchases of the above kind, simply on the ground of the same being customary. But the adoption of a practice or custom which is repugnant to the law of God, and is not immemorial, is prohibited by the Hindoo law. Thus *Manu*,—"Immemorial custom is the transcendent law, approved in the sacred scripture, and in the codes of divine legislators; let every man, therefore, of the three principal classes, who has a due reverence for the Supreme Spirit (which dwells in him), diligently and constantly observe immemorial custom. A king, who knows the revealed law, must enquire into the particular laws of classes, the laws or usages of districts, the custom of traders, and the rules of certain families, and establish *their* laws, if they be not repugnant to the law of God."† Now the practice of *benamee* transactions, even of the above kind, not being immemorial, but being (as will be presently shown) a source of deceit, falsehood, and fraud, is certainly repugnant to the law of God, and, as such, ought to have been condemned by the Courts of Justice, amongst the Hindoos as repugnant to their own law, and amongst people of every other caste and creed in India on the ground of its being a source of falsity and fraud.

* Moore's Indian Appeals, Vol. VI, page 53.

† *Manu*, Chap. I, v. 108, and Chap. VIII, v. 41.

The other kind of *benamee* transactions is that which is made with the intention of defrauding. Courts of Justice have sometimes adjudged cases of this kind according to the established criterion, namely, the quarter from which the purchase-money was derived, and sometimes they have dismissed the party who had actually paid the purchase-money, and made the *benamee* purchase. For instance in *Nund Lal v. William Tayler and others*, the High Court in its appellate jurisdiction held that parties who stand by, and permit another to hold him out to the world as the real proprietor of their estate and thus induce persons innocent of their fraud to lend their money upon such faith, are not entitled to any consideration from Court of equity and good conscience.*

Thus the Courts of Justice have done all they could to do justice in the second kind of *benamee* transactions, which nevertheless do not seem to be much abated. It is habitual with almost all the *mooktears* or law agents to ask their clients, whenever properties are to be purchased by them, whether the same should be taken in their own names, or in the names of any of their relations or dependents, and at the same time to explain, as legal advisers, the advantage of acquiring and holding properties *benamee*, and the disadvantage of purchasing them in their own names; and their clients are thus persuaded to do what is less dangerous and more advantageous. Hence it is generally the practice of rich men to have *mooktears* and parasites about them to buy properties *benamee*, and make *benamee* what they already held in their own names. Strange, however, to say that, although by so doing they in some cases succeed in defrauding others, yet, as a madman is punished by his own madness, they themselves are not always safe from the hands of their own *benamee-dárs*; for, it is not unfrequently the case that a designing *benamee-dár* silently watches the opportunity, and then colluding with some influential persons, treacherously ousts the real owner or his heir, who is at length obliged to disclose the secret before a Court of Justice, and implore its assistance to restore the property to him.

The establishing and conducting of *Kothees* or mercantile firms on the *benamee* principle is another branch of *benamee* transactions of the fraudulent kind. It is almost habitual with the

* Weekly Reporter, Vol. V, page 37.

shurrafs and traders (generally of the North-West Provinces) to pick up one or two lucky names of their indigent relations or dependents, and establish business in those names, and cause it to be carried on by such partners who are generally men of straw, while they, the capitalists, remain behind the scene ; and should any of those ostensible proprietors die, the name of the dead man (be he the ancestor of any of the existing partners or not) is still continued. But when a firm of this description fails, its constituents and creditors then discover the difficulty of realizing their dues. They of course bring actions and obtain decrees against the ostensible proprietors and members ; but such decrees are scarcely ever satisfied.

I will cite a case which recently occurred, and which will at once give you an idea how fraudulent this sort of *benamee* transaction is. About three years ago, a *Kothee*, carried on in the name of one Gopal Dass, failed, and the creditors brought actions against that nominal proprietor, and one Hurjeebun Dass the ostensible partner. The latter absconded. Afterwards in execution of one of the decrees the said Gopal Dass was, with great difficulty and expense, arrested at Benares, and produced before the High Court in its original jurisdiction. But this personage was a lame pitiful infant, ignorant of what he was arrested for, and yet miserably distressed for the fault and default of others. The Court, however, being satisfied that he was an innocent party, ordered him to be released, and Hurjeebun to be arrested. After a long search Hurjeebun was arrested and brought up, and from his evidence it was discovered that Brijoo Dass and Brindabun Dass were the real owners of the firm ; and that the name of Brijoo Dass was at first made use of in the *Khatta* books together with that of Gopal Dass, but was subsequently omitted. Upon this an order was made for the production of all of them ; and Brijoo Dass was, after a time, produced with a flowing native gown on his person, and a yellow *Khirkedar* turban on his head ; but with all this show of apparel, he pleaded inability to pay the debts of the firm, and applied for protection under the law for relief of insolvent debtors.

Benamees, alleged and pleaded on execution of decrees, are of frequent occurrence, and form, I believe, the largest branch of fraudulent *be-namee* transactions. Before execution of decrees, and in some instances before or after the passing of decrees, the debtors, who find no other means to save their property from sale

in satisfaction thereof, make the same *benamee*, generally with the intention of defrauding, and sometimes for the purpose of putting off and obliging the creditors to agree to lenient terms of settlement.

The following will show how daring are the frauds committed to evade execution of decrees. A female decree-holder of the Nuddea District applied to the late Sudder Dewany Adawlut to be put in possession of a portion of a Zemindaree decreed to her; and, as the case was appealed to the Privy Council, the order obtained by her was to find security in the Lower Court, and have possession in proportion to the security given. Accordingly the decree-holder borrowed of a very respectable native gentleman of this city Government Securities to the amount of twenty thousand Rupees and tendered them in the Court below. The execution-debtor then, finding no other means of stopping the execution of the decree, got one Juggodumba Dabea to file an objection, impeaching that unimpeachable security upon the allegation that the Company's Paper tendered was actually her property, it having been purchased *benamee* in the name of, and deposited for safe custody with, the said Baboo; that he had lent it without her permission and authority; and that it should therefore be rejected by the Court. This objection of hers being rejected in all its stages up to the Sudder Dewany, the judgment-debtor caused a regular suit to be instituted by the said Juggodumba upon the allegation as aforesaid. This suit also was appealed to the Sudder Dewany Adawlut, and I cannot say whether it was appealed to the Privy Council also, as I left that Court whilst it was pending trial there. The effect caused by such objection and suit was that the poor decree-holder had to pay for all this period the interest on the sum borrowed in the shape of Company's Paper, and that nobody was inclined to be a surety for the execution of her decree. Surely no one would be so foolish as to get into so much trouble, and jeopardize his property for a small gain.

It is almost invariably the case that whenever execution of a decree is taken out, and property is seized in the Mofussil, an objector comes forward and alleges the property to be a *benamee* tenure, and himself to be the real owner thereof, or sets on foot a fraud like the above, and the perpetrator generally goes unpunished, nay, is often successful by the clever premeditated management of his law agent. Hence, I believe, is the origin of the common saying in this country that "a man's troubles commence as soon as he obtains a decree."

The only law which prohibited *benamee* transactions before 1859 was Regulation XI of 1822; unfortunately, however, that merely provided against purchasing lands at a public auction in a fictitious or substituted name. But being, as it is, unattended with any sort of punishment, it had no effect whatever, for, not to speak of the private sales and purchases in the *benamee* character, which it could not at all prevent, even at public auctions *benamee* purchases used to be made as generally as they were before the promulgation of that law. To prevent this evil, the legislature seems to have enacted Section 36, Act XI of 1859, which runs thus:—"Any suit brought to oust the certified purchaser as aforesaid on the ground that the purchase was made on behalf of another person, not the certified purchaser, or on behalf partly of himself and partly of another person, though by agreement the name of the certified purchaser was used, shall be dismissed with costs." This, however, was nothing more than an improvement of Regulation XI of 1822, the punishment of dismissal with costs being only added thereto, and, as such, it operates within the same narrow limit as the former. There is also a Section in the new Procedure Code, I mean Section 260, Act VIII of 1859, which respects *benamee*, and the wording whereof is, that "The certificate shall state the name of the person who at the time of sale is declared to be the actual purchaser, and any suit brought against the certified purchaser on the ground that the purchase was made on behalf of another person, not the certified purchaser, though by agreement the name of the certified purchaser was used, shall be dismissed with costs." This is almost to the same effect as the above, the only difference between them being that this extends to purchases made in execution of decrees, while the other applies to purchases made at public sales for arrears of revenue; so neither of these enactments provides any thing against private *benamee* sales and purchases which are of more frequent occurrence, nor even against the gross frauds committed by means of public sales and purchases upon third parties. The High Court seeing that Section 260 of the Code of Civil Procedure refers only to suits between a *benamee-dár* and the beneficial owner, and not to a case where a gross fraud has been practised upon a third party, had no alternative but to dismiss a suit where the decree-holder sued to set aside as fraudulent the sale of his judgment-debtor's property which was sold and purchased by his servants *benamee* for his benefit, and which was proved to be in the possession of the judgment-debtor, and to make the property

liable in satisfaction of his decree.* Thus from a defect in the law parties committing gross frauds are suffered to go unpunished ; nay, as already remarked, they are frequently successful.

A mortgage in the English form, which may be said to be the most elaborate and complete of all forms, and in which attorney and counsel spare no time and labor to insert as many words and clauses as they possibly can to protect the interest of their client, the mortgagee, and secure the repayment of the money advanced by him, is not always sufficient to protect the mortgagee from being defrauded by means of a *benamee* transaction. In *Rummanick Shahu and others v. Bindabun Chunder Potdur and others*†, the mortgagor in possession had been entrusted with the dominion over the mortgaged property by the mortgagee to whom the property was mortgaged in the English form ; he made wilful default and caused the property to be sold for arrears of Government revenue, and purchasing it *benamee*, ingeniously defrauded the poor mortgagee to the surprise of his legal advisers.

As to the Courts' unestablished criterion, namely, the ascertainment of the party from whose funds the purchase-money was paid, it also sometimes fails to lead to a just conclusion. In a suit arising in the district of Nuddea, wherein a nephew had, in collusion with the influential part-proprietor of a *benumee* property, managed to oust therefrom his maternal uncle and cousins who had bought it in his name, the *benumee-dár* had, by premeditated arrangements and precautionary measures, so cleverly managed to prove the payment of the purchase-money from his own funds, (though he was a man of straw) that, had not Babu Ramlochun Ghose, the late Principal Sudder Ameen of Nuddea, and Babus Prosonno Coomar Tagore and Ubinash Chunder Gangooly and myself, been examined as witnesses, my belief is that the balance of the evidence given in the Mofussil would have been in favor of the *benamee-dár*.

The enactment of a law prohibiting the dispensers of justice to take cognizance of all and every sort of claim upon the allegation of *benamee*, and prescribing a most severe punishment for the perpetrator of a fraudulent *benamee*, as well as for the person treacherously defrauding in or by a *benamee* transaction, is the only means to put an end to this nefarious practice and the fraud originating therefrom.

* Weekly Reporter, Vol. I, page 329.

† Weekly Reporter, Vol. V, page 230.

If it be asked why the cognizance of all and every sort of *benamee* suits should be refused without exception, inasmuch as *benamee* transactions of the first kind are not made for the purpose of defrauding, but only to save the real owners from being troubled and insulted by the Civil and Criminal Courts, the Police and other Government Offices; my reply is, that the purpose of the maker of such *benamee* may be honest (though his purpose is known to himself, and to himself alone), but it is not unfrequently the case that in this kind of *benamee* also, the creditors of the real owner are defrauded, and a parcener deceives his co-parcener, a servant his master, and a near relation his near and dear connection. In the very case *Gosain v. Gosain*, which was decided without any remark as to the impropriety of the practice, the elder brother tried all he could to deceive his younger brother, although the intention of the father in buying the disputed property in the name of his elder son might have been honest, and simply for the purpose of saving himself from trouble. But even granting for argument's sake that this kind of *benamee* is not so sinful and pernicious as the other kind, still none can deny that it is a source of falsehood and deceit; for, whenever the real owner of a *benamee* property has to say anything officially or upon oath with respect to the ownership of that property, he solemnly avers that it is not his property, while on the other hand, the fictitious owner thereof does on like occasions barefacedly affirm that it is his own property. I have seen several such persons present petitions and give depositions on oath in the manner aforesaid. The sooner, therefore, that the cause of such false statements and fraudulent transactions be put an end to by the strong hand of law, the better. By the enactment of such provisions, as in the sections cited, the legislature has in a manner stopped the institution of suits upon the allegation of *benamee* purchases at public sales; but there is nothing to check gross frauds practised, as already shown, upon third parties by means of *benamee* purchases even at public sales, the numerous fraudulent acts and transactions by private *benamee* sales and purchases, and the numerous suits brought upon the allegations of *benamee* on the occasion of taking out execution of decrees; there is also nothing to prevent the fraudulent *benamee* transactions of the *Kothee-wallahs* and *Mahajuns*. All such evils and mischiefs, caused by the different kinds of *benamee* transactions, should therefore be represented to the Legislative Council, and it should at the same time be referred to the learned and elaborate Bill for the abolition of the *benamee* system which was presented by the

I ate Sir Arthur Buller a short time before his leaving India, and which, I believe, is still extant in the Council Office; and then I trust the Council will not hesitate to enact a law condemning and disallowing the *benamee* practice, prescribing severe punishment for the party or parties having recourse to any kind of *benamee* transactions, and prohibiting the dispensers of justice to take cognizance of any suit that may be brought upon the allegation of *benamee*; for the practice in question is not only baneful to the people of India, but also wastes a large portion of the valuable time of the Courts of Justice, and, above all, it is incompatible with the good name of the BRITISH GOVERNMENT to allow such a practice to prevail in its dominion. When such a law is passed, a brother will be safe from his brother, a relative from his relative, a parcener from his co-parcener, a partner from his co-partner, a sharer from his co-sharer, and a principal from his servant or dependent; and decrees of Courts will no longer remain in abeyance as so much waste paper!

IN opening the discussion on this paper, the HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE NORMAN thought that the writer had mixed up two very different subjects, *viz.*, fraudulent conveyances and *trust* transactions. The former doubtless should be checked and punished by the Courts of Justice, wherever they were brought to light. But he (MR. NORMAN) objected to run a Don Quixote course against all *benamee* transactions whatever. The system in fact which had been so strongly condemned by the writer was not peculiar to this country. A similar practice was invented by English conveyancers, and used to protect the owners of landed property from certain inconveniences of the feudal system. He would remind the meeting of the English statutes of Henry VIII relating to uses and trusts; how it was enacted that where estates were held by any person to the use of another, this latter person should be deemed to be the true owner to all intents and purposes. What was the effect of that statute? It had simply become a dead letter. It had been said that the only effect was to add three words to the form of a conveyance. An estate would now be conveyed to A. B. to the use of C. D. *in trust for E. F.* At the same time, he (MR. NORMAN) could not help saying that the *benamee* system in this country was often something very different from a mere trust; it led to very serious inconveniences, and it would be well if people properly understood the difficulties in which it was possible that it might involve them. He might instance a case in which a man had sued for money which had been lent in the name of his infant son. The Court decreed the claim, but the money was kept, and would be kept in Court, until the proper owner either comes of age or is in some manner represented. This was a case which had lately occurred, and he would wish that such cases should be reported for general information. When the people felt and appreciated the inconvenience of the system, he thought that it might be left to their good sense to discontinue it without the necessity for any special legislation on the subject.

BABU SREEMOONAR SIRCAR urged the general prevalence of the system among the mercantile classes, especially among Marwarce traders. It was not

at all uncommon for one of these merchants to lend his credit to a speculation, taking care, however, to let another man's name appear; and if the transaction ended in loss, the ostensible party, who might be a man of straw, was thrown over. The system was dishonest in itself, and should, therefore, he thought, be put down by the legislature.

BABU JUGGODANUND MOOKERJEE remembered the discussion on this question when Sir Arthur Buller was in Council. That gentleman had at the time a Bill in hand, and did him (the speaker) the honor to consult him on the subject. It was fully considered then whether the discontinuance of the system might be effected by legislation, or should rather be left to the people themselves. The difficulty which presented itself, was as to the practical effect of any law which might be enacted. Would it be possible to say that the real owner should be deprived of property which he had purchased *benamtee*? If property were bought by a father in the name of one of several sons, was it not to be divided on the father's death? That was precisely the issue in the case cited by the writer—*Gosain v. Gosain*. The plaintiff sued for a division of property which had been acquired by the father in the name of an elder brother. What could the Courts do in such a case? They could not punish the father, because he was dead. Any punishment which might be inflicted could only fall on an innocent boy. And to say that because the property stood in the name of one brother, the other should, therefore, be deprived of it, would surely be very unjust. Since the discussion, however, to which he referred, the question of fraudulent *benamtee* transactions had undergone considerable modification. The Penal Code provided penalties for such cases; the Putnee Law too and the Revenue Sale Law both provided, as far as possible, against the occurrence of such transactions.

BABU SRINATH CHANDRA concurred with the writer of the paper in condemning the system of *benamtee* transactions, but at the same time he could not advocate the necessity of legislation to put it down. He thought it would be impossible to observe the distinction which existed between *benamtee* transactions which are essentially fraudulent, and those which are merely by way of trust.

BABU SHAMACHURN SIRCAR having briefly replied—

THE PRESIDENT stated that he agreed with Mr. Justice Norman in thinking that sufficient distinction had not been maintained by the writer between cases of trusteeship and fraudulent transactions. *Bonâ fide* cases of trusteeship really needed the protection of the law, instead of an attempt being made to put them down. He illustrated this position by an example. In England, the attempt to abolish vicarious holding of land, as Mr. Norman had stated, was not only unsuccessful, but had introduced the most subtle and scientific system of real property law ever known. Where a dishonest intention was manifest, the Courts, he thought, were strong enough to deal with it. Of course he did not pretend to be so fully conversant with the effects of the system upon Native society as the writer was, but at the same time he would be very sorry to see any attempt made to introduce any material alteration into the present state of the law, unless accompanied by every possible safeguard for the maintenance of *bonâ fide* trusts.

JURISPRUDENCE AND LAW.

3.—*The Relief of Prisoners discharged from Jail.* By the HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE NORMAN.

[Read on the 31st March 1868.]

A portion of the Charitable Fund originally bequeathed by General Martin for the relief of poor prisoners, has recently been placed at the disposal of the Visitors of the Presidency Jail, to be applied towards supplying convicts, whose conduct during imprisonment has been creditable, with clothing and other necessities, on their release from prison, or shipping, or forwarding them to some place where there may be a reasonable prospect of their gaining an honest livelihood, or assisting them to procure some employment in India, or elsewhere. The income is paid out of Court to the Commissioner of Police, who keeps an account of the expenditure. The first half-yearly payment on account of this Fund, was received in August 1866. Since that date, at the beginning of every month, a list of the European prisoners in the jail whose period of imprisonment will terminate within three months from the date of such list, is prepared and supplied for the use of the Visitors. The Visitors, the Superintendent, and the Chaplain, are invited to give their opinion, as to the conduct of the prisoners about to be discharged, and to point out any prisoners, European or Native, who may appear to be proper objects for the application of the funds at the disposal of the Visitors.

I may state that Dr. Lynch has always given the most judicious and valuable advice as to the prisoners fitted to receive such assistance.

During four months and a half of the year 1866, 20 European and Eurasian, and 14 native prisoners discharged from Jail, received assistance from the Fund. During the year 1867, 32 European and Eurasian prisoners, and 34 native prisoners, received such assistance.

In one case a prisoner who had been a Surgeon, and during a considerable portion of the time he was in jail, had been employed as an Apothecary, who had made himself exceedingly

useful, and shown great humanity in attending on the sick, on his discharge from prison, received assistance to enable him to proceed as Surgeon, on board a ship to a distant country, where the crime he had committed would be unknown. A shoe-maker who had made himself useful in prison by making shoes, and teaching others to do so, received assistance to enable him to purchase a small stock of tools, and some leather, so as to set himself up in business. In other cases, discharged prisoners have been sent at the expense of the Fund from Calcutta to places where they had friends, or where they would likely be able to get employment. In these cases, in addition to clothing, the prisoners received small sums of money to help them to maintain themselves while seeking for employment. In many cases, situations have been secured for prisoners after they left the prison. You would think perhaps that there would be considerable difficulty in finding a master ready to take into his service a man freshly come out of prison. But we have many prisoners who have committed serious offences—violent assaults for instance, whose character for honesty is irreproachable. For others, who could not be trusted with money, employment can be found, where such temptation is not put in their way. Many men of this stamp are under the greatest obligations to Mr. Parry Davis, and Major Reveley, neither of whom ever spared any pains to find employment fitted for men willing to work. Of course, in every such instance, the employer is made acquainted with all the circumstances of the prisoner's history, as far as it is known to the Visitors.

Others who had been loafers about the streets of Calcutta, wrecks of men floating helplessly on the eddies of our population, have received assistance to enable them to quit the country, to go to some place where, in a more bracing climate, and amongst new associations, there would be at least a chance for them. In such cases, if there is money to be given, it is usually handed over by a Sergeant of Police to the man in the railway carriage, or on board the ship in which he is to sail. With one of these men I myself came into contact. He had been for some years one of the pests of Flag Street, and had been repeatedly in prison for minor offences. He was a very active, muscular man, of more than average intelligence. About a month before his discharge from the jail, I called him aside, and spoke to him of the suffering he would probably bring upon himself, and the misery he had already undergone, saying, I knew he was capable of better things. He said it would be very well if he could keep from brandy. I told him

he had better consider the matter, and if he could resolve to try to do better, to let Dr. Lynch or Mr. Wilson know. If he would make the attempt, we would give him a helping hand. A few days after he had come out of prison, he came to tell me, that he had determined to leave the country. I thought he would ask for his passage money, and outfit, and said something to that effect. He said, no; he had got an advance from the owners of the ship—that a portion of this would go to pay some debts he owed in Calcutta, and all he wanted was a small sum to pay for a very moderate outfit, which he had agreed to buy of a sailor, at a cheaper rate than we could get it. He hoped that we would not send a Police Constable with his outfit on board the ship. We paid Rs. 28-14 in all in the manner he wished, and he left Calcutta, I sincerely trust, to commence a better life elsewhere.

Native prisoners have usually received assistance to enable them to proceed to their homes, and sometimes gratuities. One man who had been a broker, had been very useful as a work-master and in teaching others in jail, received a gratuity of Rs. 100 on his discharge.

The benefits of the Fund have not been confined to the inmates of the Presidency Jail. The Visitors render assistance to prisoners discharged from other Jails.

One great difficulty as regards native prisoners, must always be to gain their confidence. I cannot help thinking, that a small body of Native gentlemen, who would form themselves into a society for assisting discharged prisoners, might do much good. To show what can be effected by private charity in this way, I may tell you what was done by the Durham refuge for discharged prisoners, which was started by my friend Mr. George Hamilton, now Archdeacon of Lindisfarne. It was established on the 1st of May 1849. In one year £61-15-2 were collected, and at an expense of £30-0-5, 19 boys were sent to sea immediately after their discharge from prison; five sailor boys were sent back to their ships; 25 persons were restored to their friends, of whom, at the end of the year not one was recommitted to prison; the railway fares of ten of these people were paid. For four young women places as domestic servants were procured. Six other females were placed in a Penitentiary. Without going through all the figures, I may sum up the whole by saying that at an expense of 30 pounds, or, in other words, three hundred rupees, 66 discharged prisoners were placed in situations where they could

earn a livelihood; restored to the wholesome influence of their nearest relations; or placed in positions where a chance of reformation was afforded them.

There is no more important point as regards the reformation of criminals, than the disposal of them on their release from prison; and this applies more particularly to juvenile offenders than to those of any other class. In all cases in which the prisoners do not belong to families of the criminal classes, it must be the great object to restore them to their parents or friends. But as regards juvenile native offenders, there is at present no agency for that purpose. In order to carry out a scheme of this kind, it is necessary in each instance to ascertain from the convict where his friends live,—not always an easy matter, and then enquiry must be made whether the friends are respectable, and would be willing to take him back. The strong family attachments of the natives of this country render it probable that this would usually be the case.

In the Durham Jail, they have a form of letter, which is sent written to the relations of the prisoner. It is as follows:—

“ *The Jail, Durham, the day of 186 .*

I write to inform you that your son A B will be discharged from this prison on the day of next at 8 o'clock. I beg that you will come and meet him at the above place and hour, and endeavour by your care and influence to prevent him from falling into further crime.

Signed ”

The Chaplain usually signs the letter. In one year 472 such letters were sent from the Jail by post, in each case, a week before the discharge of the prisoner from Jail, and with excellent results.

It often happens, that if the father does not come to the gate of the prison to receive his son and take him home, the opportunity is lost, and it is afterwards doubly difficult to separate the boy from his associates in crime. In one case which occurred here, a Hindoo boy, the son of respectable parents near Pooree, was lost to those who had undertaken to return him to his friends, by having been discharged from the jail a few hours before they were ready to receive him.

In Durham, if the parent cannot come to the Jail, and states his reasons for not doing so, the boy is taken by a trustworthy person, and placed in a railway carriage, his fare is paid, and he is forwarded to the spot where his father will receive him.

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It is found useful, in cases of juvenile associates in crime, to sentence them to different terms of imprisonment, in order that they may not be thrown together, under the influence of their leaders, immediately on coming out of jail. I myself, when circumstances have fairly admitted of it, have often acted on the principle of making some slight distinction between the sentences of different criminals, who have been associates in crime, with a view to keeping them apart on coming out of jail.

I have thought it right to bring this subject before the Social Science Association, because I am convinced that it is very desirable that you should consider and discuss it; and if, as the result of your deliberation, three or four native gentlemen could be persuaded to interest themselves on the subject, they would probably be able to gain the confidence of prisoners and their friends, and succeed in doing good in very numerous cases where European gentlemen without assistance would probably fail.

On the conclusion of the paper—

BABU PEARY CHAND MITTRA expressed an opinion that great attention ought to be paid to the caste and social status of convicts in the occupations that were selected for them while in jail. He thought that it was the duty of the Government to find them such employment only as they could unobjectionably follow on their release.

DR. CHUCKERBUTTY agreed with his friend Babu Peary Chand Mittra that some consideration ought to be paid to caste in allotting labor to prisoners. Many of the castes were so many trades to which the prisoners would naturally revert on their release from jail. If they were employed in occupations which they could not afterwards follow, the benefit of the discipline they were subjected to would be lost, and they would not be in a better position to earn their livelihood. He also thought there should be some exceptions. This was particularly required where the previous occupation has been of a criminal character, such as Thuggeeism. It would be preposterous to encourage such pursuits. It had likewise struck him that the employment in jail should be suited to the intellectual aptitude and bent of the convicts if that could make them better members of society afterwards. This would very materially help the object of the society proposed by the learned lecturer. But perhaps he was digressing from the subject before them in saying this. He fully supported the views of the Hon'ble Justice Norman. The society and fund he proposed to establish would be a great boon. At least nine-tenths of the relations of the native prisoners are glad to receive them back. But in many cases people go in search of employment to distant places and there get into jail. Their friends then suddenly lose all trace of them and hunt about from town to town to find them out, but often without success. Under these circumstances, the convicts on their release are destitute of means and cannot communicate with their friends. The action of the proposed society would be fraught with good in such instances. Then as to the fund he thought it could

be raised without much difficulty. Many native gentlemen gave away large sums on certain religious occasions for the release of insolvent debtors, some of whom were the victims of misfortune, but others more or less guilty. Instead of employing their charity in this indiscriminate way, he felt sure when these gentlemen learnt the object of the society, they would willingly give it the benefit of these donations. To come to business he thought his friend Babu Peary Chand Mittra would make a capital Secretary, who, with a committee of native gentlemen, who thoroughly understood their countrymen, and of some Europeans, could do much good. He should, therefore, be glad to see such a society formed at once, but the details of it might be left to be settled by the President in consultation with such other gentlemen as are interested in the subject.

MR. BEVERLEY believed that there was some truth in the remarks which had fallen from the last two speakers as to the disinclination manifested by discharged convicts to follow the occupations which they had been taught in jail. The matter had been noticed by the Inspector General of Jails in his last report, and he attributed it to the fact that the population of this country is normally an agricultural, and not a manufacturing, population. The question arose, however, whether the return of released criminals to agricultural pursuits is not to some extent due to the want of the capital which is necessary to purchase tools, and to enable such persons to set themselves up in some useful and profitable handicraft. The Government had accordingly called on Dr. Mouat to suggest some scheme, by which a fund might be raised and accumulated by the prisoners themselves, so as to enable them to start again in life on their release. Such a scheme, MR. BEVERLEY, believed, was already in operation in the European Penitentiary at Hazareebaugh under the able superintendence of Dr. Coates. This was all he thought that the Government could do legitimately—the rest must be left to private benevolence, for which there was ample scope. He trusted that the appeal which had been made by the honorable lecturer would not be thrown away upon a community which boasted that one of its national characteristics was its spirit of charity and benevolence.

MR. WILSON pointed out the moral superiority of private benevolence in such a matter over Government interference.

The PRESIDENT doubted whether the object aimed at by Mr. Justice Norman's proposal ought not properly to fall under the consideration of Government rather than to the care of private individuals. Imprisonment should be regarded solely as a deterrent and reformatory means not as so much punishment to be inflicted on the prisoner, which when once undergone by way of retribution might be put out of sight and obliterated as soon as possible. He thought the latter view so generally prevalent was erroneous. But if imprisonment was looked at in the two first-mentioned aspects, it must be said that the executive Government was greatly concerned with what happened to the prisoner on discharge from jail. The deterrent effect of imprisonment, on others than the prisoner himself, would be increased by publicity and by the fact that social disadvantages followed in its train. Probably the peculiar caste organization of society in this country made results of this sort especially deterrent. On the other hand, no doubt there, was risk that the same circumstances might tend to harden the discharged prisoner in vicious courses; but this was only an additional

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reason why Government should not withdraw its hand the instant the prison doors closed behind the discharged convict. The matter was very complicated. It was difficult enough to deal rightly with prisoners inside the walls of the jail, but the release of the prisoner into society again gave rise to even more formidable difficulties still, and it should never be forgotten that all these flowed from, and were the necessary consequences of, the original conviction and imprisonment. It seemed, therefore, to him that the responsibilities of the executive Government, commencing as they did with the conviction, certainly did not end with the imprisonment.

MR. JUSTICE NORMAN in reply expressed his dissent from the last remarks. He thought that when a prisoner came out of jail, we ought to deal with him not as judges but as men, that discharged convicts wanted aid and sympathy, and that such could only be effectually supplied by private benevolence.

4.—*Bribery in Courts of Justice—its Extent, Causes and Remedy.*

By LIEUTENANT DUNCAN J. STEWART.

[Read on the 24th July 1868.]

The limits of bribery may be said in a general way to be identical with the facilities which exist for bribery in any particular court of justice. There is a general willingness to give, and an equal willingness to receive bribes, and the exceptions are so ill known amongst the population generally, that they cannot be said to affect the question. The amount of bribe given depends on the stake at issue, the grade of official who takes it, and the chances of detection.

Very much depends in all these cases on the officer presiding over the court; the weight his decision usually has in the superior courts and the odds of a reverse are gauged with tolerable accuracy; the extent to which all or any of his subordinates can influence his opinion soon becomes known; and his capacity for detecting irregularities together with the extent to which he makes use of it, has a very decided influence on the bribe market. Supposing bribes to be given and taken in all courts, and that none have arrived at the point where bribery is impossible, their money value will be higher in the court of a good officer than in that of a bad one; indeed it is just possible to conceive an officer so indifferent, that no bribery whatever would be worth while in his court, and it is probable that some court of this kind is the only one in the country, where bribery in one shape or another could not be discovered.

Bribery has exhibited itself at some period of the judicial history of every country, and the usual remedies have been, high regular salaries, such as would place judges in an independent position, the entire subordination of all those officials in any way connected with the court, and a denial of the exercise of political rights which would connect them prominently with one or other party in the State, and render bias towards political enemies, who sued before them, a possible contingency. The essential difference between Indian courts of justice and those of any other country, is the prominent position of the court subordinates, and the dependence on them which is apt to be fostered in the mind of

the presiding officer, which again is exaggerated by an ignorant population, who are easily led to believe that it will avail them to secure the services of these subordinates in their case, and as the custom continues, it is too much to suppose a chance decision here and there has kept it alive, but that these subordinates really possess in many cases the powers they profess. In a climate like India, there is no doubt a very great inducement to place in the hands of others much that should not be transferred, and this is intensified by the presence of an able, obsequiously polite and personally agreeable class of officials, ever ready to relieve their superior of trouble, and to take upon themselves, all or even more than he wishes to give. This process is often carried on with much subtlety, and though also visible where no gain is possible, and speaking much for the general politeness of the natives of India, where power is to be acquired it can often be detected in great and dangerous strength.

To illustrate the extent of what is meant, it will be sufficient to recall to mind the invariable appeal to the "Office" or "Baboo," by the head of any department, whether Civil, Military, or Mercantile, when information of any kind, and often of ordinary description, is sought for on a personal visit. All leave far too much in the hands of their subordinates, and allow themselves to become dependent on them, for what they should themselves be solely responsible, and able to perform of their own knowledge and experience.

The fullest limit to which bribery can or does extend, may be considered as gained, in the case of a court subordinate finding a sufficiently ignorant subject to believe that the bribe he is asked or willing to give will directly or indirectly reach the hands of the presiding officer, and affect his decision in the pending case, and certainly the case is a possible one, so that any congratulation by the public at large; that no such enormity could be committed should be of the most limited degree.

If the issues are the same, as when the presiding officer did in reality place himself in league with his subordinates to sell justice, it is merely a matter of sentiment, whether he does so or not, and a conscientious officer should feel as acutely the honor of his court compromised by the misconduct of one of his subordinates, where the administration of justice is involved, as though he himself were guilty of the offence in question. Were officers brought to view their responsibility in this light, and it is I think hardly an exag-

gerated one, a quickening effect would soon be visible in their zeal and activity in detecting bribery.

II.—Of the causes of bribery much has by inference been stated in discussing its extent.

The chief cause, however, remains to be stated as consisting in the custom of the country from time immemorial of thinking that justice and bribery were inseparably to be connected. So much is this the case, that it is no rare statement to receive from natives, that whatever be done to mitigate the acknowledged evil, nothing will ever entirely put a stop to it, or only the abolition, if it were possible, of all native subordinates, whose evil practices are connotive of their names, and will, with the greatest difficulty, be eradicated. A suit in any court in this country is generally regarded very much in the same light, as a suit in chancery is in England; it is a costly proceeding of uncertain result and indefinite length, the workings of which are as little understood as they are appreciated by the mass of the people, who would mostly undergo considerable loss and discomfort, rather than subject themselves to such influences which appear best to serve the evil purposes of those who desire to annoy their neighbours. When compelled to appear before a court of justice, therefore, bribery comes as a very natural part of the whole proceeding, and a man will often offer a bribe, not to prejudice the decision, but simply to hurry his case and be done with the court, just as he would have offered it, to avoid appearing there at all. He lacks confidence in the matter from beginning to end; if experience induces him to believe that the decision may just possibly be a just one, it is only a part of the inglorious uncertainty which he connects with the whole system, and not because the true bearing of the question has to him any chance of being brought out, or of forming the basis of the decision.

The causes of bribery may be summed up as being the want of confidence on the part of the court of justice towards the people, and a reciprocal want of confidence on the part of the people towards the court of justice, for which on either side there is ample foundation.

To speak rudely, the cause of the continuance of bribery is, because it pays; and this brings me to the remedies that may be suggested, which from what has been said will naturally connect themselves with—(1), the presiding officer of the court of justice;

(2), his subordinates; and (3), the people seeking justice. The fault is to some extent attributable to all three, and all must assist in the remedy. It is not much to assume that the present laws fail to prevent bribery to any appreciable extent, and that they so fail must be attributed to their direction and limited sphere of action. The evil is so great that it amounts to a curse on the country, and justifies, as it requires, strong measures for its extinction. For the present it is impossible to look for sufficient moral rectitude, or even public opinion to prevent bribery, it is only possible to place difficulties in the way and create an increased fear of detection. The existing laws do not appear to make it a matter of sufficient policy to abstain from bribery, or to assist in making it known. Those who could best certify to a bribe, are the parties most nearly concerned in the transaction either as giver or receiver, and are deeply interested in maintaining secrecy. Even if bribery is proved, the decision in the case stands, and the giver of the bribe may come out a heavy gainer by the transaction. Although it might, at first sight, appear that the limited number of court subordinates could more easily be influenced than the mass of the population, and that the penalties of bribery should therefore be made more severe to the former, rather than to the latter, it must be remembered whose fears can most easily be acted on? And I think the answer would be, those of the people. The court subordinates are receivers of bribes daily, they have too much to do with the law to fear it, and consequently grow callous. The givers are only placed in that position after considerable intervals, perhaps only once or twice in their lives, and have, on the whole, a greater stake to lose than the receivers.

On these grounds, therefore, *their* fears of detection are most easily to be excited, and to effect this I would render the discovery of a bribe having been given in any case, whether directly or indirectly, by either plaintiff or defendant, within a year or some stated period after the decision was given, sufficient to vitiate the whole proceedings from beginning to end, and necessitate an entirely new trial, as though nothing had occurred. It seems to me the fear of detection would come home very closely to both plaintiff and defendant, and that the one for his own sake would exercise an unceasing scrutiny over the proceedings of the other, and both would at least hesitate before playing so dangerous a game.

Many who now know little about the penalties connected with bribery, would in this way have the subject forced on their attention.

There would doubtless be evils connected with such a law, but they seem infinitely preferable and limited in extent to those that exist under the present system.

But there must be other minor changes. The salaries of the court subordinates should be raised, not only to render the respective positions sufficiently remunerative, and to make their possible loss require high compensation, but to succeed in securing the services of better men of a higher social standing, who would feel some shame in being degraded for a disgraceful offence. Further the exact position of each and the extent of his power and duties, should better be made known, as well as the exact cost of every step in all stages of proceedings, not only by publishing them at every court, but in other places, such as schools, and at the dwellings of village headmen and other functionaries. If the number who at present sit on the platform with the presiding officer could be limited, and some of them placed in an adjacent office, and the duties performed at present by messengers or chuprassies, placed on the police, it would be an improvement.

It seems possible that quarters being provided in a prominent position near the court-house for the chief court subordinates to reside in, might prove an advantage, and the question arises, whether the duties of some of these court subordinates might not be performed by vakeels, employed when they could afford it by plaintiffs and defendants, and when not so able at the expense of Government. If the number of court subordinates could be reduced, the limits of bribery would be so also, and the attention of the presiding officer be less disturbed; and in connection with this, it appears very much to be desired that judicial duties should everywhere be disconnected entirely from those of any other description whatsoever, so that no ground could possibly exist for supposing a grudge emanating in one department could be paid off in another, and greater confidence be so established.

The presiding officer remains to be discussed, and it is my opinion that a case of bribery occurring in his court should by no means affect him so little as it does at present. It should be considered as a personal disgrace, different only in degree from his individually accepting a bribe, because involving precisely the same results, and not as at present be thought a matter entirely beyond his control. He should know his subordinates better, and be acquainted with the character they bear in the neighbourhood generally, and not as is often the case, be the only individual of a small community, who is not aware of the bribe taking propensities of

those placed under his control. No one will tell him, because they either suppose he is well aware of the fact, or lack confidence in his believing their statement, and fear the consequent personal risk of making one, for which even if successful, there is no compensating reward, and this feeling is often enhanced by the infatuation displayed by presiding officers for their court subordinates. Until bribery is identified to a much greater extent than at present, with the officers who are really responsible for it, and are considered to be so by the natives generally, bribery will not cease to be the curse that it is to India.

In conclusion it appears to me that the assistance of the native priesthood should be called in to denounce bribery, and to use the very great influence they possess with the mass of the population to induce them to cease joining in it, and assisting to eradicate its influence in dark hiding places. And here I would wish to state that a most useful means, on secular matters, of influencing the people appears to my mind in the native priesthood, who are perfectly able and willing to denounce social evils, and on whom a little attention would be very profitably bestowed.

Toleration may be either active or passive. It may ascend and place all priesthoods of whatever creeds on the same complimentary standing with the particular priesthood of the person who tolerates; or, it may descend, and be a toleration which practically ignores, which approaches indifference, or is akin to contempt.

The mass of the Indian priesthood are a remarkably intelligent and agreeable body of men, greatly respected by their followers, and the population at large, and would gladly assist in popular movements unconnected with religion, in which they would soon learn to see, a means of sustaining their power, which they would then exert for good instead of for evil. They are peculiarly adapted to assist the machinery of such an institution as that which I address, and are quite as likely to succeed if they really take a matter in hand, as any laws or enactments which can be drawn up. I should be glad to be the means of drawing to them the attention of the Social Science Association.

The discussion on this paper was begun by BABU UMESH CHUNDER BANERJEE, who thought that the want of social position and of education had much to do with the taking of bribes. He affirmed that there was no custom of taking bribes as the writer had stated.

BABU PEARY CHAND MITTRA believed the root of the evil to lie in the fact of the *amlah* receiving inadequate pay. How could they be expected to

be honest on such pay as is given to punkah-pullers and bhistees. He pointed out that in Warren Hastings' time, the higher Government officers took bribes until their pay was raised, when they ceased doing so. He believed the same result would follow the raising of the pay of subordinate officers now.

BABU SHAMA CHURN SIRCAR said that he could corroborate the remarks of Babu Peary Chand Mittra by cases within his own experience. He could recollect the surprise of the late Chief Justice J. R. Colvin, on being told by him that the pay of so important an officer as a *decreenavis* was Rs. 6 a month, the same as that of his punkha bearer. His attention having been directed to the matter the pay was raised to Rs. 10 a month, but this sum even is less than the earnings of a cooly in Calcutta, and not at all sufficient to pay the man's lodging expenses, to say nothing of the support of his family at home. In no other civilized country, and by no other civilized Government, is an official of similar status so miserably paid as the *amlah* of the Indian Court. His necessity drives him to take bribes, and it must be remembered in his favour that necessity knows no law. Did not the predecessors of the present European functionaries here break the laws, both human and divine, on the ground of plea of necessity?

Again, does not the early part of the History of British Rule in India teem with the acts of corruption and malpractices of European officials? It is only since they have been well paid that they have become trustworthy, though even since then there have been exceptions. The Essayist should have judged the *amlah* by the standard of his own nation, and the golden dictum of Him whose religion he professes to follow. He was sorry to find Europeans and Eurasians paid on a scale very much higher than Natives, though the work is the same. A comparison between the pay of the registrar on the original side of the High Court and his immediate subordinate with the pay of the sarishtadar of a Zillah Court and his mohurir would show this. It was most unjust that this should be so. He would ask whether the *amlahs* were not justified in saying "when we are appointed to offices of great trust and responsibility on such small salaries, is it not an understood matter that we are to have perquisites in addition, in order to maintain ourselves in a style suitable to our position." He would further ask whether the Government ought to allow this practice to continue when it could be so easily remedied. Of the several remedies suggested by the Essayist, two seem to be the most effectual of all, namely, adequate salary, and the employment of men of good education and principle. These same remedies had been recommended by many eminent authorities, among whom was the Hon'ble F. J. Shore. His words were—"the remedy is not difficult—better pay, which will gradually introduce into the establishment a more respectable class of men, and proper surveillance on the part of the Magistrates. Many still argue, no amount of salaries will make the Natives honest: the same reason might with equal justice, if judgment had been formed from past experience, have been employed when Lord Cornwallis raised the salaries of the Civilians. Again, I repeat, only try the same experiment with the Natives, that has been found to succeed with the Civil Service. If a feeling of morality does not induce them to become honest, self-interest will do so. This remedy had been tried to some extent with the darogahs, and the judicial officers of the lower grade, and the expectation was justified by the result. Let the same principle be more generally applied, and there would be no less success. He denied emphatically that there is any indigenous custom of receiving bribes.

The practice existed on no other basis than he had stated. But he could also assure them that bribery is at present much reduced in the Bengal Presidency, partly by judgments being written and notes of depositions taken by the judicial officers with their own hands, and in their own languages, partly by the introduction of Pleaders of better education and principle, and partly by the appointment of some educated natives of principle in the Courts of Justice as well as other Offices. The censure of the Essayist was far too indiscriminate and sweeping. It might refer to his own particular locality, but it was certainly not generally true.

MR. C. D. FIELD said, that in his opinion no single one of the three previous speakers had stated the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, though he was prepared to admit that a considerable share of the truth was contained in, and could be eliminated from, the speech of each. One speaker had proposed an increase of pay as a specific—a second was of opinion that the *amlah* required to be better educated, while a third thought that ministerial employment should be given to men of good caste and family. Now four years ago he was at the head of an office, the chief ministerial employee in which united all these three requisites in himself—and results trebly favorable might therefore have been anticipated. But these results were not realized, for it turned out that an organized system of bribery had been carried on in that office for years, which was only discovered by a Native Judge who succeeded him. Increase of pay was no doubt much wanted, and he only trusted that when the scheme lately sanctioned by Government for increasing the salaries of the *amlah* was carried out, the results would be all that could be desired.

He remembered, however, when the new Police were introduced what a zemindar, who personally managed and was acquainted with his own zemindari and was not backward to speak out his mind to Europeans, remarked to him, *viz.*, that an increase of pay would not put a stop to corruption; for that pay and perquisites have a certain fixed relative proportion each to the other; that the Darogah on Rs. 50 who would be satisfied with a present of Rs. 5 would consider it below his dignity to accept less than 10 Rupees when his salary was raised to Rs. 100.

He held that education was also good in its own way, but it would not do to educate the *amlah* only; that the masses must also be educated the bribe-givers as well as the bribe-takers must be subjected to the influence of education; that the great difficulties now lay with those who gave the bribe, who could not be got to understand that their cases would come all right even though no present were offered; who could not believe that the giving of a bribe could not advance their interests. He might quote the instance of the Civil Service, whose members formerly received emoluments now unauthorized and illegal, but once permitted and recognized. When it was forbidden to take these, and when the members of that Service were put on their honor, the practice ceased, and it was never since even whispered against the Civil Service as a body that its members received bribes, or that the taking of bribes found favor with them. That the best remedy for bribery was to stimulate by general education those feelings of honor, self-respect and independence which were the offspring of education alone, not only in the *amlah*, but in the people at large, in those who gave as well as in those who received the bribes; to raise the masses and bring

it home to every individual that justice under British rule was given him as a right and not conceded to him as a favour to be purchased at second hand from the underlings of the courts. Once these feelings of independence and self-respect pervaded all classes, bribery must cease, and the *amlah* would no longer take, because no longer would there be any willing to offer a bribe.

DR. CHUCKERBUTTY in reply to the assertions of the last speaker that education and sufficient pay did but little to produce integrity in natives would only point to the Uncovenanted Judicial and Executive Services, and challenged the speaker to impeach the integrity of the native members of those services. He would also ask whether the system of giving a *dali* to high European officials drawing large salaries, containing gold mohurs in bags was not in existence down to the time of Lord William Bentinck, who put the custom down. When men were poorly paid and had not the means to maintain their respectability and to feed and educate their families, they resorted, in all countries, to questionable expedients, call them bribes, presents, perquisites or anything else. Bribery was not influenced by race differences. There were European departments where the wheels had to be oiled as notoriously as in any native *serista*. He believed that the establishment of an enlightened public opinion would supply the great antidote to the vice. In conclusion as the writer had spoken of the influence of the priesthood, he could say that there was no class which held bribery in greater disgust and abhorrence.

THE REVEREND K. M. BANERJEE regretted the introduction of the race element into the discussion. There was no one who had a higher respect than himself for the Civil Service. But he was bound to say that it was dangerous to challenge the meeting to name a single member of that honorable body guilty of malpractices. Black sheep might be found in the purest flock, and he knew within his own recollection two if not three members of the service who had been suspended for asking or taking bribes or honoraria, or whatever these things might be called.

He differed from the writer of the essay in thinking that the courts were very bad now. The times were changed from those when the *seristadar* used to write the judgment and the Judge to sign it, when the same officer used to take bribes from both parties, from the one to give him the decree, and from the other to write it so as to leave good grounds of appeal. There was still, however, necessarily, some giving and taking. The getting of plain copies was a fruitful source of bribery—not, he must say, in the High Court where every facility was given to applicants, and there was a fixed charge for plain copies, but in the subordinate courts where, as must also be remembered, the getting of copies was of so much more importance. Again, the Department of Civil Court Ameer required to be looked to. They were a bad lot, generally speaking—while their power was very great for evil, as under a section of the law all that they reported was evidence.

MR. C. D. FIELD, in reply to the observations of some of the previous speakers, said that he felt considerably strengthened in his position by what had been advanced by them, that the exceptions instanced by DR. CHUCKERBUTTY and the REVEREND K. M. BANERJEE went to prove the rule—that no doubt there had been 'black sheep'; but the very use of this expression

admitted all he contended for, the black sheep were turned out of the flock who would have none of them; and their treatment showed the spirit which actuated the body and the Government, whose members were taken from that body. In the administration of justice there had been great laxity, and no doubt too much was left to underpaid underlings who were subjected to temptations almost impossible to resist; the *seristadar* too often was permitted to usurp the functions of the Judge, who did not take that personal share in the administration of justice which he ought to have taken. He had indeed heard of Judges, who decided cases according to the number of flies on the punkah: decreeing, if the number was even; if odd, dismissing. This mode of exercising judicial acumen had however not been approved, and those days were happily past for ever. The Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure now required every judicial officer to record the evidence and write his judgment, and the reasons for it, with his own hand. When the practices of former days were mentioned but to be reprobated, it should not be forgotten that it had been the care of the Government, which ruled this country, to remove those evils as well as the causes of them, thus identifying itself with those feelings of honor and integrity which were utterly antagonistic to practices which every one there assembled must unite in abhorring and detesting.

EDUCATION.

1.—*Mahomedan Education in Bengal*, by MOULVI ABDOOL LUTEEF KHAN BAHADUR.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

The subject of Mahomedan Education in Bengal naturally divides itself into an estimate of what has been accomplished in the past, and a consideration of what yet remains to be done, with the means of doing it, for the future.

For the first, there is before us the history of the Calcutta Madrassah, embodying the origin of the first movement made under British auspices for elevating my co-religionists from the condition of listless lethargy and self-abasement, into which they had fallen, when power and sovereignty in the land had departed from their race. The idea was due to that extraordinary man, Mr. Warren Hastings, who, in the year 1781, laid before his colleagues in Council a scheme for the establishment of a Mahomedan College, in words which I transcribe from his Minute :—

“In the month of September 1780, a petition was presented to me by a considerable number of Mussulmen of credit and learning, who attended in a body for that purpose, praying that I would use my influence with a stranger of the name of Mudjid O'din, who was then lately arrived at the Presidency, to persuade him to remain there for the instruction of young students in the Mahomedan law and in such other sciences as are taught in the Mahomedan schools, for which he was represented to be uncommonly qualified. They represented that this was a favorable occasion to establish a Mudrussah or College, and Mudjid O'din the fittest person to form and preside in it; that Calcutta was already become the seat of a great empire, and the resort of persons from all parts of Hindoostan and Deccan; that it had been the pride of every polished Court, and the wisdom of every well-regulated Government, both in India and in Persia, to promote by such institutions the growth and extension of liberal knowledge; that in India only the traces of them now remain, the decline of learning having accompanied that of the Mogul Empire; that the numerous offices of our Government, which required men of improved abilities to fill, and the care which had been occasionally observed to select men of the first

eminence in the science of jurisprudence to officiate as Judges in the Criminal and Assessors in the Civil Courts of Judicature, and (I hope this addition will not be imputed to me as ostentation on an occasion on which the sincerity of what I shall hereafter propose for the public patronage will be best evident by my own example) the belief which generally prevailed that men so accomplished generally met with a distinguished reception from myself, afforded them particular encouragement to hope that a proposal of this nature would prove acceptable to the actual Government.

"This was the substance of the petition which I can only repeat from my memory, having mislaid the original.

"I dismissed them with a promise of complying with their wishes to the utmost of my power. I sent for the man on whom they had bestowed such encomiums, and prevailed upon him to accept of the office designed for him. He opened his school about the beginning of October, and has bestowed an unremitted attention on it to this time, with a success and reputation which have justified the expectations which had been formed of it. Many students have already finished their education under his instruction, and have received their dismissal in form, and many have been dismissed unknown to me, the Master supposing himself limited to a fixed monthly sum which would not admit a larger number. Besides day scholars, he has at this time forty boarders, mostly natives of these provinces, but some sojourners from other parts of India. Among them I had the satisfaction of seeing on the last New Year's Day some who had come from the districts of Cashmere, Guzerat, and one from the Carnatic.

"I am assured that the want of suitable accommodation alone prevents an increase of the number. For this reason I have lately made a purchase of a convenient piece of ground near the Boitcannah, in a quarter of the town called Podpokur, and have laid the foundation of a square building for a Mudrussah constructed on the plan of similar edifices in other parts of India.

"Thus far I have prosecuted the undertaking on my own means, and with no very liberal supplies. I am now constrained to recommend it to the Board, and through their channel to the Hon'ble Court of Directors for a more adequate and permanent endowment."

But even in the great mind of Mr. Warren Hastings, the higher objects for which education has now come to be valued amongst us, seem to have had neither place nor foreshadowing. For on the practical people he had to address, he urges the encouragement of Mahomedan literature, not only as recommended by the example of the past rulers of India, but also as calculated to supply the want of properly educated officers to discharge the functions of "Judges in the Criminal and Assessors in the Civil Courts of Judicature."

In those days, when our early English masters devoted themselves principally to the pursuit of commercial profit and the collection of revenue, they found occupation enough without interfering in the actual management of the provinces as settled by their predecessors. To the mass of the people the change of Government brought no foreign usages or customs. The Law Courts were left in the hands of the same agency as before. Mahomedan Law and Mahomedan Lawyers still reigned supreme, and knowledge of Arabic and Persian literature remained as indispensable qualifications for official distinction and success as they had ever been under the Subadars. When, therefore, the Governor General proposed to his Council the means of keeping up a regular supply of learned Moulvies and Kazees, for the legal institutions of the country, he neither exaggerated the objects to be attained, nor in their attainment aimed beyond the bare requirements of the moment. In a Minute, dated January 1785, Mr. Warren Hastings explains them in language which leaves no doubt as to the purpose for which the new College was founded—"It had," he says, "been deemed expedient on maxims of sound policy to continue the administration of the Criminal Courts of Judicature, and many of the most important branches of the Police, in the hands of Mahomedan officers. To discharge with credit the duties and functions annexed to those jurisdictions, it is necessary that the persons who hold them should not only be endued with natural talents, but also that they should be possessed of a considerable degree of erudition in the Persian and Arabic languages, and in the complicated system of laws founded on the tenets of their religion. This species of erudition has for some years past been much on the decline: since the management of the revenues has been taken into our hands, it has chiefly been carried on by the English servants of the Company, and by the Hindoos, who, from their education and habits of diligence and frugality, possess great advantage over

the Mahomedans in conducting all affairs of finance and accounts. In consequence of this change, the Mahomedan families have lost those sources of private emolument which could enable them to bestow much expense on the education of their children, and are deprived of the power which they formerly possessed of endowing or patronizing public seminaries of learning. The Foujdaree Department, which affords but a bare subsistence to the officers employed in it, neither possesses the means of encouraging, nor holds out a prospect capable of inducing, the sons of the once respectable but now decayed and impoverished Mahomedan families, to qualify themselves for succeeding to the duties of it, by a long and laborious course of study.

“These reflections about four years ago suggested to me the idea of founding a Mudrussah or College for the cultivation of Mahomedan literature in the town of Calcutta.”

To bring this knowledge within the reach of respectable Mahomedan families, whose decay was to be deplored on their own account, as well as on account of the Government, which in those days was virtually based on their alliance and co-operation, the Madrassah rose into existence; and for upwards of half a century furnished the bulk of those Mahomedan Law Officers, who, whether as the paid servants of the State, or as the legal advisers of all ranks of the population, have been intimately associated with the judicial administration of the Lower Provinces.

For the support of the Madrassah, ample revenues were given. At the beginning, certain lands in the 24-Pergunnahs were made over, which are known to this day as constituting the Madrassah Mehal, but they were subsequently resumed, and the fixed sum of Rs. 30,000 a year was assigned in 1819, which, after repeated declarations by the Home Government, may well be considered as inalienable an endowment as any that could have been established on the rents of broad acres, or the proceeds of funded securities.

This is not the place, nor have I the time, to recapitulate the grounds on which the Governor General set aside the annual income above mentioned for the promotion of Mahomedan Education. It is sufficient to state the fact that the allotment of public revenue took the place of income derived from land, after repeated failures on the part of those entrusted with the supervision of the Madrassah Mehal to keep its affairs in order,

and after Government had been compelled to resign its proprietary right in the mehal to a claimant, whose title, as proved after official scrutiny, superseded the gift which had been made of the land to the Calcutta Madrassah. It should also be sufficient to say that the view taken by successive Governments of India, when pressed to introduce changes into the Madrassah calculated to divert its funds into channels for which they were never intended, has been opposed to their alienation, on the ground that they had been specifically appropriated, and could not be otherwise applied.

When the controversy between the rival claims of English and Oriental Colleges as the instruments of disseminating European knowledge among the people of India reached its climax a quarter of a century ago, the late Court of Directors, in a despatch dated January 1841, decided that "the funds assigned to each Native College or Oriental Seminary should be employed exclusively on instruction in or in connexion with that College or Seminary, giving a decided preference within these institutions to the promotion, in the first instance, of perfect efficiency in oriental instruction."

For full 25 years or more after its foundation, the Madrassah continued under exclusively Native management, doing nothing more than, as designed by the founder, providing men learned in Mahomedan law and religion for the Courts of Justice, and keeping up throughout the land in the pious establishments maintained by devout Mahomedans, and in the houses of the wealthy among them, a love of scholarship and letters. The institution soon acquired a strong and effective hold on the affections of the Mahomedan population. Perhaps I am not wrong in saying that, of all the Educational Establishments in Bengal which owe their inception altogether to the English Government, the Madrassah is the only one that has so entwined itself into the every-day regard of the people for whom it was founded. I know what the old Hindu College and the Medical College have achieved in their way, and the measure of popularity among my Hindu fellow-countrymen to which they deservedly attained, when the justly alarmed prejudices of primeval Hinduism had been clean swept out of the path of progress and enlightenment. But it must be remembered that both those Colleges, in their strictly educational aspect, have moved out of their depths the intelligence and moral sentiment of only a particular class of the Hindu popula-

tion, the richer and more respectable section, who still monopolise whatever the British Government has to bestow on the cause of education in Bengal. To the vast mass of the Hindu population, they barely exist even in name and significance. But the Madrassah has come to be looked upon by all orders of Mahomedans as peculiarly their own national place of education, and it has given them what they wanted, in the way in which they wanted it. To them it was more than a mere school of literature and science. Their law, which is the great basis of Mahomedan society, there found its reliable interpretation. For many years the learned Professors of the Mahomedan College have, by the common consent as well of the Government and of its highest legal tribunals, as of the community of Islam, been referred to as umpires and arbiters on the most difficult questions of Mahomedan law and usage, and their decisions have been accepted far and wide for the settlement of litigation and the determination of political inheritance. In religion, the Madrassah has always had the reputation of being the stronghold of *Sunni* orthodoxy—the religion, that is, of the large majority of the Mahomedans of India. The regulations of the College enforced religious discipline among the pupils, and it was ordered that the Khutteebs or reader of the Koran, and a Mouazzin or crier, shall regularly attend at the Madrassah, that the students may daily perform such acts of religious worship as are prescribed by the rules of the Mahomedan faith.” At stated seasons, the Government defrayed the expenses attendant on the celebration of Mahomedan festivals. It is no wonder then that Mahomedans of all ranks and degrees have ever turned to the Madrassah with an affectionate and reverent fervour, and may I never live to see the day when, whatever revolutions betide the old College, the Mahomedans of Bengal shall have cause to view it differently.

• There is no doubt that during the period the Madrassah remained under purely Native control, very gross abuses crept into it, and most necessary reforms were effected, when, on the appointment of a European Secretary in 1819, a method was introduced in the course of instruction and in the bestowal of honors and rewards. At the same time a very decided movement occurred outside among the other sections of the Native community for profiting by the inducements held out by the Government to the cultivation of Western literature and science; and it was fitting that the Madrassah should participate in the career of advancement. An English class was formed in 1826, which was abruptly broken up, but re-formed and organized as an English School in 1829,

continuing in existence down to 1853. The following extract is taken from *Kerr's Review of Public Instruction in Bengal*, Part II, page 84:—"It was at first composed entirely of scholars on the Madrasah foundation,"—that is, stipend-holders of the Arabic classes, who, according to the original constitution of the College, were paid to receive instruction in its various studies,—“but,” continues Mr. Kerr, “as there were numerous applications for admission from without, the classes were at an early period thrown open to Mahomedan boys in general. As a temporary measure, stipends of Rs. 8 a month were granted to any number of pupils not exceeding 25, who were desirous of learning English. It was also resolved that all who received Arabic stipends should likewise learn English. It was originally proposed that a small fee should be demanded from the out-students, but the idea was abandoned on account of their general poverty. This proposal, however, was subsequently revived.” The result of this paying system will be appreciated when I note that in 23 years 1,787 students paid schooling fees amounting to Rs. 3,923, or Rs. 2-7 per head, which gives the contribution of each scholar at one anna and eleven pie per annum, the cost to Government being Rs. 58 per annum. Throughout the history of education in Bengal, I do not think there has been an instance in which the Mahomedan idea that education should cost money to the giver, and not to the receiver, has been more signally asserted.

The condition under which holders of Arabic stipends were bound to attend the English School could not have been strictly carried out, for it happened that in a short time the English School was altogether given up by the pupils of the Arabic College, and was attended chiefly by those who came from outside to learn the little English that was imparted in the Madrasah. During a period of nearly 25 years, the Junior Scholarship standard was attained by only a very few students. To all intents and purposes, the English School, although held within the premises of the Madrasah, had neither life nor part in the daily routine of the College itself. The purpose which it was to have served was the inculcation of European principles of thought and action in minds matured by Arabic learning, which, after being thoroughly imbued with the influences of European philosophy, were to have brought forth fruit in a new and vastly improved literature for the Mahomedan world. The conception was truly grand and worthy of the great men who sought with the means at their disposal to give it shape and reality. Besides the establishment of the English School, another means resorted to for creating a powerful impression on the Mahomedan

understanding was the translation of books from the European languages into Arabic and Persian for the benefit of Mahomedan readers. The proposal originated in the year 1823 with Dr. Lumsden, then Secretary to the Madrassah Committee, and an amusing, if not an instructive, account is given in Mr. Kerr's book of the arguments by which the Government was persuaded to waste a good deal of money in the enterprise. Dr. Lumsden commenced by employing a Moulvi to translate European books for the use of the Madrassah. He then recommended to the Government, through the Madrassah Committee, that the translations already made "should be encouraged by offering prizes to those who passed a successful examination in them. This he conceived was all that could be done at present in furtherance of the desire of Government to encourage the study of European science in the College. The more complete attainment of the object would involve the necessity of an application to the authorities at home for the purpose of engaging the services of a competent lecturer, and furnishing the institution with proper apparatus. If a lecturer should hereafter be engaged, it would be necessary for him to make himself master of Arabic and Persian. Dr. Lumsden recommended, in the mean time, the appointment of a Native Translator who had some acquaintance with English.

"Mr. Shakspeare considered that the appointment of a Translator, with a view to the introduction of European science, was highly desirable. A portion of the educational fund could not be better applied than to such an object. The question, however, was yet undecided, whether the Natives could be best instructed in the European sciences through the medium of their own language, or by the previous acquirement of English. In his opinion the former plan was preferable.

"Mr. Martin agreed in the opinion that the translation of elementary treatises was apparently the most eligible method of introducing European knowledge. Judgment would, however, be required in the selection of works to be translated. If it was intended to furnish the Mahomedans with the means of acquiring that knowledge which might best direct their practice in life, and might best qualify them for discharging with integrity and ability all their civil and social duties, he would be disposed to recommend the translation of elementary treatises on ethics and politics, including the general principles of natural and municipal law, rather than of works on mathematical science.

"Mr. Sutherland considered that if they wished to afford encouragement in what are called the exact sciences, they must call to their aid the improved systems of Europe. This must be done by compilations and translations in an Oriental language. These he would encourage rather by premiums offered for work done than by a monthly salary. But in order to impart European notions of moral excellence, or to diffuse a taste for English literature, he thought it would be desirable to encourage the study of English, if such a measure would be acceptable to the students.

"The result was that the General Committee, in a letter to Government dated January 1824, recommended the appointment of a Native Translator on a salary of Rs. 100 a month, as a preparatory step in the diffusion of European knowledge. Government sanctioned the appointment.

"The process of translating European works into Arabic was commenced, but went on but slowly. The first book translated was *Ridgely's Algebra*. After an interval of some years, a single volume of *Hutton's Mathematics* was prepared for the Press. It soon appeared that the work of enlightening the Natives by this method would be very gradual. The advocates of the system said that more books might have been translated, but this did not alter the fact that they were not translated. And then arose the question whether they were translated well—a point not easily determined."

Sir Charles Trevelyan, in his work "*On the Education of the People of India*," p. 11, informs us that an "Edition of *Avicenna* was projected at an expense of £2,000; and as it was found that, after hiring students to attend the Arabic College, and having translations made for their use at the expense of thirty-two shillings a page, neither students nor teachers could understand them, it was proposed to employ the Translator as the interpreter of his own writings at a further expense of Rs. 300 a month!"

At a later period (1847), when it was discovered that the Arabic students for, whom the English School in the *Madrassah* was intended, with but few exceptions, hardly availed themselves of its advantages, another class, called the *Anglo-Arabic Class*, was formed for the exclusive advantage of pupils from the Arabic Department.

Happily those fancies have been confessed to be impracticable, under which a revolution, as mighty as the awakening of modern

Europe, was to have been brought about among a people so full of belief in their past, as Mahomedans are everywhere found to be, by the study of translations of Hutton's Mathematics, Brydges's Algebra, and the like. These attempts at anglicising the superstructure of the Mahomedan mind over the basis of a half-formed Arabic Scholarship have failed as they deserved to fail, and the failure has left lessons which, having yet been but partially utilised, are worthy of the most serious attention. With the experience of the past for a guide, there is no presumption in making the declaration that no endeavour to engraft upon a strictly Arabic foundation those principles and ideas of European civilization which have developed themselves out of the lives and histories of European nations, can hope to succeed. This would be intelligible enough in the case of any people, but in that of the Mahomedans of India, the explanation is so obvious, that in offering it, I beg to disavow any intention of proclaiming a discovery.

In a paper written some time in 1861 for the Hon'ble Sir John Peter Grant on the subject of the Hooghly Madrassah, I pointed out that educational efforts, to be of any avail among the Mahomedans of Bengal, must start with a due appreciation of the fundamental constitution of Mahomedan society. With your permission, I will read a portion of the remarks I made on that occasion :—

“At this place it becomes necessary for me to notice the classes into which Mahomedan society is divided. One of them is the learned, and the other the worldly class. The members of the first are famous for their love of learning, generally for its own sake. They think nothing of begging their bread to great distances, even to Arabia and Egypt, to study their favorite Arabic. They indeed may be said to literally obey the precept of the Prophet:

أَطْلُبُوا الْعِلْمَ وَلَوْ كَانَ بِالصَّيْنِ

i. e., ‘Pursue knowledge even to China.’ They are generally poor, but in consequence of this disinterested and almost heroic love of learning, they are very much respected in society, and wealthy members of the worldly class take pride in forming connections with them. It is for the sole benefit of this class that private endowments are generally founded, and whatever religious merit there is in giving education is in giving education to this class. It is this class which supplies priests to the Mahomedan community, and altogether exercises great influence over it. But

many of its members have neither means, nor inclination, nor motive, for studying the English. And therefore, unless some educational provision from the funds of Hajee Mahomed Mohsin be made for this class, the object of the endower will be disregarded, the Mahomedan community dissatisfied, and the honor of Government compromised.

“The worldly class consists of those who are not anxious for an Arabic education, but would content themselves with sufficient Persian to enable them to transact business and move in society. This class is by far the most numerous, and possessed of wealth and property, including as it does the nobility, the gentry, and the merchants; and it is by this class that the benefits of an English education will be appreciated and sought after.

“In consideration of the above particulars, I beg most respectfully to suggest the establishment of a purely Arabic institution, or rather the retention of the existing one upon an improved basis, for the benefit of those members of the learned class who are undesirous of acquiring an English education, and of an Anglo-Persian School offering extraordinary advantages for the education of the rest of the Mahomedan community.”

The matters of fact contained in the above are so well known to every body who has any acquaintance with the Mahomedans of this country, that it is not at all surprising that they were known to and recognised by the late Council of Education, and conduced in an essential degree to the adaptation of their plans for the improvement of the Madrasah to the ends to which they were directed. In a Minute on the subject by the late Hon'ble John Russell Colvin, dated the 18th May 1853, which is published in the Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XIV, I find the following:—

“A Mahomedan gentleman will teach his son Persian and enough of Arabic to make him fairly master of the composite modern Persian, and this is the education with which he commences when his son is 6 or 7 years of age. This is carried on to the age of 10 to 12, when those who are of the learned or erudite class, from relations of scholarly families, or persons desirous of taking rank as Moulvies, devote themselves chiefly to the Arabic. At this age a Mahomedan gentleman of the present day in Bengal, sensible of the necessity of English for his son's success in life, and not caring that he should be learned in the Arabic language or law, will be ready that his son should apply himself to English, carrying on at the same time his Persian

reading as a becoming accomplishment, and likely to be of benefit to his character. I need not say that there is in the Persian literature much elegant composition, much terse and graceful poetry (which is to the Mahomedans, for the familiar exercise of taste, and as his ready store-house of sentiment and practical wisdom, much what Horace is to us), and many excellent lessons of virtue.

* * * * *

“The conclusion, then, to which these facts seem to me strongly to point is that it is well to organize, in addition to the branch schools in Calcutta, and to the Mofussil institutions open to all persons, a special English education for Mahomedans, and this may be most easily done at the Madrassah, a place of learning which they regard as devoted to their benefit, and which is held in great respect and repute throughout Bengal.

“Mahomedans now come to the Madrassah from all parts of Bengal, and they will readily come to it for English and Persian, as well as for Arabic education (that is, for the training fit for an educated gentleman as well as for that of a learned scholar), in cases in which instruction in English may be valued, but in which there may be discouragement from the age of entrance and course of study in the Mofussil schools. I would then organize an Anglo-Persian Department in the Madrassah under really competent masters, to which students would be admitted at an age not exceeding 12 in any case. At the age of 15 the lad should determine whether to continue his English studies or to transfer himself to the Arabic classes. It is admitted by every one (and I have consulted every qualified person that I could think of) that the successful conjoint study of Arabic and English is impossible. Those who remain in the Anglo-Persian class will, as a matter of course, give more and more of their time, as they grow older, to their English studies, for the comparatively narrow range of Persian literature will soon be exhausted.

“I should look with much confidence to a considerable diffusion upon this plan of a superior English education among the better classes of Mahomedans. They are becoming quite alive in the districts under the Bengal Government to the value of English as a means of advancement in all departments of business.”

The result is the Anglo-Persian Department of the Calcutta Madrassah, which, as far as it has been worked, has proved a decided success. Year after year it has sent up students for examination

by the officers of the University, many have been entered as under-graduates, two of them have already obtained the degree of Bachelor in Arts, and an impetus of a genuine and lasting character has been given to the study of English among the Mahomedans. It is no small matter for rejoicing that what was feebly, because by false methods, attempted forty years ago, is now on the eve of accomplishment. I do not think it possible for any man to over-estimate the amount of good which is being achieved by the British Government in annually sending forth from the Madrassah young men of good social connections, well grounded in the elements of English and Mahomedan literature, who have acquired just such a taste of both as to wish for more, and whose influence and example are beginning to permeate through every movement of Mahomedan society. But the Anglo-Persian Department of the Calcutta Madrassah teaches only up to the Entrance Standard, and its under-graduates have either to join the Presidency College, to carry on their studies further in English, and qualify themselves for honors, or to join the Arabic Department of the Madrassah and elect Arabic for honors. The latter course can land them only in the half-and-half results, of which the past failures in the Madrassah afford striking instances. As students exclusively of Arabic, they lose the benefit of the little English training they have acquired, for the Madrassah has no means of long continuing their instruction after the Entrance Standard has been attained; and it does not take much time to obliterate from their minds whatever little English they have learned. In the Presidency College, they are equally unfortunate in regard to the classical languages open to their choice, in preparing for the L. A. and B. A. Examinations. I need hardly remind you that in both these tests, English being the fixed language, the optional ones are—Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Hebrew, and Arabic. The Mahomedan student in the Presidency College, it will be confessed, is at an immense disadvantage, compared to his Hindu fellow candidates, in keeping up and improving his knowledge of the Arabic, which is to him what the Sanskrit is to them. I cannot for a moment believe that it can enter deliberately into the counsels of the British Government to treat the different sections of the Indian population, except on a footing of the most perfect equality. If some of them seem to have derived from the wise liberality of Government advantages not yet extended to others, it seems to me, that, in respect of the former, the British Government have, more clearly and more readily in regard to the latter, been made to understand the precise thing wanted to be done and how

it was to be done. We have now arrived at that stage of intelligence in which we know the exact requirement of the moment. What is wanted is to place the Mahomedan in educational advantages on the same footing as the Hindu; and the way to do so is to add college classes to the Anglo-Persian Department of the Madrassah, and elevate it to the rank of at first a High School, and then of a College. In the first class of this Department, Arabic has already begun to be taught. After entering the University, further proficiency in Arabic will be secured to the aspirant for honors, by the means already existing within the Madrassah walls for the highest instruction in Arabic. The addition of advanced classes in English will complete the machinery for fulfilling the conditions of the University Course for the attainment of the highest honors in English.

It is beside my present object to speculate on the changes which must be introduced into the Arabic Department of the Calcutta Madrassah, in order to give it the place among the educational institutions of the country which its importance demands. That it does not occupy that place needs no demonstration, nor would it suit any practical end to discuss the causes of its failure. The well-founded impression is, that it has never had fair play ever since it ceased to be a mere nursery for Mahomedan Law Officers and Judges, and was left to itself to prove how it best could exhibit its usefulness as an adjunct to the educational progress of the age. I would draw your attention to the bare injustice of expecting the Calcutta Madrassah, with its subjects of instruction and the modes of instruction in them unchanged for nearly a hundred years, to take a part with the latest of model academies in contributing to the growth and extension of thought essentially modern and European. But because it has been unable to do so, I have heard it seriously argued whether the Madrassah should not be broken up altogether and its funds applied in other directions more likely to yield fruit meet for acceptance. I have watched, but have failed to observe even of late a disposition to be more equitable, and the views of the writer of an excellent article in the August number of the *Calcutta Review* may be taken as representing the point at which opinions among those European gentlemen who are at all capable of forming one on the subject, have arrived. Although he adds to the difficulty of the argument by mixing up the question of the Hooghly Madrassah, which is maintained altogether out of a private Mahomedan Endowment, with the Calcutta Madrassah, which is supported by an endowment from the State,

there is much in what he says that is valuable for my purpose. He has two problems before him—first, how to deal fairly by the bequest of Mahomed Mohsin, the founder of the Hooghly Madrassah; and secondly, how to devote the income of the Calcutta Madrassah, after confiscating it, to the good of the general public. The first, as the writer in the *Review*, with most praiseworthy candour allows, can only be done by following out what may most reasonably be presumed to have been the intention of the testator, *viz.*, the establishment of a College for the exclusive benefit of Mahomedans, and to this end, the reviewer is willing that there should be a well-endowed and well-conducted Madrassah at Hooghly, towards the support of which the major portion of the proceeds of Mahomed Mohsin's legacy should be used. He would also have an Anglo-Persian School at Hooghly like the one attached to the Calcutta Madrassah, but supported like the Hooghly Madrassah out of the Mohsinceah funds. The English College, kept up for the Hindus, so largely fed out of the same source, would be disconnected from it, and be maintained at the expense of Government; it would receive pupils from the Anglo-Persian School at Hooghly, after these had been entered on the rolls of the University. Lastly, he would abolish the Arabic Department of the Calcutta Madrassah, keeping on only the Anglo-Persian Department, and leave it optional to those desirous of acquiring a knowledge of Arabic to proceed to Hooghly and learn it in the Hooghly Madrassah. The reviewer has an alternative scheme, which is to keep up the Calcutta Madrassah, with its Anglo-Persian Department, but to do away with the Hooghly Madrassah, and spend five hundred Rupees a month out of the Mohsinceah Endowment towards the maintenance of a hundred Arabic scholars on Rs. 5 a month each at the Madrassah in Calcutta.

In either case, the abolition of one of the Madrassahs is recommended. With my very strong reliance on the good faith and wisdom of the Government, I do not apprehend that the suggestion one way or the other is likely to be carried out. In regard to the Hooghly Madrassah it simply cannot be done by the Government, which is the principal Trustee of the estate; in regard to the Calcutta Madrassah, the measure would involve such serious consequences that it were best that the matter for the present at least were left alone. But the point would never have been put forward for discussion, if the Calcutta Madrassah in its Arabic Department had received the care and attention which other Oriental Colleges in India, supported out of the public revenue, such as the Sanskrit

Colleges at Poona in the Deccan, and at Benares in the North-West, have undoubtedly obtained. If European modes of teaching and discipline had been as sedulously introduced into the Arabic classes in Calcutta, as they have been into the Sanskrit classes at Benares, by men like Dr. Ballantyne and others who have trod in his footsteps, there would have been no issue as to whether the money spent on the Madrassah was repaid by an honest amount of work accomplished. The thing would be far from impossible, if a scholar of Dr. Leitner's ability and learning were entrusted with the task of re-organizing the entire system of Madrassah education and of personally carrying reforms into effect.

As to the absolute necessity of pushing forward the advances already made in giving an English education to the Mahomedans of Bengal, there is happily no difference of opinion. The most obvious and readiest plan is the one I have ventured to suggest, *viz.*, the elevation of the Anglo-Persian Department of the Calcutta Madrassah to the status of a College. The prevalent notion seems to be that after passing the Entrance Examination, it is quite enough for a Mahomedan student to have the privilege of joining either the Hooghly or the Presidency College,—and this mistake seems to be committed even by the able and intelligent writer in the *Review*, who is fully conscious of the prejudices of the better class of Mahomedans against the association of their children with those of other creeds. He says—"The larger and what are styled the worldly class of Mahomedans, in order properly to fill their place in society, must learn Persian; if, therefore, they are mixed in the general department with students of other creeds, either all those students must be compelled to study Persian, or the Mahomedans must be placed at the disadvantage of having to compete with their fellows, handicapped with the weight of an additional language. Consequently even the school for the worldly class ought to be restricted to Mahomedans, though the pupils could not expect to be supported while learning. It is no doubt also true that the more respectable and consistent Mahomedans do not like to mix in school with other religionists, and considering that all the most conscientious persons in England and Ireland object to mixed education, we cannot be surprised if conscientious Mussulmans are of the same way of thinking."

The above applies to what is called "the worldly class" of Mahomedans, who are willing to learn English; and it does not seem why the sentiment, which is to be treated with tenderness and respect before the University Entrance Standard is passed,

should be ignored altogether after it. I should think that if the pride, or self-respect, or prejudice of Mahomedans be worth while conciliating, so far as to give them a school for the education of their children in the elements of European literature, a College for their exclusive benefit, requiring the expenditure of a few hundred rupees more, would not seem too great a sacrifice in the presence of the priceless effects to be produced. But the real issue of the moment opens out far higher considerations than those concerned in making a concession to a feeling which, after all the indulgence with which it is regarded, is looked upon by Englishmen as a weakness. Mahomedan education can never cease to have a strongly marked feature of political interest, which will force itself on the notice of all who desire to make the enlightenment of the Indian races the handmaid of loyalty and devotion to the British power. The current of public opinion on Indian politics, the orthodoxy of Indian statesmanship, the small talk of small men on almost every point connected with Indian administration, would undergo a change, if by any effort of the fancy it were possible to think and speak of the Mahomedans of Bengal as an English educated class. But what even the imagination dare not now conceive can be accomplished in time by means already at the command of the Government. I beg you to bear in mind that it is no longer open to debate whether respectable Mahomedans are willing to have their children imbued with the principles of a sound healthy English education. The wide gulf of time during which it remained doubtful has been passed over. There is the quickening of a desire for initiation into the blessings of European civilization in the Mahomedan mind which is manifested, it may be feebly here and there, but nevertheless with sufficient distinctness and character to indicate the birth of a life which needs growth and development.

The addition of a few College classes to the Anglo-Persian Department of the Madrassah will cost money: not all, however, at once. All the four classes which generally compose a Government College on this side of India need not be at once represented; they may be laid on as gradually as they become necessary. An attempt, as I understand, has already been made in the Anglo-Persian Department, with its present establishment of teachers, for carrying the pupils on a little further than the Entrance Standard. But whatever increase of expenditure may be called for, will be more than repaid in the lasting results that will ensue. For the present, they cannot be estimated from a pecuniary point

of view. If that mode of valuing the benefit of any improvement introduced by the British Government into this country had been applied from the beginning of their connection with us, to this day there would have been no education at all for any section of the Indian population. It is enough that we are able to see the right thing to be done at the right moment, leaving it to the justice, the liberality, and the foresight of the British nation to provide the means for doing it.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE remarked that much of his time in India had been spent among the Mahomedans, and he must congratulate the writer on the paper which had just been read. In most parts of India, the Mahomedan races still possessed vitality; the lower orders were still military, while the upper distinguished themselves in politics or literature. Wherever administrative capacity and energy were required, there would Mahomedans be found, now as ever. At Hyderabad, where he (the speaker) had spent the last few months, there were Mahomedan administrators and statesmen, one of whom, Sir Salar Jung, had a reputation which might justly be a source of pride to his Mahomedan compatriots and coreligionists. Even in Bengal, though the climate and the associations were against them, we might still hope that the Mahomedans would soon emulate their brethren elsewhere.

THE REV. J. LONG said that one great problem regarding the Mahomedans had been overlooked. Our policy had ruled that they were to be educated like the Hindus through the medium of the English language. The question had been fully discussed by him last year with some of the leading Mahomedans at Moorshedabad. There was no doubt that the Mahomedans had not the same aptitude and the same facilities for acquiring a knowledge of English as the Hindus possessed. He hoped we should not commit the same mistake in this country which had been committed with regard to Ireland, and from which England was now suffering. On the conquest of Ireland we had ruled that no Irishman should hold office unless he knew English, and the millions were consigned to ignorance with its consequent degradation. Such a policy was partial and unjust. Much knowledge might doubtless be communicated through the medium of the vernacular, as had been shown in the North-West Provinces, and he thought the present system of giving an almost exclusive preference to the English language was prejudicial to the interests of the country.

MOULVI ABDOL LUTEEF replied that the system of imparting information regarding the Western Sciences through the means of translations had already been tried in Bengal and had proved a failure.

MOULVI OBEEDULLAH testified to the difficulty which was experienced by Mahomedans in the acquirement of the English language. He recommended the more general use of Arabic, as Urdu did not possess a sufficiently copious vocabulary for the expression of metaphysical and scientific terms.

BABOO PRARY CHAND MITTRA wished to know whether any steps were being taken for the education of Mahomedan women. The efforts that

were being made in the cause of female education among the Hindus were well known, and he should like to hear if there was any similar movement among the Mahomedans.

DR. BEST pressed the question.

DR. FARQUHAR asked if any gentleman present would inform the Meeting as to the existence of any Mahomedan literature suited for their women, or whether it was the case that the books of general reading were seldom fit to be put into the hands of the female portion of the community.

In reply to these questions, MOULVI ABDUL HAKREM (who spoke in Urdu) stated that female education was not unknown among the Mahomedans, so as to require any stimulus or encouragement from without. The education of their women went hand in hand with the promulgation of their religion. The first Mahomedan nation, the Arabs, had recognised its importance in the very origin of their society, and their women, as a rule, were well read in all the sciences and arts of the day, particularly in literature and poetry. Their Holy Prophet enjoined the education of women equally with that of men. His own wives and daughters were well educated; some of them were famous poetesses, and their compositions were extant at the present day. Similarly the wives and daughters of the Caliph of Bagdad and Damascus as well as of Cordova were well educated. And with the spread of the Mahomedan religion from almost one end of the civilized world to the other, female education had been introduced into India, Persia, and other countries. The writings of many of the Begums and Princesses of Delhi were not yet extinct. Even to the present day the respectable portion of the Mahomedan community continued to educate their women. Under these circumstances, the speaker deprecated the necessity for any interference in the matter from without. The progress of education among the male portion of the community would, he argued, be necessarily accompanied by a similar progress among the female. None perhaps had the education of women more at heart, or were more convinced of its advantages, than were the Mahomedans. They well understood how children derived their first ideas and habits from their mothers, and how necessary, therefore, it was to provide that they were not spoilt in their very infancy. They were able, moreover, to appreciate the great assistance which an educated woman might render to her husband in the management of his household. But there was one thing which the Mahomedans could never be expected to do; they could not, like other nations, send their daughters to schools or colleges. They were bound by their religion to keep their women in seclusion, and they must conform to this injunction of their religion in the same way as other nations were bound by their respective creeds.

DR. CHUCKERBUTTY asked if any Mahomedan families had availed themselves of the *zenana* agency. It was well known that many Hindu gentlemen entertained the same objection to their daughters going out to school, but *zenana* education had made great progress during the last twenty years.

DR. FARQUHAR pressed for a reply to his inquiry regarding suitable Urdu books for women.

DR. EWART thought the discussion was rather deviating from the subject which was before the meeting.

BABOO MONMOHUN GHOSH criticised the system of teaching Oriental languages. He thought that Sanscrit and the European languages were much easier to learn than Arabic, because they were taught more scientifically. He urged that the Universities should do more to promote the study of the Oriental classics.

THE PRESIDENT in conclusion remarked that the subject was one of great importance, and the Association ought to be grateful to the writer for bringing it forward. It was observable, with regard to the Minute of Warren Hastings which had been read, that it related to a condition of society which was mainly Mahomedan. Since that time it was the fact that Mahomedan gentlemen had fallen from the position in the community which they then held, mainly in consequence of having been surpassed in education and professional acquirements by their Hindu compatriots. It ought never to be forgotten that the Mahomedan population was lately predominant in this country, and the recollection of their former power in connection with their present want of social importance was liable to engender feelings not of the most desirable nature. The subject was therefore of the highest political importance. We had not long ago experienced that the disaffection of the Mahomedans may be a serious evil, and he thought, therefore, that no opportunities should be lost of conciliating them by a spirit of fairness and justice, and of giving them the means of acquiring a good English education, without which they could have no chance of catching up their more successful rivals.

2.—*What is the best practicable method of educating Hindu Women?* By BABU CHUNDER NATH BOSE, M. A.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

Notwithstanding all that has been said and written on the subject of female education in Bengal, it is no doubt a melancholy fact that the actual progress of education amongst our women has been up to this time not of the most satisfactory nature. The education of a large class of human beings, who seem to have received from the hands of their Maker a peculiarly disadvantageous position in the great commonwealth of the race of man, requires the concurrence of so many opinions and circumstances—the results, either normal or abnormal, of the general progress of civilization—that no scheme of female education can, I think, be expected to endure or to succeed, which does not quadrate with those social accidents which influence the destiny of every institution founded even on the soundest principles of abstract science and theoretical morality. The object of the science of sociology being the ascertainment of the laws of general or particular social developments, it is the business, I might almost say the duty, of this Association to investigate the nature and to estimate the prescriptive authority of those customs and opinions, which, being as it were the laws of our great social machinery, form the regulating principle and the governing arbiter of every scheme of social and intellectual progress. I am inclined to think that the entire failure of some, and the partial success of others, of the many schemes of female education that have been at different times propounded and adopted in this country, have been owing to a total oversight or an insufficient consideration of the great truth which I have just enunciated. It will be, therefore, necessary for me to describe, with as much minuteness as the limits of this paper will allow, the tendency of those social institutions which must be contemplated by every *practicable* scheme of female education, and to submit thereafter a plan which, crude as it will necessarily be, shall have for its object the reconciliation of what might be called the *incidence* of those institutions with the existence of a fruitful system of female education. Before, however, I do this, a brief description of the views of by far the majority of our countrymen regarding the proper function of women in the

economy of society and their education in the abstract, seems to me necessary for a right understanding of the influence which those views have had, and will continue to have for some time to come, upon the fortunes of so enlightened a scheme as that for the education of the female mind and the development of the female character.

It is a common idea amongst the less educated portion of our countrymen that the fair sex have been made by God the cause of most social evils. If a Hindu girl, who is doomed to all the miseries and privations of a widowed state, from an age when beauty begins to bloom and the pleasures of life to open, displays any immodest impatience at the melancholy monotony of her sepulchral existence, or breaks those physical restraints which an arbitrary social system has provided against the natural results of a heartless social institution, the dogmatic Hindu, who sacrifices all sense of chivalry in his absurd reverence for antiquity and its sanctified bequests, attributes the sad shipwreck of her morality to a depraved and obdurate will, which has nothing to obey but a spirit which nature herself has filled with the direst depravity. The housewife who spends more than the income of her husband would justify her in doing, is an evil spirit sent by God to ruin the family and mar its pleasures. The fair, lovely damsel, who, regardless of the past and heedless of the future, weeps away the brightest portion of her existence for sparkling jewels and *sarees* glittering with all the pride of silk and lace, is a sorceress whose love for the marriage-bed is measured by the number of her trinkets. One single woman who has lost her chastity is an argument for the unchaste tendency of female minds in general, and one bad housewife will raise and support the conviction that, but for the checks and restrictions of a rigorous domestic government, every family in Bengal would in a day be reduced to the verge of misery and destitution by the improvidence and carelessness of its presiding matron. The female mind is vicious by its very conformation, and the effect of education upon that depraved conformation would be the strengthening of that vicious tendency, and a social revolution, in which, the relative position of the two sexes being reversed, social virtue and domestic bliss would be swept away from the face of the earth. So thinks the old orthodox Hindu of woman and her education, and the patriarchal reverence and authority which time has attached to his position in the Hindu home have naturally secured for his opinion an almost unimpaired domination over the progressive spirit of the educated and enlightened Bengali. What are the probable causes of the

degraded position of our women, it is not for me to investigate here; but it is necessary for the purposes of this essay to bear in mind that, the idea of an inherent defect in the mental constitution of our women is an idea, which an unjust hierarchical social organisation, swayed by a corresponding hierarchy of duties and obligations, has chiefly contributed to produce and foster. Putting out of the account the necessary but modifiable influence of physical laws and phenomena, it may, I think, be asserted that, in the opinion which the old orthodox Hindu has formed of the female character, the results of ignorance and injurious social institutions have been mistaken for the inevitable symptoms of a naturally morbid mental pathology.

The dread with which the conservative Hindu mind contemplates the progress of female education, and the horrid images of that social corruption and anarchy, which appear to it to be the necessary consequences of all reformation of female society, are only another illustration of that great law of national thought which history has verified with almost inductive accuracy. The law I refer to is that habit of the mind which infers monstrous social evils and dangerous religious and political heresies from every departure from long-established customs and usages; and we need but recollect the view which was taken by the good and great Bishop Burnet himself of the rise and growth of that sceptical philosophy, of which Hooker and Chillingworth were, in England, and Montaigne and Charron, in France, the first systematic expounders, in order to be convinced of the force of this mental habit over the general mass of minds in a country. For the learned Bishop, I say, characterized as dangerous atheism that great agitation of the European intellect, which has marked modern civilization with its boldest and most attractive features. That education which forms and strengthens the principles of conduct will destroy all principles; that a girl, instructed in science and the arts, will lose all modesty and sense of decorum; that a woman when educated will neglect her proper duties in the family for what is considered to be the mere luxury of poetical and scientific studies; these are views which, it seems to me, only require to be stated in order to be refuted. I think it, however, proper to add that many of those feminine graces which, it is apprehended, will suffer a rude touch from education and enlightenment, are, in numerous instances, mere misnomers which it is necessary that education should correct. Female modesty, I apprehend, is often another name for stupidity, and bashfulness

the servile homage of a dejected and degraded spirit. But how-muchsoever we may deride these notions of the old Hindu as unfounded and erroneous, they must, I think, be taken into serious consideration in estimating the prospects of any scheme of female education as a national and popular institution. For, I think, the necessity of female education will never be perceived, nor its manifold advantages duly appreciated, by the great body of our countrymen, until, in addition to other circumstances to be mentioned hereafter, the generation of conservative Hindus shall have passed away. Neither, until time shall have accomplished that work, will the blessings of education enliven each Hindu home and render it a sort of little earthly paradise, in which the genius of wisdom, animating the soul of the lovely girl, will be like that heavenly messenger in the bowers of Eden, who charmed Adam with the exquisite music of his speech and ravished his soul with his high divine philosophy.

I shall not stop to describe the advantages of female education which have been fully set forth by far abler hands than mine in this very country, and which will be found depicted in glowing terms in the pages of Hannah More and Sydney Smith. Neither shall I indulge myself, much as I wish I could, in voluptuous descriptions of the virtues which render the Hindu home a seat of monastic holiness, where the husband is almost worshipped by the wife, and the father feared and revered as the great Author himself of this sublunary world. But I cannot help remarking that, in these very virtues which, it is feared, education will destroy, and which are in themselves the orthodox argument against the introduction of female education, we find sufficient proofs of a semi-barbarous social polity, which it is desirable that education shall invest with less imposing but more delicate features. And without intending any insulting or exact parallel, I think I may be allowed, for the mere sake of illustration, to say that the sight of masculine courage and patriotic zeal displayed by the Amazons of the Isle of Britain, flying like so many Furies through the woody paths of Mona to oppose the invincible legions of Imperial Rome, betrayed a primitive constitution of society in which the severest virtues, which strike the senses or the imagination of man, were unaccompanied by the charming but almost imperceptible graces of civilized life.* The old Hindu, overpowered by the massive grandeur and severe

* See Burke's Abridgment of English History, Book I.

austerity of the virtues which animate his partner's soul, is unable to conceive that there may be virtues less imposing indeed, but more congenial and grateful to the general weakness of man's mental nature. An acquaintance with these softer virtues is necessary for a just appreciation of the advantages of female education. And without waiting for that distant social millennium in which, the prejudices of caste and religion crumbling away beneath the omnipotent influence of time and circumstances, the civilized Bengali will wander through the streets of London, Cairo, and Quebec in search of wealth and fame, it may, I think, be justly expected that a freer and more intimate conversancy than we now possess with the ways of English domestic life in this country, will in no long time produce a salutary change in our ideal of the family model, and convince us of the importance of female education, howsoever carried on, whether within home or without, as a refining agency in the ordinary walks of life.*

The plan of education which I shall now submit before the critical public, though not without considerable hesitation, seeks, to reconcile with its own being the direct and indirect influence of such social opinions and usages as have hitherto impeded the progress of female education. And I am sorry to say that the same social circumstances which have caused the necessity of making some such reconciliation, will also prevent the plan itself from being adopted in its integrity and acted upon on a desirable scale, until its character as a new social element shall have been found to be perfectly innocuous. I am not audacious enough to think that the plan will not require a trial as a merely tentative measure, which any one of our hundred antiquated opinions and usages may prove to be unsuited to the present circumstances of our society. But the plan ought, in my humble opinion, to have the benefit of a trial, as the object it has in view is of such vital importance.

In order to form a clear conception of the plan, I venture to propose, it is necessary to bear in mind that the system of education contemplated by it will for some years to come remain what might be called a monitorial system, in which the education of the monitors themselves will prevent for some time the perfect development of the plan and the production of its best results. It is

* I think it proper to add that it would be more than sanguine to expect that any better use than is here indicated can, in the present condition of our society, be made of European example and influence.

important, moreover, to premise that the plan embraces three different objects. In the first place, it seeks, as I have already said, to adapt itself to the various laws of our social organisation ; secondly, it seeks, by means of suitable knowledge, to infuse into our female society a taste for those innocent pleasures which the works of man and the works of nature so abundantly supply, and thus to provide for future generations a class of ardent advocates and active supporters of female education in the persons of our women themselves ; and, lastly, it aims at making the women of Bengal the instruments of refined social pleasures, of an improved domestic economy, and of a healthier and better-trained generation of boys and girls than we could possibly have at present.

Bengali girls must be educated in public schools till their 10th or 11th year, the period at which they generally enter into matrimonial life. But it is necessary, in order to make girls' schools a popular and efficient apparatus for the education of the mind, that they should be classified and modelled on a plan different from what obtains at present. We need not be afraid to confess that, constituted as our society is of a class of men whose antiquated traditions govern the actions of its remaining constituent—the representatives of the enlightened ideas of the present age, our views regarding female education and the means by which it may be best promoted are by a sort of necessity—the result of a transitional state of society—partly conservative and partly liberal. Much as we wish to educate our women, a thorough-going female education, obtained at the sacrifice of caste and at the risk of a consequent social excommunication, very justly seems to us a boon which imprudent temerity alone would desire to possess. And the imperfect success of those girls' schools which we have had in Calcutta for so many years is, I am inclined to think, the result of that peculiar social opinion which forbids the promiscuous mixture of persons of different castes, as opposed to the teachings of the Shasters and injurious to the honor and respectability of families—an opinion which governs far more strongly the mutual intercourse of the women than that of the men of Bengal, and the duration and authority of which will be, to speak somewhat loosely, almost measured by the duration and authority of the system of caste itself. To induce persons of all classes to send their girls to public schools for education, it seems to me necessary that there should be a gradation of schools corresponding to the gradation of our castes ; that there should be schools for the higher classes alone, schools for the inferior classes alone, and, what is of far more consequence than either of these, schools for base-born

girls alone. The creation and maintenance of so many sets of institutions will, no doubt, be somewhat expensive, and, perhaps, also a little hurtfully invidious at the outset. But the experience of the changes in the history of the Calcutta Sanscrit College, which at the time of its foundation made it a rule to receive none but Brahmin boys, in obeisance to the self-same prejudice which it is the object of exclusive schools for exclusive castes to satisfy, enables me to hope that this complicated apparatus will soon become unnecessary. But the prejudice must be fed at first, in order that it may die the sooner of surfeit.

The primary object of all systems of education, and, therefore, of female education, should be to inspire in the mind a love for knowledge as such, regardless, at first, of all material interests which knowledge may ultimately secure. And the necessity of adopting this principle seems to be the greater in the case of female education in Bengal than it is in any other country. For, if the views of thinkers like John Stuart Mill regarding the admission of English women into English factories and workshops be considered, even in this age of England's meridian prosperity, as views rather in advance of the time, the notion of making female education in Bengal subservient to the purposes of female co-operation in the promotion of public wealth and industry must be decried as absurd and ridiculous. But admitting the impossibility of entertaining a democratic idea like this in the present circumstances of Bengali society, the studies of our girls must be so selected as to provide in the nature of the studies themselves a sufficient stimulus for the pursuit of knowledge. And I have no doubt that, if the scheme of studies which we shall digest for our females be really governed by the principle which, in the absence of all material considerations must be considered an indispensable condition of success, it will be eminently productive of collateral results, as salutary in their operation as they are desirable as subsidiary objects of female education.

To render knowledge attractive to our girls, it seems to me necessary that some of the mysteries of Nature, which cherish barbarous notions and superstitious feelings, should be explained to them in that popular and perspicuous light, in which the world with its variegated wonders appears to be the very model of simplicity intended by God for man's imitation in all his works and ways. A popular and experimental exposition of the phenomena of heat, light, electricity, and the different elements embraced by the science of chemistry, will produce a radical change in the ideas of

our females regarding the moral government and the physical mechanism of the world we inhabit, and dislodge from their minds those cumbrous notions of female virtue and elegance, which betray a social structure highly superstitious, and in many respects unpoetical. Nor need we apprehend that the adoption of an experimental method of instruction in our girls' schools will be attended with any considerable difficulty either in a pecuniary or in an educational point of view. For, an exposition of such simple, natural, and experimental phenomena as the formation of dew and ice, the oxidation and de-oxidation of metals, the rise and fall of the mercurial barometer, the discharge of the Leyden jar, the electrical motto tube and the gassiot star,—which is all that we require for the purpose of infusing into the female mind a love of knowledge for its own sake,—will not, I think, involve such an apparatus of books and instruments as will exceed the resources of an unflagging zeal, a benevolent aristocracy, and a liberal and enlightened government.

A taste for flowers in a tropical country like India, whose *flora* is one of the most luxuriant on earth, may with sufficient facility be infused into our women; and it is naturally expected that the delicate but somewhat deadened sensibility of the Hindu girl, catching a balmy breath from the soft but silent music of the grove and the bower, will soon learn to prefer “one native charm to all the gloss of art.” To effect this change in what might be called the poetical features of the female mind—a change which seems to me productive of a salutary reform in the domestic economy of the Hindus—I should strongly insist upon the study of flowers, not indeed in a scientific method, but as objects of imitation on silk and carpet, and as constant companions of the hours of recreation. As to the books which our girls should be taught to read in the public schools, I have not much to say after the appearance of so many works of an elementary character; but the adoption of the experimental method above described will evidently necessitate the publication of easy treatises in the vernacular tongue on popular physics and chemistry.

Regarding the best practicable method of educating married girls, who cannot, by the customs of the country, step out of the zenana, there has been, and, I have no doubt, will yet be, a good deal of controversy. Opinions, which look upon the dark privacy of the zenana itself as a provision hardly too vigorous for female virtue and modesty, will undoubtedly scout the idea of public seminaries for married women as indecent and

almost profane. Neither shall that strong domestic feeling, which keeps the female face veiled from the sight of all who are not dearest to it, allow us to harbour for one single moment the thought of any male agency in the education of the wedded fair but that of the husband. But an instrument like this will be insufficient for the various purposes of female education as a *national* institution. Men who pass three-fourths of the waking hours of their existence in anxious cares and busy occupations, in a climate whose enervating influence deprives useful labour of half its exhilarating effects, will be teachers too irregular and fugitive for a systematic method of instruction. I think I am also right in stating that the scheme of sending European tutoresses from house to house will be a partial, if not an entire, failure. For, as has been elsewhere said by the Honorable President of this Association, a European tutoress is a luxury not within the reach of the great majority of our countrymen. But entertaining as I do the opinion that a system of education, which consults all the requirements of an essentially conservative social polity, will be necessarily expensive, and depend for its success upon the interference of Government as a taxing authority, and upon benefactions like those by which the lamented Mr. Gokuldass Tejpal of Bombay has surprised the philanthropic world, I do not think that the aristocratic character of the scheme of European tutoresses for Hindoo ladies *ought* to be considered so strong a ground of objection as the insufficiency of this provision for the demands of so large a population as that of Calcutta. A European tutoress must be a person who will make education her profession, and her professional character will prevent any single family from receiving the benefit of her instructions for more than an hour in the day. And although it is true that the influence of a virtuous European example is desirable in the formation of the Hindu female character, I yet am inclined to think that this influence will not be a sufficient compensation for the loss we shall suffer from the necessary absence of sympathy between a European governess and a Hindu girl.*

* This remark, of course, is made with an eye upon the present condition of the Hindu female mind. No sympathy can exist between minds that are governed by the most dissimilar traditions and usages, and the different tones of thought and feeling prevailing in English and Bengali society must be somewhat assimilated to each other, before the relation of master and student, in the properest sense of the words, can be profitably established between a European governess and a Hindu girl. This work of assimilation must be the work of a purely native tutorial agency, and it is with this view that I wish to exclude for some time any strong European element from my plan.—C. N. B.

The scheme, too, of what might, for the sake of brevity, be called a class of *itinerant* native tutoresses for zenana education, besides being surrounded by difficulties already pointed out in reference to a corresponding European agency, is open to other objections arising from the character and composition of Bengali society. Women of respectable Hindu families will not walk about from house to house, nor will they view education as a profession, the pecuniary emoluments of which are a sufficient motive for exertion. And it is also worthy of remark that the strong conservative feelings which still govern the Hindu home, and prudential considerations by no means extravagant or arbitrary, will exclude any other female instrumentality from the education of the zenana than that which is least exceptionable on the score of social honor and respectability.

Fully aware of the many difficulties which beset the question of female education in Bengal, it is with no uncommon deference for the judgment of the enlightened public that I submit what might be called the plan of *sectional family schools* for the married women of this country. For the purposes of this scheme I think it necessary that this city should be divided into a certain number of sections, each of which shall comprise 20 or 30 different families. Supposing each family to contain, on the average, three ladies who require further education than what they have already received in the public schools, the number of female pupils in each section will thus vary between 60 and 90—a number that may, without any inconvenience whatsoever, form two separate classes for the purposes of efficient teaching. The zenana of the most enlightened and respectable Native gentleman residing in any one of the educational sections, who enjoys amongst his neighbours a reputation for learning, honesty, and benevolence—and I have no doubt there are many such in every municipal division of the city—such a zenana, I say, will be the place where these female pupils should go, of course in proper conveyances, to receive instruction from such of the women of his family as shall have been already prepared, for the sake of his plan, to assume the task of tutoresses. A European female teacher for each of these sections will be, I think, temporarily necessary to keep up those experimental studies which, for the purpose of infusing a taste for useful knowledge, I have previously recommended for adoption in the public schools. And assuming that the plan will require only 20 or 25 educational sections in the early days of its career, an equal number of European tutoresses, as a provisional measure, will neither be an unavailable nor a

too expensive apparatus for an object so noble as the education of the Hindu female mind. This plan, which I have propounded with special reference to Calcutta, will be, I am sure, far less costly and much more practicable in the villages of Bengal, where neighbourly feeling—the main strength of the scheme I have developed—assumes a form and imparts a charm to social intercourse of which the inhabitants of the metropolis of British India, with their scientific modes of living and thinking, cannot form the slightest conception. To make female education productive of salutary results, the translation into the Bengali language of popular works on History, Natural Science (both organic and inorganic), Practical Morality, and Hygiene, will be a desideratum, which the growing development of the vernacular tongue, combined with the increasing study of Sanscrit literature in the Calcutta University, leads me to expect will, without any appreciable difficulty, be amply supplied.

A discussion of the various pecuniary resources which suggest themselves to my mind as available for the working out of the plan will be, I think, painfully long at this stage of the essay. I shall, therefore, satisfy myself with stating a single measure, not on account of its pecuniary importance, but for the sake of describing to my countrymen the moral aid which it will, it seems to me, afford to the support of the plan and the enlargement of what might be called its territorial prospects. An educational cess, of course very light in its incidence, whilst it would be wholly unobjectionable on the *laissez-faire* principle, and equitable as an appeal to family charity, would serve as an inducement with every individual to send the women of his family to the sectional schools. For, we need but recollect that man, whether dwelling on the banks of the Ganges, the Thames, or the Po, always tries to get the fullest benefit of the taxes he pays out of his hardly-earned income, in order to ascertain whether the poor Bengali will suffer his penny to be taken without his wife being taught. Some may say that this would be a sort of indirect compulsion on the part of Government in respect to the conduct and motives of individuals. Admitting this view of the question for the sake of argument, I am yet of opinion that an educational cess is fully justifiable, inasmuch as compulsion of some kind or other is at the root of that principle of interference, without which Government would be only a shadow, and sovereignty the chimera of a disordered brain.

Such is a rude outline of the plan which, I venture to think, will reconcile many of our social customs and opinions with the

existence of an efficient system of education for the married women of Bengal, and render our public girls' schools a machinery for the formation of a female society, which will itself possess an opinion upon the question of the education of their hitherto neglected faculties and insulted feelings. Such is the plan which, if carried out with masculine energy and benevolent zeal, will make the ladies of Bengal the "ministering angels" of our homes. Such the plan which will reform our domestic economy, and multiply the ties and sweeten the pleasures of our social intercourse.

MR. J. B. KNIGHT said that the paper which had been read was almost perfect in its description of the present state, and very interesting in its suggestions for the future improvement, of female Hindu society. He could not approve, however, of the scheme for class schools, which appeared to him to be a step in the wrong direction. There were numerous schools now in Calcutta and elsewhere, in which Hindu girls of every class were assembled. The second suggestion for the assembling of Hindu ladies coming from various households was in itself a great step forward, for it was a phase of social life which Bengali women had never yet enjoyed. He would like to see ladies of all classes meet freely and talk over their domestic affairs. Bengali ladies were remarkable for their eagerness and readiness to learn, and they were especially pleased to receive the casual visits of European ladies. He thought it was desirable that they should acquire an insight into the life of their English sisters; but to this end the visits must not be all on one side. The Hindu lady must also come out and visit her European friends.

BABU MONMOHUN GHOSE thought that those who were leading in the cause of female education did not clearly see their way. He himself could not conceive the state of society which would result, owing to their ignorance of English society, when the educated Native man and woman were left together in the hours of repose. He thought that the present ideas of the male portion of the community must undergo considerable modification. They must mix much more freely with the English. Unfortunately they had but few opportunities, though he must admit there were some families who were desirous of mixing with and knowing more of the Natives. Until this was done, however, we might rest assured that no real progress would be made.

DR. FARQUHAR wished to know whether the Bethune Female School was not meant for high caste Hindu girls alone, and he asked this question in order to ascertain the merits of the plan, propounded by the essayist, of providing different schools for the different castes.

DR. CHUCKERBUTTY pointed out that the system of class schools had already been tried at the Bethune School. There were three classes of schools, but the complaint was as loud as ever of the difficulty of obtaining pupils.

The lecturer replied that, whatever might have been the principle first adopted for the Bethune Female School, he was warranted by experience in saying that that principle had not been adhered to, and that, by allowing a highly promiscuous admission of girls, the Bethune Female School, as a

popular educational institution, had become a sad and complete failure. With reference to the view expressed by Mr. Knight, the lecturer spoke to the following effect: Social and intellectual progress in Bengal, he said, is yet a problem, of which a right, or, as it were better to say, a safe solution cannot be obtained. unless philosophic prudence, tempering the force of progressive enthusiasm, takes into account the many stereotyped customs and opinions which govern Bengali social life. It is impossible to force opinions upon a people, and it is something more than impossible to ensure the success of institutions, which prevailing opinions do not approve, and to which the spirit of older and more beloved institutions is either ungenerous or hostile. The best way of introducing progress into this country, is to combine progressive with conservative ideas—a combination which will infallibly lead to the triumph of the former, inasmuch as the natural tendency of the human mind is towards forward movement. Conservatism is yet too strong in this country to be safely omitted in the calculations of the progressive theorist, and it will, if not conciliated, either wage war against a purely progressive scheme, or, what is worse, look at it with an eye of indifference and contempt. We want progress, but that progress must not vanquish itself by shocking too rudely the dominant conservatism of the country; in other words, we want and we can have only a conservative progress. The plan of exclusive schools appears to satisfy the conditions of a conservative progress, and it seems to be therefore the only plan which can be considered as legitimate in the present circumstances of Bengali society. It will diffuse female education far more rapidly and widely than has yet been seen in this country, and that education will accomplish the far more radical work of destroying prejudices, a work which must *precede* the inauguration of a durable and purely progressive scheme of female education.

THE HON'BLE RAJAH SHEORAJ SING (of Nynee Tal) made some brief remarks in Urdu.

EDUCATION.

3.—*The present system of Education in the University of Calcutta.* By BABU CHUNDER NATH BOSE, M. A.

[Read on the 31st March 1868.]

The University of Calcutta has been in existence for ten years. It is an educational institution in which about two-thirds of Her Majesty's Indian subjects are deeply interested. It has been moulding, and will continue to mould, throughout England's rule, the thought and character of millions of human beings. Its influence has been felt by all the ranks and gradations of society. It has stirred the minds as well of those who are its alumni as of those who are neither students, teachers nor professors. It has already been the cause of some striking changes in the general character and arrangements of our society, and, provided its vitality remain, it will sooner or later revolutionize the whole moral aspect of the country. Whether it increases in efficacy or degenerates in quality, its influence, for good or for evil, will be permanently felt both in the actual relations of castes and communities and in the form and salient features of public opinion.

The University of Calcutta has an important work to do. As an educational institution, it is to be considered as a mighty lever for the conservation of individual integrity and energy of character, amidst such relaxing effects of a progressive civilization as have already appeared so ruinously among the nobility and gentry of England. Although it is true, that the Bengalees, as a nation, have no independent political existence, still they have an intellectual life to form, a social life to improve, and a moral life to purify. And considering, as we must necessarily do, that civilization in its most general signification means not merely political improvement, but social and scientific progress as well, my countrymen, who have a society to reform, and sciences to master, as an indispensable condition of that social reformation, must regard the University of Calcutta as an all-important institution, which will supply both a positive and a negative formula towards a solution of the great problem of Bengalee civilization. Increase of civilization, without increase of knowledge, is a contradiction in terms. And if, as is most certain, the University of Calcutta be the one only means for the diffusion of scientific knowledge amongst our countrymen, it must be acknowledged by every careful observer of the time that

the progress of the University of Calcutta is a condition *sine qua non* of the progress of Bengalee civilization. This is the positive task—the work of construction—with which our University is charged. But we must here consider that progressive civilization, though founded upon increasing knowledge, may, when it has influenced an entire community, render itself wholly independent of that community viewed in the light of an aggregate of moral personalities,—that it may, as it has already done in some of the foremost countries in Europe, dispense with the individual as such, and rely for its support and nutriment upon combinations and co-operations of men. But masses of men, possessing, as they do, only a sort of corporate life, and divested as they generally are of the finer instincts of an emotional nature, exclude all but a most selfish and disguised rule of action from the world's busy theatre, and making temporal good the sole object of their collective existence, leave the individual as such under the influence of an opinion which creates no obligation for the improvement of personal character.

See Dissertations and Discussions, Vol. I, page 182.

As civilization increases, the *individual*, to use the words of John Stuart Mill, “becomes so lost in the crowd, that though he depends more and more upon opinion, he is apt to depend less and less upon well grounded opinion; upon the opinion of those who know him. An established character becomes at once more difficult to gain, and more easily to be dispensed with.” Now, although progressive civilization is the work of classes and societies of men, still the individual as such never entirely loses his position as one of the constituent atoms of a civilized social organisation. And as the individual is the most prominent actor in an incipient stage of civilization, so he becomes equally important when civilization having run its course quite heedless of his moral existence finds that that very heedlessness has made him its greatest foe. In other words, civilization, which has a tendency to neglect and destroy the individual, receives its first shock from that prostration of individual energy and loss of individual courage of which it is itself the chief cause. Among the many agencies by which the natural and self-destroying tendencies of civilization may be counteracted, *good educational institutions* are by far the most radical and efficient. The University of Calcutta has, therefore, a negative task—a work of destruction reserved for it. That task it may not be required to perform till centuries have rolled away; or, if from these, the early years of its life, it understands its position as an instrument of civilization, it

may not be called upon to perform it at all, except in the way of preventing by precautionary measures the appearance in the future of that abnormal feature of civilization which occasions the task itself. But taken either way the task is a reality.

The view I have here taken of the functions of the University of Calcutta, though it may appear to many as somewhat pedantic, is no doubt the most elevated view in the eye of the scientific observer, who is aware of the existence of a progressive civilization in Bengal. And, indeed, in estimating the nature of an institution, which, considered whether in its relations to the individual or to society at large, is of all institutions the most important and influential as a school for the development of speculative power, scientific thought and social virtues, the light in which the institution appears, when regarded as an instrument of civilization and moral progress, must be taken to be its most serious and general aspect. If this view of the manner of determining the character and position of an educational institution be correct, I think I shall be justified in examining the system of education which has been adopted by the University of Calcutta with special regard to that important character which it possesses as the agent of an advancing civilization, in other words, with an eye fixed steadily upon what may be called, to use a cant expression, the *mission* of the Calcutta University.

Before describing the nature of the studies of the University of Calcutta, I think it proper to take a brief view of the influence which that mighty institution is at present exercising upon the formation of the juvenile mind of Bengal. The sole aim of all elementary school education is now to obtain admission into the University, and the most important feature of the studies pursued in our schools is their adaptation to the method of instruction rendered almost necessary by the character of the studies and examinations of the University. Education cannot be exclusive of an object; but it is worthy of remark that one object is more noble than another according as it is more spiritual, or, if the expression were allowed, more *human* than that other. And if I be permitted to call those institutions *normal* and *independent* which have in view objects that are spiritual and human, and those institutions abnormal and slavish whose objects are material and not human, or, which is the same thing, not identical with the true object of education, our schools would best be classed under the category of slavish and abnormal institutions. The end and aim of education is, roughly speaking, the develop-

ment of the various powers and susceptibilities of the mind, and any system of study, which, if it does not entirely defeat that end, possesses a strong tendency to do so, cannot be considered by unsophisticated men as a system which entertains the purposes of education in the truest sense of that important but much abused word. Such a system of study would be only a means for the accomplishment of an object which is not identical with the true purpose of education, and thus it would be the slave of a desire different from that, which, in a state of public opinion sufficiently strong and enlightened to make wisdom loved for its own sake, gives birth to institutions consecrated to Science and Philosophy. A system of education possessing this characteristic cannot be considered as pure or perfectly rational. I have said that the object of all the education given in our elementary schools is to prepare the way for an admission into the University of Calcutta; and I now venture to add that a course of instruction which is guided by an object so narrow and material is liable to all the perversions, the abuses, the shortcomings of a system, in which education is considered not as an end in itself but only as a means for the attainment of a purpose. Such a system will not aim at developing the mental powers and susceptibilities of those for whom it has been framed. It will not possess in itself any such vitality as is imparted by the enforcement and active operation of that noble principle, which regards the training of the powers of the mind as the truest meaning and object of education. It will be characterized by all the defects, and tainted by all the vices, of a dull, lifeless routine of stereotyped forms and formulæ. It will produce all the stagnating effects of a purely mechanical regimen. But before we can place the system of education pursued in our schools under the category of such a system, it is necessary for us to see whether the object, which has called it into being, and imparted to it the form and features it wears, is really so narrow and material in its character as to make any plan of instruction emanating from it liable to the remarks I have just made. The object of making a course of reading preparatory to a higher order of study would not in itself be considered as a slavish object if that higher order of study to which it refers be itself based upon that noble idea which regards education as no other than an equable culture of the various faculties of the mind. Now, therefore, the whole question regarding the character of the education received by our boys at the elementary schools reduces itself to this: what is the nature and probable influence on the mind of the course of study prescribed for the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University?

In answering this question, the most important fact which ought to be carefully kept before the mind is this. The language to which the greatest importance is attached by the University is the English—a language which is *foreign* to the Natives of this country. Now, the rules and principles which govern the acquisition of a foreign language are not the very same as those which apply to the imparting of an indigenous education. The study of languages, not to speak from a philological point of view, is then only important when its object is the collection of a large stock of ideas. The formation of a good style of writing is only a secondary object, and is in most cases dependent upon the possession of varied ideas. But as good words without good ideas are mere jottings which make no impression on the mind, so good ideas without good and appropriate words are mere obscure representations which convey no adequate meaning. The study of language, then, as one of the means for the development of the power of precise thought, should be governed by two objects—the acquisition of a large store of ideas, and the formation of a clear and correct style of composition. To attain these ends by the study of a language that is vernacular is no doubt a work of less labor than by the study of a foreign literature. A Bengalee, well read in three or four good books in his vernacular language, will write much better Bengalee than the English he will write after reading the same number of English works. In teaching, therefore, a foreign language like the English to the natives of Bengal, a severer discipline and a more systematic plan should be followed in our educational institutions than would be necessary for a purely vernacular education. For there the natural genius of the nation for the acquisition of their mother tongue would be of itself a guarantee of easy and rapid success without the enforcement of a highly rigid rule and comprehensive method of instruction. I do not mean to say that a large number of ideas can be obtained without an extensive study when that study is carried on through the medium of a vernacular tongue. But considering, as I intend to do, the case only of those who, like the boys preparing for the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University, are only in an elementary stage of progress, all that I think it proper to insist on is, that, for the purpose of rendering possible a clear statement of the few ideas that are acquired in the first six or seven years of one's educational life through the medium of a foreign language, a somewhat larger study of literature and a more correct and minute knowledge of grammar would be necessary than if the same ideas were required to be explained in vernacular words. For,

I repeat once more, in expressing thoughts and sentiments in words which a person has lisped in his cradle, a sort of natural facility and intuitive tact and correctness accomplish the same purposes which, in adopting the words of a foreign vocabulary, would require, as an indispensable preliminary, a systematic study of grammar and literature.

With these remarks before us we are in a position to understand the exact nature of the system of teaching followed in our elementary schools. The subjects taught to our boys are English, Bengalee (or Sanscrit), History, Geography and Grammar. This is a sufficiently large course no doubt. But is the result of the teaching, received in all these subjects, anything like that which would be called education in the properest sense of the word? Whatever be the amount of historical knowledge gained by our boys previous to their entrance into the University, one thing is certain that, when they pass the matriculation examination, they are miserably deficient in both those qualifications without which education is a misnomer and a work of fruitless labor. The ideas they possess are few and obscure, and the words at their command for expressing those ideas are fewer and obscurer still. The true object of education is to form the *proper man*. Now the *proper man* is he whose ideas are at once useful, numerous and clear, who expresses those ideas in a clear and correct language, and whose feelings, moral, social and religious, are at once harmoniously developed and innocently active. The course of study prescribed for the entrance examination of the Calcutta University is purely intellectual. Its influence on the feelings is little or nothing. It comprehends no treatise on theoretical or practical morality, no treatise on theology, no treatise on sociology. But we cannot blame the University for its neglect in providing some means of emotional culture in the course of study it has adopted for its matriculation examination. I am rather inclined to think that the University is almost precluded by political and metaphysical considerations from providing a distinct apparatus for the education of the feelings—an apparatus, as distinct and specific in its aims as that which exists for the education of the juvenile *intellect*. The education of the feelings is perhaps of greater importance than that of the understanding. But how that can be conducted in our elementary schools is a question for the joint consideration of schoolmasters and inspectors of schools. But we have every right to see how the purely intellectual training of our boys is carried on under the systems of study and examination prevailing in our University. I have said that Bengalee boys, when they pass the entrance examination, are

poor in ideas and poorer still in words, and I think I will be able to prove, after the remarks I have made on the manner of studying a foreign language, that the University, as it exists at present, is one of the main causes of that poverty of thought and expression. A variety of useful ideas can only be acquired, apart from experience and observation, by a variety of useful reading. In our schools, however, the course of reading is extremely meagre. It consists of three or four Readers as they are called, along with an elementary book on the principles of English grammar and some very ordinary treatise on political geography. I leave out mathematics and the vernacular language from my consideration, as I have very little to say about them in connection with that elevated point of view from which it is my purpose in this paper to examine the present system of education in the Calcutta University. Now, whoever has seen the three or four reading books that are taught to our boys must admit that the course of study in the elementary schools is anything but of that diversified character and superior quality which alone can supply good ideas and good models of composition to the docile and susceptible school boy. The age at which students are allowed to appear at the entrance examination being sixteen, there are, supposing school education to commence at eight, eight entire years for instructing our boys in a way which would fill their minds with beautiful ideas, enable them to express their thoughts in a clear and correct language, and afford their faculties ample opportunities of self-exertion and improvement. But the schoolmaster knows that, for preparing his boys for the first examination of the University—the purpose for which he lives and works—he need not adopt a course of study which, by including at least some of the third or fourth class writers in the English language, would not fail of producing that most sterling effect—the creation in the soft and susceptible mind of the school boy of a taste for knowledge and the development of his intelligence as a self-relying power. I would not require the University of Calcutta to enlarge the course of literary studies for the entrance examination, for a mere quantitative or qualitative extension of that course, without, at the same time, adopting the improvements to be stated below, will do very little in the way of making the system of instruction in our schools much more intellectual and much less mechanical than at present it is. At the entrance examination certain questions are set to the students, and these being questions entirely confined to the course they have studied for two or three years continually, can be answered to the full satisfaction of the examiner by all but those who have the misfortune not to possess any memory at all. I say memory, and not

intelligence, because, in answering questions on a subject which has been read a dozen times in three successive years, intelligence in a boy, if there is any, becomes of no use or account to him, inasmuch as the dullest lad who is competing with him, if only he possesses ordinarily strong powers of recollection, will perhaps stand superior to him in the general result of the examination. From the manner, therefore, in which the entrance examination is conducted, it seems to me that there is literally no necessity for the adoption of a course of study in our elementary schools sufficiently large and varied to supply an amusing variety of ideas to the mind and accustom the intellect to rely more upon its own resources than upon the authority of the schoolmaster. The true purpose of an examination is to test the development of intelligence. But to suppose that the extent to which a boy's intelligence is developed may be determined by examining him on a subject which has been explained to him at least six times in three years, would be as gross a mistake as the supposition that a person who can criticise Corneille and Racine in the words in which Mr. Hallam has spoken of them in his *History of Literature*, has really read Corneille and Racine, with the critical acumen and philosophical profundity of Mr. Hallam. *That*, I am inclined to think, is the only good test of intelligence which includes something besides what has formed the course of study. If our University could, therefore, make the result of the entrance examination dependent in some measure upon the paraphrase, analysis or explanation of easy sentences which form no part of the course which is professedly the subject of the examination, they would not only ascertain that which it is most important to ascertain—the extent to which the intelligence of the boys is developed—but they would also compel the introduction into the elementary schools of a system of study, which, instead of appealing only to the memory, will act more powerfully upon the understanding and give rise to habits of reflection and independent judgment. The most important effect of such a change in the character of the entrance examination would be that it will render the examination somewhat vague and indefinite. But that very vagueness will be, I am sure, the cause of an infusion of a spirit of independence into the system of instruction followed in our schools—a spirit most useful in preserving the intellectual character of a scheme of study or at least in preventing it from being degenerated into a purely empirical discipline. The improvement I have suggested will give numerous ideas to our school boy, will perhaps enable him to perceive their relations to each other, will

give him a good stock of words for use. But he shall still stand in need of another qualification equal in importance and utility to the possession of sound ideas and sweet sounding words. He must learn how to use his words in a clear and intelligible manner. A more varied study than is at present pursued in our schools will go a great way to acquaint the diligent and attentive student with some of the niceties and idioms of the English language, and a searching and systematic knowledge of the principles of grammar and composition will serve the student a good deal more in making a right use of the words he has learnt. But the place which the University of Calcutta has assigned to grammar and the principles of composition in the course it has fixed for the entrance examination, cannot afford any guarantee whatsoever for their systematic study in our elementary schools. Grammar is examined by our University as a part of poetry and prose. Questions upon it form part of the papers on literature proper. But the candidate who knows that he will obtain by answering the questions on pure literature only, at least the minimum of marks required for passing will almost entirely neglect his grammar. The study of grammar and composition must, therefore, be made compulsory, and that can be done only by making them the subjects of a distinct examination. But besides producing a neglect of grammatical studies, the practice which the University has adopted of combining grammar and literature proper has contributed not a little to engender a careless study of literature itself. For it is clear that, when a certain number of marks is to be obtained in one single subject, that subject will be studied with far greater care and attention than if the same number of marks be attached to two or three distinct subjects collectively. Grammar, it is worthy of remark, forms a subject of examination by itself in the London University.

The University, I think, is wrong in announcing the literary course for the Entrance Examination two or three years before that examination is to take place. One mischievous effect of this practice is, that it most injuriously interferes with such a variety of agreeable studies in our elementary schools as is alone calculated to develop the powers of the infant mind, make it acquainted with a pleasing diversity of useful ideas, and give it a certain amount of command over words, and facility in their use. But for the present system of teaching the same book for two or three years continually—a system rendered possible by the practice, just mentioned, adopted by the University—our boys would leave their

schools better trained than they are at present. And it is, I think, of vital importance to bear in mind that the repeated study of the same subject, by producing a sort of disgust for it, exercises a very injurious influence on the healthful play and harmonious development of the various mental faculties. It fails to develop, in a proper manner, the only power of the mind which it has any tendency to develop—the memory; for the best and most philosophical culture of the power of reminiscence does not consist in a technical or empirical study of a particular fact but in observing its various relations to other facts. And the Native lad at school, who is kept to the exclusive study of the same ideas for three continued years, is denied the opportunity of acquiring such other ideas as are not only useful in themselves but important as aids to a memory philosophically trained. The very same consequences, a limitation of the number of ideas that are presented to the youthful mind, and a partial and constrained exercise of its powers, which, in my opinion, are owing to the study for so long a time of the literary course for the matriculation examination, are also, I apprehend, the result of the study for three and sometimes for four years in succession of those historical works which the University has virtually fixed once for all for its Entrance Examination. If, however, the historical text-books were altered every year, by far the largest portion of that time, which is now uselessly spent in repeated mutterings of the self-same words, would be at the disposal of the student for acquiring a greater knowledge of history than is attainable from the historical course of the University.

The general effects of the practices of the Calcutta University here described have been sufficiently explained in the preceding pages. One observation now remains to be added. The University of Calcutta, if it means to be a really useful institution, must consider itself as an agent of civilization and regulate its conduct with a steady view to the function which belongs to it as such an agent. Now the University as an instrument of progress can act only through the minds of those whom it examines and rewards. And those minds will be competent or not to play the part which is reserved for them in the future civilization of this country according as the education they receive under the auspices of the Calcutta University is scientific or empirical. From what has been said before, it will be clear to every body that the system of intellectual training, which, under our University as an examining body, obtains in the elementary schools is purely empirical in its nature and effects. It stifles or prevents the development of almost all the

faculties of the mind save memory, and it has been seen that even the little culture which the memory receives is founded on a false and unphilosophical principle. Nowhere do we find any necessity for rousing to action the powers of thought and reflection that are in the student himself; and knowledge being acquired with the mechanical tact of a parrot, that most pernicious habit of ignoring self and relying upon authority with child-like helplessness in matters even of the slightest difficulty, is produced in by far the majority of the boys receiving instruction in our schools. It is manifest that persons whose whole education is carried on under influences like these are not educated in the properest sense of the term, and that civilization, which to the individual is not so much a privilege as a *trial*, will, after ruining them, be ruined by them in the end. I think I will be able to illustrate these views far better when I come to examine the higher studies of the Calcutta University. For the present, to complete my examination of the system of education prevailing in our schools, I will remark that the suggestions I have made seem to deserve special consideration at the hands of the University. They will, I think, when carried out, render the studies of our boys for the Entrance Examination more difficult than they are at present, and the University itself as an examining body much less definite than it is. But every objection founded on these considerations will appear groundless on a careful perusal of the following extract from the address of the Chancellor of the University of Bombay:—"It must be recollected that the maintenance of a high standard even in the matriculation examination has an important effect upon general education throughout the country; for the schools from which the students are drawn, are compelled by the circumstance to maintain a high standard, and thus it is that indirectly, by maintaining the severity of the matriculation examination, the University establishes a higher standard of education for those whose means or prospects do not lead them to aspire to that of a University."

Before examining the higher studies of the Calcutta University, I must take especial care to make it understood that, my object in this paper is not so much to determine and describe the effects which the University course of study has already produced upon the minds of the rising generation of Bengalees, as to ascertain the fitness of that course for the exigencies, real and contingent, of a progressive civilization. In making this the purpose of my essay, I have been influenced mainly by the consideration, that an educational institution, in order to be powerful and permanent, must

regard itself as the nursery of minds, which by virtue of the inflexible laws of social progress, will either give a progressive impetus to civilization, or cause it to falter, stagnate and disappear. And admitting with a slight modification the dictum laid down by the celebrated Mr. Buckle, that knowledge is at once the cause and vital principle of civilization, I think it proper, in the first place, to define the nature of that knowledge which feeds civilization and keeps it alive. It is my firm conviction, that the knowledge, which constitutes the basis and regulating force of those most complex and conflicting facts and principles which have received the generic name of civilization, must be a knowledge, not formal or technical, but scientific—a knowledge which possesses in itself the means of its own advancement. And it requires, I think, little thought or reflection to understand that scientific knowledge—knowledge which can improve itself—is not a knowledge of bare facts, but of facts as illustrating and establishing laws and principles. Now, knowledge being the effect of education, *that*, I think, is education in the properest sense of the word, which calls forth that power of thought, which alone can render knowledge permanently progressive, and the mind itself capable of adapting itself to those altered forms of social and political existence, which the ever-increasing multiplicity of historical events are so often and so inevitably calling into existence. And here, I think, I may usefully quote

*Dissertations and Discussions, Vol. I p. 201.

the definition which the great John Stuart Mill* has given of an education which is calculated to form great minds. "The very corner stone of an education intended to form great minds," says Mr. Mill, "must be the recognition of the principle, that the object is to call forth the greatest possible quantity of intellectual power, and to inspire the intensest *love of truth*; and this without a particle of regard to the results to which the exercise of that power may lead, even though it should conduct the pupil to opinions diametrically opposite to those of his teachers."

I think I have now got the requisite data upon which to build my speculations about the present system of education in the Calcutta University. I shall now examine the higher studies of the University with special reference to the quality they possess of disposing the Bengalee mind to *think* in a philosophical spirit, to analyse facts and to generalise them for the sake of discovering laws and principles.

I shall first take up the historical studies of the University. I am inclined to think that the historical course of the University is

liable to two serious objections. In the first place, I cannot discover any principle, defensible either by philosophy or common sense, in the practice of teaching the history of England before the histories of Greece and Rome. The normal condition of intellectual progress is a gradual advance from the study of the simplest phenomena to that of phenomena of slowly increasing complexity. The study of the complex before the simple is not only an injurious burden on the understanding, but an inversion of the only process of intellectual culture which is natural, and, therefore, useful and profitable. Now, it is known to everybody that the phenomena of modern history are much more complex, much more difficult to understand than those of ancient history. The intellect of mankind, as a body, obeys the same law of gradual development which governs the expansion of the individual intellect. And as it is the intellect which is, in the last place, the cause of all those social and political institutions, which, at any particular period of history, constitute its most general fact, it must appear, as a logical inference, upon a comparison of the ancient intellect with the modern, that ancient history is far more simple than modern history. But we have history itself to bear us out in the remark we have made upon the distinctive characters of ancient and modern history. The Servian constitution with its tribes, centuries and equites must be regarded only as a faint resemblance and highly rudimentary form of the British legislature with its lords spiritual and lords temporal, representatives of shires, representatives of towns, representatives of universities and representatives of counties palatine. The feudal system with its lord paramount, barons, tenants-in-capite, vassals, retainers and serfs is a much more complex institution—an institution including many more distinct and conflicting rights, duties, and interests than the military tenures or military colonies of the later Roman Empire. The different ages of history, ancient, barbarous, mediæval and modern, are so many intellectual strata, every one of which is a natural and necessary consequence of that which preceded it. And as the secondary or Mesozoic age, in geology, cannot be understood without the primary or Palæozoic age, or the tertiary without the secondary, so the history of barbarous Europe is found to be obscure without a knowledge of ancient Rome, and the political and religious revolutions of the sixteenth century without a comprehensive study of mediæval history. The most natural order, therefore, of studying history, is to commence with the annals of Greece and Rome, if not with those of Persia, Assyria and Egypt, and then to pass on, with successive steps, through barbarous and mediæval Europe, to modern history. It is only

such a study of history that can enable a person to comprehend and to grasp with ease and firmness the principles which have guided the historical development of the human race. It is only such a course of reading that can enable the student of history to view the vast mass of historical phenomena from the remotest age of which there is any trustworthy record to the time in which we live as a long but well-concatenated series of causes and effects. It is only by such a progressive study that the power is derived of analysing into their component elements and of generalising into comprehensive principles the complex and heterogeneous facts and phenomena of history and of predicting with more or less accuracy the general character or salient features of any particular period in the annals of a nation or community of nations. This is the only philosophical or scientific method of studying history. When, however, the Calcutta University requires the student to learn the history of England before that of Greece and Rome, it reverses the natural, I might almost say, logical order of historical study and gives birth to a knowledge of history highly superficial, empirical, and mechanical. By giving a chronological preference to England over Greece and Rome, it has compelled the students in our colleges and schools to form an idea of history little better than that which would arise from an exclusive perusal of the chronicles of Antonio Agapida, or the half-historical, half-biographical diary of Pepys or Evelyn. It must be quite manifest that, with an idea so low as this, history cannot possibly be regarded as a branch of knowledge, which requires for its correct understanding a constant and assiduous exercise of the powers of thought and reflection—a predominant habit of careful analysis and patient synthesis. Nor, if the idea were better and the necessary qualifications in existence, would it, I think, be possible for the Indian student to derive from the history of the human race a knowledge of those general principles which form a code of practical rules for the guidance, as well of nations, as of individuals, and to make it the instrument of an intellectual discipline of the most rigid and elevated character. For, to make use of an illustration, how difficult must it be to realise the essential meaning and real characteristic of Anglo-Saxon monarchy without a knowledge of the causes which led to the establishment of barbarous royalty in the woods and forests of Germany. And, again, how impossible would it appear to the student of English history to extract from the incidental description of the Crusade, headed by the Lion-hearted Richard, the true meaning and object of those holy wars which first laid the founda-

tion of commerce and democracy in Europe,—two things which have contributed more than any other to enlighten mankind and render them happy in civil society and prosperous in political partnership. These are two very *general* illustrations, but they will suffice to convince every reflecting man, that a study of English history, unless grounded upon a knowledge of what passed in Rome throughout her glorious existence, and what happened in Europe after her downfall, must be attended with considerable difficulties and productive not only of a great waste of time, but also of a sort of historical knowledge too superficial and mechanical to possess in itself the means or conditions of a high order of intellectual discipline. Thus, the student of English history, writing a discourse on the nature of Papal sovereignty in the 13th and 14th centuries, would fail to make it complete in descriptive details and perfect in philosophic breadth and accuracy, unless he possessed a knowledge of the history of the Papacy on the Continent of Europe and its relations to the history of the early Church. Great and general principles are essential to correct reasoning, and considering, as we may legitimately do, that the history of England is a portion and a very peculiar portion of the general history of Europe, the conclusion is inevitable that the student of English history must be a highly superficial thinker, inasmuch as his historical syllogisms will be materially defective in respect of the soundness of their major premises. Besides, it must be acknowledged by every person that, when certain facts are studied, apart from the great system of facts and principles which includes them, and to which they are subordinate, the mind, however strong its powers may be, will fail to use those facts in any other way, or to view them in any other light, than that in which a particular writer has placed them before it. Thus, what with a general knowledge of European history could be done by the student of English history, it becomes simply impossible for him to do with a knowledge of England alone. He will take more time to understand a particular fact than he would otherwise require, and he will be unable to make that fact the basis of a historical argument, which, by its wide applicability and comprehensive scope, would be the means of a severe mental discipline. It is upon considerations like these that I venture to say that the study of English history in the Calcutta University is not merely the cause of an intellectual activity of the most mechanical character, but also of an historical knowledge highly empirical and unproductive. And when we further consider, that the boys, who are made to study English

history before acquiring a knowledge of ancient Rome and pre-mæval Europe, are boys who have only passed their matriculation examination, the force of our argument regarding the empiricism and unproductiveness of the result seems to be increased a hundred-fold. A study of English history, not preceded by that of the annals of Rome and early Europe, is a matter of peculiar, I had better say, insurmountable difficulty on account of the unavoidable necessity that exists, to prevent cramming, for making a multiplicity of suppositions without which even the Roman conquest—the very first incident in the history of England—would be almost unintelligible. And it is this peculiarity in the study of English history that fosters *cramming* in the Indian colleges much to the prejudice of a healthy intellectual activity. Modern Europe has arisen out of Barbarous Europe and Europe under the Western Empire. To one, therefore, who wishes to make history the means of a vigorous mental culture, an understanding of English history in the first instance, if possible, must be dependent upon historical assumptions which, by their number and variety, would be fatal to a free and easy development of the youthful intellect. But Rome grew out of no pre-existing state of things. It was a city first founded by some descendant of Æneas in the eighth century before Christ. The study of Roman history is, therefore, exactly a study which is suited to the capacities of a mind in the first stage of its culture. But there is another consideration which makes it desirable that the history of Rome should be studied before that of England or Modern Europe. The phenomena of ancient history, as I have already said, are far more simple than those of modern history. The foreign policy of ancient Rome, for instance, as guided solely by a desire of territorial acquisitions, is much more easy to understand than the foreign policies of modern European states in which the principle of the Balance of Power, leaving all particulars aside, is itself a principle of the greatest historical complexity. And as a sound intellectual training can only result from a study which proceeds from an examination of simple phenomena to that of phenomena of slowly-increasing complexity, it must be manifest to every body, that, in order to make the study of history the instrument of a solid mental discipline, the University of Calcutta should make our boys read the history of Rome before that of England or British India. It is no argument for the University to say that the history of Rome forms a part of the historical course for the entrance examination. For, if I am not much mistaken with regard to the true character of history, the history of Rome contained in Mr. Yonge's *Landmarks* is, I am

inclined to think, no history of Rome at all. It is also, I think, worthy of particular notice, that the study of the history of England or Modern Europe, in the manner in which it is carried on under the regulations of the Calcutta University, cannot fail to be a most mechanical and superficial study considered merely as an exercise of the resuscitative faculty. The best means of keeping particular facts before the mind is to study them in connection with those general laws or principles which they either establish or illustrate. To suppose, therefore, that the facts of English history can be properly understood and safely remembered without a knowledge of ancient Rome and Continental Europe, would be as gross a mistake as that Lamartine's History of the Restoration of Monarchy in France can be understood and preserved in the memory without a previous study of his History of the Girondists. The youthful mind, thrown at once into the intricate mass of phenomena which make up the history of England, finds itself incapable of discovering or comprehending those general principles which to the historical memory are like a spinal column supporting the vast frame-work of particular facts. Admitting, therefore, for the sake of argument, what a writer in the *Calcutta Review* has said, that the object of all academical studies previous to the honor examination is to obtain information,* I am yet of opinion that the historical studies of our University ought to be remodelled with particular reference to the remarks I have made above, in order that cramming may be rooted out from our educational institutions.

* See *Calcutta Review* for August 1864. Art. *Studies of the Calcutta University*.

Another material defect in the historical studies of the Calcutta University, is the entire neglect of that portion of the history of the world which is comprised in Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. The historical course for the honor examination consists of the history of the sixteenth century and Guizot's History of Civilization in Europe. Now the history of Europe, or rather of the world, from the decline of ancient Rome to the period of the revival of learning, is a natural introduction to the history of Europe during the sixteenth century. And the student, who would make a scientific use of the facts he will learn from a study of the historical literature regarding the sixteenth century, must obtain some knowledge of what happened in Europe during what are called the Dark Ages.

If there be anything like truth in these observations, I think the historical course of the Calcutta University will seem to stand in need of some such change as is indicated in the following syllabus :—

For the entrance examination.

- (a) History of Bengal and (b) a general knowledge of ancient history.

For the first examination in arts.

- (a) History of Rome, and (b) a brief knowledge of Greek history.

For the B. A. examination.

- (a) History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, as contained in Dr. Smith's Abridgment of Gibbon, (b) History of India during the Hindoo and Mahomedan Periods, (c) History of the Jews, (d) First three or four Chapters of Buckle's History of Civilization.

For the Honor examination.

- (a) A general history of Modern Europe, as contained in Hallam's Middle Ages, &c., (b) History of England, (c) History of British India, (d) Principles of Historical Evidence, (e) Buckle's History of Civilization.

It must be clear to every body that the historical course detailed above is exactly suited to the capacities of an intellect, which in its pursuit of knowledge cannot make itself free of those infirmities for which gradual advance from the simple to the complex is a necessary condition of successful study. It will be also seen that the course, giving, as it does, a complete picture of human society through all its progress from the patriarchal form which characterized it in early Rome to the highly democratical and communistic shape it now wears, is alone fitted to be the instrument of that kind of intellectual discipline which constitutes the true object of education. A good system of instruction and examination in connection with a course of historical studies like this will effectually prevent cramming in the Calcutta University.

The second great objection that may be brought against the method of historical study in the Calcutta University is this: The University does not recognise the importance of physical geography in producing a scientific conception of history. When the history of a country is studied in connection with its physical

geography, the history becomes invested with all the charm and sublimity of natural philosophy. Our University may expel Abercrombie and call in Herschel or Somerville or Hughes. The neglect of the study of political geography in consequence of its virtual non-recognition in the examinations of the Calcutta University has been a main cause of the mechanical character of the historical knowledge obtained by our boys. History, as a particular study, cannot dispense with an intimate acquaintance with political geography. The campaigns of Marlborough and Wellington can hardly be intelligible or interesting without a minute geographical knowledge of the countries which still proclaim their glory and their might. The under-graduate of the Calcutta University, who knows that one or two questions from geography count as nothing in a paper consisting of 12 or 16 questions, systematically neglects that subject and studies the movements of armies and the journeys of kings and queens not by the aid of maps which illustrate history, make it interesting and ensure its reminiscence, but by repeated readings which only dull the faculty of memory. It is no wonder that the knowledge which is acquired so mechanically is lost so soon. The examinations of the Calcutta University ought to be modified in a way that will render a knowledge of geography indispensable to academical success. When history will be read in connection with political and physical geography, and in the order I have set forth, much of the disgust and indifference now evinced in its study will undoubtedly disappear.

The study of physical nature in a true scientific method is one of the most powerful instruments of a solid intellectual culture. I have, therefore, beheld with real regret the study of physical science left to the option of our students and left so during the vice-chancellorship of one of its most philosophical advocates, the Honorable Henry Sumner Maine. An analytical examination of an unknown chemical compound by the student himself, requiring, as it does, the closeness of a geometrical reasoning, combined with that deep and liberal philosophy of hypotheses so essential to investigations in mixed mathematics, is no doubt a means of mental training of the most invigorating character. A study of physical science, based upon those rules of inductive investigation which guide the practical physicist would do more than anything else to impart a manly tone to the Bengali mind and impress it with the conviction that earthly existence is really a state of struggle in which all but the most vigorous intellect and energetic character must succumb to the pressure of some hard external reality. To promote a study so useful as this, the University may

exclude mixed mathematics from its B. A. course and supply its place by a curriculum of physical studies, and may, at the same time, compel the adoption of a method, scientific as well as practical, in the prosecution of those studies.

Considering, as I do, that of all academical studies, history, mathematics and physical science are best fitted to "call forth the greatest possible quantity of intellectual power," and knowing too that history is as much dependent upon physical science for its systematic study as is physical science upon mathematics, I think it proper to observe, that the creation out of the interest of the Prem Chand Roy Chaud Fund of two fellowships like those of Oxford and Cambridge, one for the study for five years of mathematics and physical science, the other for the study of physical science and history, would have been, speaking from a purely educational point of view, a benefit of the most substantial character to this country.

The time and space I have devoted to the subject of this essay leave it in my power to say only a few words about the ethical studies of the Calcutta University. Moral science is a part of the B. A. course, and it is taught from Mr. Wayland's treatise on that subject. The object of all moral studies must be either the development of intellectual power, or the culture of the feelings, or the acquisition of a knowledge of sound maxims of conduct. To make morality a means of emotional culture, it must be provided with a religious basis. For a system of morality which, like the theory of utility, is not religious in its spirit, is more speculative than exhortative in its character. But the University cannot teach such a system of morality simply because it cannot touch the subject of religion. Of the other two objects of moral education, nothing has been hitherto accomplished by the University. For, as a treatise on the theory of conscience, supplemented by what the natives of this country call a figment of the imagination; and regard with feelings which cannot dispose the mind of the pupil to that reverential mood which is so salutary to it as a humble recipient of instruction—the theory of Christian revelation—Mr. Wayland's theoretical ethics neither contains materials for those moral speculations which serve to call forth the powers of thought and reflection, nor provides a code of practical rules for the guidance of individual conduct. If the University be unwilling to exclude theoretical morality from its B. A. course, it may, with greater benefit to the student than he can possibly derive from the present method of ethical study, substitute Jouffroy

for Wayland. But as I am of opinion that the study of practical morality, besides being productive of a knowledge that is definite and peculiarly valuable as a code of truths which has undergone the crucial test of experience and observation, is as good an instrument of intellectual discipline as any theoretical study, I should like to see the exclusive adoption of practical morality and jurisprudence in the B. A. course of the Calcutta University. It is no answer to this to say that practical morality is taught to the candidate for honor in mental and moral science. For as the study of Wayland is simply useless, even so low a consideration as that of economy would require something else that is really valuable to be substituted for it.

Notwithstanding the suggestion I have just made, I think it proper to make the following remarks for the sake of setting the object of this discourse in the clearest light. All systems of ethical philosophy, except that which is founded on the doctrine of a natural *moral sense*, are more or less the result of analysis and observation. They are the effect and expression of that change in the method of examining facts which Lord Bacon has had the glory of inaugurating. They attest the influence of inductive thought in the domain of theoretical ethics. The study of these systems in the spirit of a votary of knowledge is but another name for the cultivation of habits of inductive thought and analytical discussion. The theory of conscience is essentially a deductive theory. And if it be true, which I think it is, that the most typical mind is that in which the love of deduction is in exact proportion to the love of induction, the study of systems of moral philosophy which have their basis in induction must be to the deductive mind of the Hindoo a discipline of the most wholesome character. The great intellectual crisis of the nineteenth century, the unsettlement of long accredited opinions, is the result of the progress of inductive thought. That crisis has, to a certain extent, overtaken this country. But the crisis has its advantages. Europe of the nineteenth century is far in advance of Europe of the sixteenth century. But the one only cause of the progress which Europe has made since the age of Bacon and Descartes is that spirit of inductive enquiry which has given birth to the crisis I am speaking of. How and when that crisis will settle in a definite system of beliefs is a question which will probably be answered in various ways. I am of opinion that a true solution of the crisis will be found in the reappearance of deductive thought upon the basis of those inductive discoveries which, in their present incompleteness and apparent mutual incoherencies, have produced the

scepticism which is most characteristic of the age we live in, Bengal must either relapse into a stagnant civilization or pass through a period of scepticism ending in a glorious era of right knowledge and right belief. If it be her wish to become a great country, she must think and enquire inductively for some centuries to come. She cannot receive truths upon the dictation of others. She must think them out for herself. She is not now in a condition to understand truths, for she has not yet performed that inductive analysis of facts and phenomena which is a necessary preliminary to a philosophical comprehension of laws and principles. Let the Calcutta University, in its course of studies, make it its aim to inspire in the Hindoo mind a love for inductive inquiry, and it will then be in a condition to do that work which belongs to it as one of the great civilising institutions of the country. Up to this time it has done nothing in this way. Its historical course is founded upon no principle that contemplates the formation of intellectual habits either deductive or inductive. By teaching a deductive theory of morality in connection with a theory of religion, which is believed to be false, it has made the study of ethical science unproductive of inductive thought, and of that intense love of truth which, as Mr. Mill says, is the characteristic of a truly great mind. It has virtually ignored physical science and thus taken away from the Indian student the most powerful instrument of a severe inductive training. The study of physical science is impossible without the assistance of an expensive apparatus of instruments. But the University has left it to the option of the student to read either mathematics or physical science. Now, mathematics, with the single exception of astronomy, can be learnt without the aid of instruments, and, therefore, most of our colleges and schools, influenced by mean views of economy, have discontinued the teaching of physical science. Thus the studies of the University are becoming decidedly deductive in their character, much to the prejudice of the future of Bengal.

In bringing this paper to a close, I cannot help admiring what the University of Calcutta has done in so short a period as ten years. I love the University and I revere it. I think I have been guilty of presumption in reviewing its course of studies. But my object has been chiefly to learn by mootng a question which cannot fail to be highly interesting to me. I cannot claim for my suggestions any other weight than that which attaches to them as the expression of the wants I have felt in my academical studies.

An interesting discussion took place at the conclusion of the lecture, of which the following is a summary :—

THE REV. K. M. BANERJEE said that, in his opinion, several of the points discussed by the lecturer were worthy of serious consideration. He did not, however, think it proper to consider the University of Calcutta responsible for all the defects of education which had been noticed by the lecturer. The University, said he, is still an infant institution, and is only an examining body, having little or nothing to do with the task of *instruction*. The University only fixes particular courses of study and is certainly so far responsible. But it is the different schools and colleges which actually teach those courses ; and therefore whatever results, good or bad, arise from their study are to be mainly attributed to the manner of working of those schools and colleges and not to the University. The lecturer, he said, had noticed the absence of any provision for the cultivation of *feeling* from the course of study prescribed for the Entrance Examination. Now *religious* feelings, he said, could not be made a subject of instruction by the University, for reasons beyond its control. The Senate is composed of Protestants, Roman Catholics, Hindus, and Mahomedans. In a body so composed, no one religion can by rule be preferred to any other. It must be also remembered that Government has a controlling power, and that religious non-interference is a fundamental principle of the system by which England governs India. With regard to the education of the moral feelings, ample provision for it, said he, has been made for all undergraduates in the studies for the First Examination in Arts and the examination for the Degree of B. A. The books for the Entrance Course, too, are also adapted for the cultivation of high moral feelings. The remarks on the study of Grammar seemed to him to have been made without a sufficient knowledge of the means adopted by the University to ascertain grammatical proficiency. The examiners of the University, said he, look very particularly to the knowledge of Grammar displayed by the candidates they examine. Objections, he thought, might fairly be taken to the practice of announcing the literary course for the Entrance Examination two years before the examination and of keeping unchanged the historical text-books. These very points have often been mooted in the Syndicate and every consideration is given to representations on such subjects.

DR. CHUCKERBUTTY said that the subject discussed by Baboo Chundernath Bose was one of very great importance. His definition of education was, however, very limited. The office of education was not merely to teach literature and Grammar,—it was something more. It was, no doubt, one of its objects to secure a stock of information, but the information gained at school must necessarily be limited ; much of it has to be acquired in after-life, and no amount of school education could dispense with it. One of the great defects of education in this country was that the kind of information required by children was seldom supplied. They were expected to learn the most difficult rules of Grammar and the masterpieces of English literature before they knew the names and properties of common things. They could not tell the differences between the most ordinary fishes, vegetables, fruits, and articles of daily consumption. They wanted hence the very rudiments of knowledge. Yet were they thought competent to grapple with its higher branches. This was reversing the order of nature and making men of children. Literature and History do not give all the information required for young minds. They have their own value, but there are other things besides necessary to education. Education introduces a man to the temple of knowledge ; it does not give him all that

is to be found there. In other words its great aim is to fit a person for the pursuit of knowledge and to be a respectable member of society. It embraces the training of the various intellectual faculties; the formation of habits of observation, thought and study; instruction in Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, Classics, &c., as means to an end, and moral culture. With respect to moral culture it is true that religious teaching is prohibited in the Government Schools. But that need not necessarily exclude all moral instruction. The great principles of truth, justice, honesty, and charity are the same in all countries; and so there need be no obstacle to their being taught here. DR. CHUCKERBUTTY did not know if the Curriculum of the Calcutta University had in view all these objects; but he was afraid the one propounded by the lecturer did not certainly embrace them.

BABU KOYLAS CHUNDER BOSE remarked that the observations of the author of the paper on Indian University Education, coming as they did from one who had himself been graduated under the system upon the deficiencies of which he had undertaken to comment, were well worthy of consideration. In his opinion it was not so much the examiners as the examinees who were best able to point out the inadequacy of the tests annually fixed upon by the Calcutta University. BABU CHUNDERNATH BOSE, he thought, had justly insisted upon the importance of well grounding our University students in English Grammar, for he could speak from personal knowledge of a lamentable deficiency evinced in this respect by some of the graduates whose literary exercises had accidentally fallen in his way. One of the speakers who preceded him that evening, had said, that it was wrong to commence teaching Grammar to young students, thus unnecessarily loading their minds with rules and technicalities which they could then hardly understand, and further that Grammar did not come within the Curriculum of studies for English Schools. He (the speaker) was not aware whether such was the case in England, for he remembered to have met with allusions in many books to English Grammar Schools where a penny was charged as a fee for teaching Grammar and half-penny more for morals. But even if it were the case, the analogy, he thought, could not hold good as regards the education of the people of this country who have to learn a foreign tongue and to whom the study of Grammar was the only golden road of being able to read and write English correctly. He thought that the B. As. and the M. As. of the Calcutta University by exhibiting their inaccuracy of grammar and spelling would only afford a handle to those Europeans who delight in calling them a half-educated set.

BABU JODUNATH GHOSE said, with reference to the remarks made by the REV. K. M. BANERJEA on the character and position of the Calcutta University as an Educational institution, that they appeared to him to be wholly unfounded. Although the University, he said, does not directly regulate the method of study in the colleges and schools of Bengal, still by fixing courses of study and examining the young men of the country on some principle, whatever that be, which may be easily discovered from its annual examination papers, it exercises an indirect, but by no means an unimportant, influence as an educating authority. He also thought that MR. BANERJEA was not quite correct in saying that on the question of religious teaching the University adheres strictly to the doctrine of non-interference. For he pointed out that there is too much of Christian theology in the text-books selected by the University to make such an assertion wholly unexceptionable. The Baboo was of opinion that the lecturer was wrong in saying that the study of Mathematics and the Vernacular language did not require any particular notice, or rather any notice at

all, and also differed from him in thinking that the study of English Grammar, as a distinct study was on any account necessary.

MR. ATKINSON considered it a mistake to suppose that nothing was done towards the cultivation of morality in the schools of Bengal. There was everywhere a difficulty about religious teaching in public schools, and it might be doubted whether such teaching was any where attended with much success. At any rate it was for obvious reasons impossible to attempt it here. It by no means followed that a pure morality might not be inculcated. And incidentally, he believed, that much was done in this direction by the schools and the University. Certainly in the books that were used the moral tone was, for the most part, all that could be desired, and this could not be altogether without effect either on the teachers or the taught. If, however, the lecturer meant to urge, as an objection, that systems of morality were not taught in the schools, he admitted the fact and justified it. The science of morals involved abstract questions of extreme difficulty, and was quite out of place in the school stage of education. It was quite time enough to enter on the study when the University stage commenced. Such a study, moreover, was in no case likely to produce great practical effects upon the life and conduct. Indeed he exceedingly doubted whether school instruction in religion had ever much effect in that direction, though no doubt the personal character of a schoolmaster by an example of high aims and earnest devotion might and often did produce the most valuable and lasting results. Practical religion and practical morality were most effectually learnt at home from the example and teaching of parents and the other social influences which surround us in childhood.

The lecturer had laid much stress upon the extent to which cramming was encouraged by the University system. Now he entirely agreed with those who thought that cramming was a serious evil.

It was observable, however, that very opposite opinions were held on this subject by men of great eminence. The late Vice-Chancellor of the University, he might remind them, disbelieved in the evils attributed to cram. He did not share MR. MAINE'S opinion on this point and he was anxious to do all that could be done to mitigate what he acknowledged to be an evil, but he feared that cramming was a necessary concomitant in any system of competitive examinations, and he believed it would be impossible to eradicate it so long as these examinations retained the importance that is now attached to them. The same evil was felt and deplored in every country, but it had hitherto been found that those who were ready to cram and those who were anxious to be examined were more than a match for public examiners and for the authorities who regulated the examinations.

MR. WOODROW remarked that the standard for the University Examinations was fixed at the foundation of the University after careful consideration by the most experienced educationalists in this part of India. It was decided that the age of entrance should be sixteen, and consequently the general length of study in school previous to matriculation was about nine years. The Missionary and Government Institutions then occupied almost the whole of the educational field; they had their respective school courses, and these courses were taken for the requirements at the Entrance Examination.

The Missionaries were represented by DR. DUFF, DR. KAY, DR. MULLENS and DR. OGILVIE; the Government institutions by the Director of Public Instruction and some educational officers. Both parties had to give way on certain points, and the standard finally adopted was the result of repeated discussions.

"I was myself present at all the meetings and know that the decision was a compromise, and as such, not quite satisfactory to either party. No statement could be further from the fact than one representing the standard as having been selected hastily, and without sufficient consideration. There was abundant consultation. The Committee met almost every week, and the members were fairly tired out—I speak from the recollection of my own feelings—when at last the course was settled.

"If any one can suggest a feasible means of teaching boys in nine years a higher standard than the present entrance, every practical teacher will be glad to hear how it is to be done. The complaint from the Mofussil is that the introduction of Sanskrit has rendered the course too high, and that many boys cannot manage to get through the work in the time appointed. Of course some clever lads master the scheme before the age of sixteen, but for one boy ready before sixteen, there are a score not ready at seventeen.

"I may mention that the present entrance is about half a year lower than the junior scholarship standard in Collegiate Schools in 1854. Scholars from zillah schools previous to the establishment of University held their scholarships in the school department of a college for one year, and consequently entered the colleges better prepared than they now do. Assuming that in ability and industry they were equal to the present race of candidates, it would follow that the old senior scholars after four years study, were about half a year more advanced than the present graduates. The present B. As have to pass absolutely in six branches, and failure in one causes absolute exclusion. I am of opinion that this rule has been carried out too rigorously. I think that only English should be absolutely insisted upon, and that the other subjects should bear marks, but that failure in them should not be tantamount to absolute failure. I prefer the old plan to the one now in use. Then a man good in languages could study his speciality, and almost or entirely give up Mathematics, whilst the Mathematician could afford to be ill-prepared in Moral Philosophy or some other subject. The old system secured a higher standard of proficiency than is gained now, for men had not then to spend time over uncongenial pursuits.

"Such of the old senior scholars as stayed five or six years were, I think, superior to most of the present M. As. I believe that greater efficiency would be attained if, keeping the pass marks as at present, failure in one branch were allowed in the first Arts and failure in two of the B. A., while the total of the passing marks were raised to one-third of the head mark so as to exclude those miserably prepared students who now first manage to scrape through in all subjects, and who are a dead weight and grievous burden to colleges oppressed with their attendance."

The PRESIDENT was of opinion that it is very useful and necessary that the University Examinations should be based on recognized text books. It is only by thus limiting the area of reading and thought, that the University can venture to make its examinations other than superficial. With good text books, however as a guide to the student's knowledge, an examiner may easily gauge that knowledge and measure the student's mental calibre, without putting a single question which could be answered by the aid of memory alone. He said that he was not so well acquainted with the course of studies in the University of Calcutta as to feel himself in a position to speak with any degree of certainty and confidence about its merits or defects. But his experience in England was such as to incline him to think that cramming might be prevented by examinations properly conducted.

HEALTH.

1.—*A Sketch of subjects relating to the Public Health.*

BY T. FARQUHAR, M. D.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

GENTLEMEN,

IN addressing you on the subjects more immediately connected with the Sanitary Division of Social Science, to which I have the honor to belong, I propose briefly to sketch out a few of the questions of more prominent interest, which relate generally to the physical well-being of the people of India.

I enter on this, sensible of the existence of many and various theories being held on the subject of sanitation in the East, and fully aware of the ignorance that prevents our coming to definite conclusions on several important questions of the deepest daily interest to us. Nor is this to be wondered at, when we consider the necessity of vital statistics, and our want of them; so that each observer has had to form his conclusions on little more than his own personal observations. Of late years we have had valuable tables compiled annually by Dr. Bryden, Statistical Officer, giving figured statements in the fullest and clearest form, which show the sickness, death, and invaliding among European soldiers in India, as also similar tables regarding the health of Native troops and prisoners. A decade of these tables is just being completed, and from their arrangement and accuracy, afford us a completeness of information which we seek for in vain elsewhere. The lessons taught by them are invaluable, as by them several points, on which speculation was rife, have been clearly defined, and practical conclusions come to, from which much good may confidently be expected. It would be a matter of great importance, if similar statistics could be forthcoming for the masses of the people; but this it is unreasonable to expect at present. Useful information bearing on general sanitation may, however, be gathered even from these exceptionally situated classes—enough indeed to form a basis, on which to rest the rougher, and necessarily less accurate statistics that may be forthcoming from the civil community. The unfavorable conditions under which a British soldier, the native of a

temperate climate, serves in India, helps perhaps to develop the natural and extreme susceptibility of the European to the evil influences of insanitation. He suffers, in particular, more readily and to a greater extent than the people of the country, from marsh malaria, so that the lighter shades of unhealthiness, in any locality, are at once shown by his early sufferings.

Something of the same may be said of the men of the Native Army; for we find, that the soldiers born in one province and reared there in health and strength, suffer severely sometimes, when stationed in other provinces. Thus the Oude soldier is often very sickly in the Punjab, and the Punjabi suffers, even more than the European, in the lower provinces of Bengal. The reason for this it is hard to give in a single sentence. It may be that malarious poison is presented in a different character in one part of the country from what it is in another. The native impression of the *huwa pani* being different may be the correct one; for we see malarious fevers with peculiarities of type at different stations, and with a power in the poison of some and not in others, of remaining for years in the system and for long after removal from all malarious influences. We see again some men of a regiment, all from the same part of the country, suffering severely at one station and not at another. This is probably the effect of climatic causes, but it is open to the objection that other influences may be present that determine a susceptibility to disease.

In respect to prisoners; from their being usually gathered into jails from the surrounding districts, we should naturally estimate the condition of local sanitation from their diseases. They are, however, necessarily placed under exceptional circumstances, being subject to restraints, that fret and gall mind and body, thereby depressing the powers of life. This effect is most marked during the first year of confinement, when the mortality is excessive as compared with that of subsequent years. But while the information from this last class is rendered imperfect, we nevertheless see in them also the effect of local sanitary influences, in the far greater mortality among prisoners brought from distant provinces, as compared with that among prisoners from the neighbourhood of the jail. Their relation to epidemics, too, is peculiar. From their isolation, we frequently see jails escape epidemics, which are raging with great severity in the towns and villages in their vicinity, but when an epidemic

does find its way inside, the prisoners suffer heavily, principally from their being, like our European soldiers, confined together in large barrack rooms, where numbers are herded together, and cannot help being affected by the insanitation of the place or of individuals amongst them. The importance of such vital statistics as these for the good government and welfare of the people, is now fully acknowledged and understood, and with accurate information in regard to the three classes above noticed, as a foundation, we may confidently hope for some valuable information soon, as to the sanitary state and wants of the people.

Action has lately been taken by the Government of India in this matter. On the tenth of this month an Act was before the Legislative Council, authorising the establishment of municipal government in the larger cities and towns of the North-West Provinces. The Punjab entered on the same good work about a year ago, so that registration, and the introduction of sanitary measures for the cleansing of towns, the clearing of wells, &c., &c., are about to become the rule in India, as well as in the already civilized countries of the West. At the same time sanitary officers, selected for their special fitness, are being appointed to each local Government, having it as their sole duty to collect together all the information available on the sanitation of each province, and advise Government on the measures best suited for preserving the health of the people.

The latest and best statistics we have on the sanitary state of the people is contained in a census return of the North-West Provinces for 1865. From it we gather some remarkable facts, which make us wish for further information, and that of a still more reliable character. We learn first that the density of the population to the square mile, in this which is not the most thickly peopled portion of India, is second only to that of Belgium in Europe, being slightly superior in this respect to England, and far above all other European countries with perhaps the exception of Saxony. This alone is sufficient to establish it as a fact, that here the main conditions of life are of a very favorable character, and should make us pause before condemning all the institutions of India with a readiness which is so frequently combined with ignorance and indifference. It leads us also to enquire, under what circumstances the people exist in so flourishing a state, and examine with interest their mode of life, occupation, &c.

The first striking difference in reference to European States is the very important fact, that the land in India can yield two full crops, and sometimes a third during the twelve months—a state of things unknown in temperate climates. The supply of food is thus abundant for man and beast, so that the population is well fed. As a natural effect of this on all animal life, the population, under favorable political and social circumstances, must tend to increase. The very large proportion also of the people following agricultural pursuits in India gives to the masses a chance of life, in this the most healthy of employments, which is denied to the populations of European countries.

The population of the North-West Provinces is said by the last census to have decreased by about 100,000 during the past 12 years; this is not a very large number out of a population of 30,000,000, being about $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. The deficit is but too readily accounted for by the three terrible scourges of civil war, famine, and pestilence, that have passed over the land since the last census. The loss by the famine of 1860-61 alone cannot be estimated at less than 800,000; but besides this the loss of cattle, and other means of cultivating the soil, took from the people the means of producing food in the usual proportions. Taking the two other causes of waste of life into consideration, we cannot but marvel at the prosperity of a country that can so quickly make up for such a terrible deficit. Had these calamities, which may be said to have carried off at least two millions, not visited this portion of the country, there would evidently have been an enormous increase of population, for we should not only have had a large proportion of the casualties and their descendants still amongst us, fully equal to a million in numbers, but in addition, the other million that has been required to bring the population up so close to its former standard.

For the mitigation or prevention of these calamities above alluded to, we must look to good government, the extension of irrigation, and general sanitation. For the first, the only thing that Social Science can do is to help in preserving a *mens sana in corpore sano* in our rulers and people. In regard to irrigation, the sanitary officer has a great deal to say when the water supply is insufficient to raise good crops or a sufficient amount of food for the people, a peculiar kind of fever styled "Famine" fever, of a very deadly form and contagious, springs up, destroying more life by a great deal than hunger does. This is of all dis-

eases the most difficult to deal with, as the half-starved people are not in a position or able to attend to requisite arrangements for the cleanliness of the community, or even sometimes the interring of the dead.

It is again a wasteful flooding of the fields by canals or a super-abundance of rain falling on the almost level plains of India at one season of the year, that gives rise to those malarious disorders which affect so severely the health of the people. Where again the rainfall is moderate, there is scarcely any fever or other malarious sickness.

This leads us to observe the effect on the sanitation of the people of the different modes of irrigation, by which the rainfall is supplemented, and by which the spring crops especially are made to yield an abundant harvest.

It has been proved by Dr. Dempster's spleen test, that irrigation from wells is the least deleterious to health; and is no doubt accounted for by the fact that the labour required to raise the water so far, is a sufficient hindrance in most places to over-flooding of the fields. The people living in districts thus watered, are found especially in Northern India to be healthy, vigorous, and strong. The same cannot always be said of the inhabitants of lands watered by canals; especially is this the case with such canals as the Eastern Jumna which is built up along the bed of a nullah, occupying the line of drainage of the surrounding country. The water which is distributed from this canal to the fields by raised channels, trickles gently back, forming large jheels by the side of the canal, and yielding abundant malaria. The effect of this on the population is very marked after a few years. A peculiarly haggard expression, called sometimes the spleen face, is frequently observed. There is also feebleness of gait, a stoop, and a listless indifference to business or pleasure, that is marked when the sufferers are contrasted with a healthy population of the same race.

The severest instance of this malarious poisoning that I have met with, was in the district of Allyghur. There an escapement of the Ganges Canal was opened at intervals into a nullah too small to receive the quantity of water poured into it. The consequence was that for nine miles down (at which point the nullah became large enough) the country was alternately flooded and dry for a mile or two on either side. The smaller villages in this

tract were depopulated from the death or flight of the people and the bones of the dead lay unburied and scattered about the fields. In the larger villages the centre houses were still standing and occupied, being evidently protected by the outer ranges of houses, which were emptied of their inhabitants.

Even in the case of the great Ganges Canal, which has been wisely carried along the water-shed of the country, marshy collections of water are apt here and there to occur from some peculiarity of the soil or oversight of the officers in charge. Breakage of bunds also occurs, causing inundations of the country, which carry disease and death into the homes of the people.

In the projection of all works of irrigation, therefore, sanitation, as well as the full supply of water, must be attended to; and after their completion, drainage must be provided for, to prevent the generation of marsh poison and deterioration of the races subject to its influence.

It is owing to an admirable system of such drainage that the deadly swamps of Algeria are now waving fields of cultivation, and the soldiers and colonists there are about as healthy as the army and population of France. This effect has been produced at an enormous sacrifice of treasure, and a still heavier loss of thousands upon thousands of French soldiers and colonists, some of whom were lost before the cause of the sickness was discovered, or died in the opening out of the drainage works. It has been asked if the same could not be done for India, and if it could not be made as free of marsh poison as Algeria. The answer to this is—first, that Algeria is about equal in size to the Punjab, one only of the many provinces of India; secondly, that it is sufficiently undulating and hilly to allow of perfect drainage at all seasons of the year; and thirdly, it is not like India subject to an autumnal monsoon, that fills all the rivers to overflowing, and for nearly three months of the year makes the whole country for about a thousand miles round one immense swamp.

There are many places, however, in India that admit of drainage even in the rains; and we see enough of local malaria to warrant its being said that a feverish locality could often be vastly improved by subsoil as well as surface drainage. When the expense forbids this being done, the raising the dwelling house high above the ground, as is done in the new double-storied

European barracks, Arracan, Burmah, &c., gives considerable immunity from malarious poisoning. If more of our tea planter friends in Assam would but try amongst other things ordinary drainage of the jheels near their coolies' houses, and raise their huts several feet above the ground, there would be less said about the death rate and desertion of their labourers, the expense of keeping up gardens, and the ruin of many promising concerns. Comparing great things with small, they would do for Assam what the Dalhousie Barrack has done for Fort William, *viz.*, convert the station from almost a charnel house into one of the healthiest in India.

The dwellings of the people form another interesting subject of sanitary observation. We see the greater part of them living in village communities of smaller or greater size, only a comparatively small proportion being found in cities, and none except in very rare instances occupying detached houses. In these particulars they differ much from the English people, half of whom are found in cities, and most of the rest live in houses scattered over the fields. The general impression is, that the village mode of living has been forced upon the people, as a measure of protection against the violence of local Governments, the rival interests of neighbours, robbers, and wild beasts. This, under a succession of weak governments, may have had a large share in influencing the formation of the village system; but there are palpable reasons of sanitary convenience for this, that at once suggest themselves on a little acquaintance with the habits of the people. The community thus gathered together is very complete in itself, containing, as it usually does, the different artisans and tradesmen, also the various castes required to fill the various offices, and discharge all necessary duties with as little jar and opposition as possible. The people have by this arrangement no distance to go for the supply of almost every want of the labouring classes, and thus avoid exposure to great heat or heavy rains, which are the two trying conditions of life in India. Indeed in some parts of the country, it would be at times impossible to get at the different artisans, if they lived some miles off, for often the water in the streams and over the country makes movement far out of the village a work of danger.

But in a more directly sanitary point of view, the raised village site, either natural or artificial, is of the utmost importance to the health of the community, in elevating them above

damp, and somewhat above the thickest stratum of marsh malaria. The aggregation of the houses, too, makes it much more comfortable for the people during the furnace heat of the hot winds, and gives shelter and shade in moving from one house to another. Besides all this, there is great protection in the system of grouping houses in villages from the greatest source of sickness in India, *viz.*, marsh malaria. We see many examples of the effect of this mode of building in the exemption of the people in towns, especially walled towns, from malarious fever, while the inhabitants of open lines of houses in the neighbourhood are prostrated from this cause. We also see cities in marshy plains, which in their infancy had a bad name for malignant forms of fever, getting rid of both and enjoying a fair reputation in this respect. Our City of Palaces is no mean instance of this, and if our neighbours at Port Canning could contrive to build and stock a number of native huts, at the same time draining and planting the side nearest the great marsh, the place would soon become habitable enough for European settlers also.

The idea then of doing away with the village system, entertained by some English sanitary enthusiasts, and scattering the houses over the fields, as in Europe, would be destructive to the health of the people in India. What is required is more regularity in the construction of villages with free access to all parts of it for sanitary measures; cleanliness outside and inside the villages, with more shelter from trees in their immediate vicinity; also the wealth or energy to build better houses, which peace and good government, it is to be hoped, will give the means and opportunity of doing.

The cleansing of these villages and towns is very important, and to English minds very easy. We are told to construct good drains and flush them well with plenty of water. Now any one who knows India understands the uselessness of proposing such a means of sanitation in the plains of India. How few villages are there that would not be ruined by the expense of such *pukka* works, and when the drains are completed, where is the water to come from for their use? Why, in the present state of the greater part of India, it is all the people can do by drawing water from wells, to keep themselves, their cattle, and crops from perishing of drought during nine months of the year. In a hot climate like India, too, where in most places brick-work near

the surface of the ground corrodes so readily, drains must often give way at weak points, and if this happens near the water supply, we know how mischievous the result must be. As you are all aware, this system of drainage is being tried here, and the expense has greatly crippled the resources of even this rich municipality. Calcutta, however, needs drainage more perhaps than any other of the great cities of India. Being comparatively a new city, there are no remains of ancient buildings on which to raise the houses a few feet above the level of the great salt marsh, on part of which it is built. The Hooghly, on the east of which it is, gives little help in draining it, for the ground slopes gradually from the river bank. The artificial fall of a few feet, which has been provided for the new drainage works, will, therefore be a great boon by securing a flow of water through them. The quarter of Calcutta now being thus "thorough drained," must by this means be vastly improved. The dampness of the ground will be very much lessened, and it may there become safe for Europeans to live on the ground floor of their houses without much risk to their health. But if it is attempted to use these drains as cesspools for other purposes, the best and highest rooms in Calcutta will at once be brought in contact with a concentrated atmosphere of foul air, tainted probably, at most seasons of the year, with cholera and fever poisons.

While labour is still cheap, the villages and Calcutta can be cleansed, as some of the principal towns in the mofussil are, by manual labor and bullock carts. The Pneumatic system of Krepp, which on paper looks by far the best plan of cleansing a town, may be introduced into Calcutta, when it is rich enough to indulge in the luxury, and has skill to produce and keep in repair the machinery required. Till then, it can multiply carts and coolies to cleanse the drains, and use its tidal river on the one side, and tramway on the other, to carry off its sewage, and land it at places where it can do the least harm, or as manure produce some good.

While however we Justices are fighting in Calcutta about personal matters, we are neglecting the means of sanitation at our immediate disposal, and allowing our fellow-citizens and ourselves to run the risk of being slowly poisoned. What other term can express the effect of daily eating butcher's meat and vegetables, that have lain exposed for sale for hours perhaps on small boards laid across the foulest of cesspool-looking open drains?

One would hardly credit this fact unless from painful observation; and few can care to think of the impurities and poison that must certainly be eaten, and would prove more frequently deleterious and destructive to us, but for the sanitary process of cooking.

A moral death is also going on in our midst, the indirect effect of bad drainage. One striking example of this is the lapsing of a large Christian population, in a back slum of this city, into the grossest idolatry. Men, and principally women, may at this season be seen, especially on Sunday afternoon, covered with hooly powder, the emblem of uncleanness, and reeling about in a state of intoxication, or quietly gambling in the streets or kintals. The filth of the drains surrounding their houses is so sickening, and dangerous to those unaccustomed to them, that some ladies, who wish to try and help these women, are not allowed to visit them, and the evil goes on from bad to worse. I know how anxious our authorities are to remedy these evils, but we can all see that they need more of our sympathy, and co-operation, and unity of action, if they are successfully to grapple with the monstrous filth of this great city.

Epidemic Diseases form another most important subject of consideration for the Health Section of the Social Science Association. The principal forms of these are Small-Pox, Fevers, and Cholera, which annually destroy large numbers of the community. For the first, we have vaccination and inoculation as means for mitigating its ravages. The latter has been practised more or less successfully in the East for hundreds of years, but with these drawbacks, that it is sometimes followed by fatal consequences, and has been observed to favor the development of severe epidemics. Vaccination is a later importation, and has not as yet been accepted as a prophylactic by the people, except in particular districts, where it has been energetically, and successfully, practised by Government Officials. It would be well if its effects could be more widely certified to, by showing its results, wherever it is used among the people. It would be well, too, if certain social and political suspicions which hinder its adoption were removed, the force and meaning of which can hardly be understood out of India. For instance, when the other day it was proposed to the 2,000 coolies starting for Abyssinia, where small-pox is prevalent, that they should be vaccinated, they ran off in a body, saying they would cast themselves under the protection of the Viceroy to save them from being operated on.

It is different with epidemics of fever; for the non-malarious forms no prophylactic is yet known, but the medical treatment has of late greatly improved. The latest and one of the most remarkable out-breaks I know of was shown by Dr. Bryden to have come up in October last, at the same time as a great storm of wind and rain, from the South-East of Bengal, and decreased in severity as it advanced upwards to Oude and the Central Provinces. The prisoners shut up in the jails at night escaped in a marked manner, while soldiers in their open barracks, and the people generally, suffered severely. Other fevers of a typhoid type, over which quinine has no specific power, and which appear to have no connection with marsh poison, have of late years spread far and wide over large portions of the land, and have caused severe loss, especially in Bengal. The first I saw of these was on the North-West Frontier, where, in a corner of the Peshawur Valley, the epidemic carried off 8,000 souls out of a population of about 45,000, a loss almost unparalleled in modern times. I mention it to notice what a knowledge of sanitation among the people could have done to prevent this terrible mortality. The history of their behaviour was briefly as follows: The sick man was brought out of the women's apartments immediately it was found that he had got the fever, and laid on a bed in a small entrance room, which was usually about 12 feet by 6 in size. There was no window, and only one door open, while the room was crowded with as many of his male friends as could find room to sit or stand; several sat on the sick man's bed; all remained for hours in the room smoking and talking and went out to sicken and die. Few women suffered, for they were not allowed to be near the sick man. Few Hindus also had the fever, for they too were forbidden to come near the bed of the sick Mahomedan. A little care, a little less crowding and exposure to contagion would have saved many lives that were lost, and those too of the strongest of the bread-winning class.

It may be that one, if not two, of the bad fevers now habitually met with in many parts of India, are importations from Europe, consequent on the immense increase of commerce and intercourse. I cannot help thinking that the spotted typhoid is one of these, for it is only of late years that I have seen undoubted cases of this deadly form of disease in India. We know from Grant, the great Nile discoverer, that the diseases of Europe, as small-pox, &c., have not yet penetrated the depths of Central Africa, and the new settlement of Victoria has much the same

story to tell in Australia. There can be nothing to prevent small-pox and contagious fevers occurring in these climates or among those races, for similar races and latitudes suffer. They have evidently escaped on account of their communications with affected countries being as yet limited ; but when commercial and other forms of intercourse increase, we may expect to see these people suffering also.

I need not weary you with my opinions on cholera as an epidemic, for most of you have got your own private notions on the subject, founded on what you think sufficient information. I can hardly, however, pass the subject over, particularly as I desire to draw your attention to facts about the disease in Calcutta, where it has been for many years endemic, though seldom passing into an epidemic form. We see it year by year commencing to be severe about the end of the cold weather and continuing very bad till the rains begin, after which comparatively few cases occur. There is also a general observation that when the water is low in any particular tank, then cholera is active in the neighbourhood. The last severe local outbreak you had of the disease was amongst the people near, and the coolies employed in excavating, a tank. We also see the ships in the river when lying at particular places near the outlet of sewers suffering from attacks. All these and a number of other instances point to the water as one of the channels at least by which cholera is communicated. It becomes, therefore, on this supposition a matter of the first importance, that the new water works should be hurried on, and the tanks done away with, or kept filled with a plentiful supply of wholesome water.

It is useless to talk much of contagion in Calcutta, where, as the term is understood, it is rarely believed in, and it is seldom possible to trace cases of the disease to such an origin. I cannot, however, help referring to the late outbreak at Hurdwar, the history of which was as follows : The most elaborate and extensive sanitary arrangements were made on the spot beforehand, and on the latest and most approved English plans, to prevent an outbreak of the disease. Never were such measures carried out with more energy and good will. Yet a day or two before the host left Hurdwar, suddenly cholera appeared among the pilgrims. Every portion of the camp seems to have been infected. We must, therefore, look for some general cause by which a million and a half of men spread over many miles of an encampment were subjected simultaneously to the influence of the

cholera poison. One possible cause was a heavy fall of rain on the great bathing day, which, according to some analogous observations, may have descended, holding the cholera poison in solution, or, according to others, have been eliminated from the infected ground, and washed it into the river, where the people bathed. This is rendered the more probable explanation from the fact that a camp far up the river escaped entirely. Some such theory is necessary to account for the sudden outbreak of the disease, and we are forced by the subsequent history of this and many similar epidemics to acknowledge that the pilgrims disseminated the disease along the roads, and carried it with them to their homes hundreds of miles away. This could only occur by the disease remaining latent for some time in the system before being fully developed, or occurring as diarrhoea only, while suffering from which the sick often readily enough travel and prove fresh focuses of contagion.

Whatever the channels are by which the cholera poison passes, it is no use trying to persuade people through parliamentary blue books or otherwise that cholera comes out mysteriously from a basket of rubbish, and that there is no special *germ*, as it is called, which develops cholera in the system. Rather let us acknowledge that the means by which the poison travels, and the conditions under which it is developed in an epidemic form, are not as yet sufficiently known to us but demand our unbiased and with our investigations.

The sanitary officer of Her Majesty's Army in England has written strongly condemning quarantine, because it proved unsuccessful at Gibraltar and Malta, and because it did not agree with his theory of the spontaneous outbreak of cholera. His arguments are inconclusive, however, as it is clear that the disease in a milder form had plenty of time and opportunity to have entered these places weeks before quarantine was thought of. Rather let us oppose quarantine between places having large commercial or other intercourse, on the ground that the channels through which cholera passes are not as yet all known, and because it is so subtle and may remain dormant so long, that it is impossible always to say with certainty where it is not.

There are several other matters of the deepest importance, that I should like to bring before this Association, but time will not admit of more than one or two of these at present.

The food of the people is one of those important subjects, and with it agriculture, inasmuch as any improvements possible in the preparation of food, or in the means of cultivating the land, so as to perfect the grain, or increase its quantity, have often a very important relation to health and population. We see some diseases, as that pointed out by Dr. Irving, occurring as a direct consequence of eating particular grains, and from all I can learn, we owe leprosy, not to the eating of any one unwholesome food, but to living on poor uncultivated grains. But a remarkable fact in connection with the food of the people is the comparatively large quantity eaten by the natives of India, especially of carbonaceous food. The fact of the inhabitants of Bengal living largely and almost exclusively on rice, the chemical composition of which is so closely allied to the staple food of the Esquimaux, has been the strongest argument used against Leibeg's theory of food. To my mind this is a most powerful argument in its favor, for unless they consumed a large quantity of carbon, they could not stand the terrible waste which the steamy heat of the country demands of their system. The fondness for oil displayed by the Native, and his habit of anointing himself with it, is all part of the same necessity of nature, particularly as their bodies are usually exposed nearly naked to the fierce heat of a tropical sun. The way in which they combine their food, when they daily eat rice and dhal, shows how nature points out practically to them the chemical characteristics of food, as clearly as to the European who eats his potatoes and beef.

The questions of the geological distribution of disease, and the relation that rocks, soil, and elevation bear to them, are subjects still almost in their infancy in India. They are not, however, likely to remain so long, for as soon as the Geological Survey is complete, it will not be difficult, from the medical records, to show confidently the relation between the two. In the vast plains of alluvial deposits along the course of the great rivers, we have malarious fevers as endemic diseases; and in the alluvial country lying between the mouths of the Ganges, cholera has also established itself as an endemic disease. Where, however, the primary rocks crop up to the surface, this scourge seems to be still merely epidemic, though of frequent occurrence, telling of some cholera-favoring circumstances in the one situation not present in the other. In the black soil of

Central India, the result of the disintegration of secondary rocks, we have another of those soils, reeking with marsh malaria. Indeed this is the disease of all India, but it is comparatively little manifested in some soils, when the rainfall is scanty and artificial irrigation not excessive. It is a great fact, too, that the great kunkur beds which spread (a foot or two beneath the surface) along so large a portion of Upper India act as a powerful aid in developing malaria by retaining near the surface of the ground the water of the rains and irrigation. The healthiest spots are those cultivated tracts on a sandy soil, through which water readily percolates and finds its road away from the surface.

Another characteristic complaint, common to large tracts on the borders of rivers and very frequently met with along the foot of the great frontier range of the Punjab, is a form of scurvy, which has often been mistaken for sea scurvy, but is dependent on a totally different cause. It is the result of malarious poisoning, and is frequently accompanied by the most alarming form of dysentery. For the cure of this scurvy fresh vegetables have been freely used, and with benefit, for good food and plenty of it is the most powerful preventive of all blood diseases. We see this scurvy, however, appearing where fresh fruits and vegetables are abundant and cheap, and find that change of air to a different or less malarious locality is the only certain means of removing all signs of the complaint. Time and space will not permit of my enlarging on many other complaints peculiar to provinces, as the elephantiasis of Bengal, the boils of Scinde, the diarrhoea of the hills, the diabetes of certain tracts of country, &c., &c., but I mention these to show what a field we have for the exercise of sanitation and the recording of information on such strange phenomena of disease.

The effect of melas and pilgrimages on the health of the people is another most interesting subject of public interest. These are usually religious festivals, and as such are greatly esteemed by the millions of India. Many of the devotees who resort to them are old and some even infirm, but trusting in their vaunted efficacy for present and eternal good, few will be detained at home by considerations of life and death. Indeed some go seeking for death, and thousands annually find it through privations on the road, or epidemic diseases to which their distress

makes them peculiarly liable. These melas are also great commercial marts at which the more rare and industrial products of the country find a ready sale. Two leading requirements of the people are thus supplied, which account for the crowds that continually resort to these places. Looking, however, at these melas from a sanitary point of view, we cannot but see the disastrous effects that so frequently follow them in the out-bursts of epidemic diseases among the people at the place of pilgrimage. But it is not usually there that the severest effect is seen, for it has been observed for years that the pilgrims returning from Jugernath, Gya, &c., where cholera is endemic, die in great numbers on the road, of this and other diseases, and carry various forms of sickness and death into the villages on their routes, and ultimately to their homes. The poverty of the great majority of the pilgrims no doubt tends to increase their susceptibility to epidemic influences, and accounts for the fearful mortality frequently witnessed among them. The railways, good roads, and the protection afforded by good government, have materially lessened the difficulties of these pilgrimages in India—difficulties well known to the Mecca travellers. Further assistance is, however, still needed in the shape of serais or temporary shelter at intervals on the road. At the festival times the ordinary roadside accommodation is insufficient for the crowds which then pass along, and many have to lie on the ground during the rains, or to pass the day in the sun during the hottest time of the year. If this shelter were provided, even if topes of trees were planted at intervals of a day's march along the road for two or three hundred miles, there would be no necessity for the pilgrims to enter and infect the villages, especially as the inducements of trade or the Civil authorities would attend to the supply of the encamping ground with food and water. There, too, the sick could be cared for, and the poor not left to die miserably of disease and hunger by the way side. At the place of pilgrimage itself, it would be necessary, also to have good arrangements made for the reception of pilgrims. The lodging-houses should be placed under sanitary inspection, and where there is no room for all the pilgrims in the neighbouring towns or villages, temporary huts should be raised in regular order and ready to be moved elsewhere should epidemic disease appear in any of them. For part, at least, of the expense incurred in this last arrangement, the religious communities which fatten on these pilgrims' offerings would be bound to pay; and for the road arrangements a pilgrim-tax might somehow be

levied by which the expenses of accommodation on the road could be covered.

In the social relations of the people we have many questions that are deeply interesting, but for the solution of which we have not at present the necessary statistics. It is hopeless, too, to expect to have information on very many of them, while the masses remain uneducated and cling to ignorant superstitions, exhibiting a suspicious reluctance to answer enquiries regarding them. The census of the North-West Provinces, however, tells us one remarkable fact, viz., that the death-rate among the women of India, a large portion of whom are shut up in zenanas, is lower than that of the men whose liberty is not interfered with. This is what few would credit who are brought up to believe that, without outdoor exercise, it is impossible to live. We may indeed find that some evil influence is at work among the male portion of the population, that accounts for a greater mortality than should occur in this class. Indeed there is an exceptional loss of young adult men especially noticed in Burmah, which has not yet been satisfactorily accounted for. We have not certainly the bachelor-dom of Scotland to fall back on, which has lately been shown to be so destructive of life, for all men are married early in life in India. In whatever way, however, the phenomenon is to be accounted for, it stands to the experience of the rest of the world that a want of physical strength must be the inheritance of the offspring of mothers so treated. The question, therefore, of its necessity or expediency must sooner or later come to be considered by an educated and enlightened people.

The question of early marriages is one peculiarly interesting to India, for in this custom the people are at variance with almost the whole of the rest of the world. The universality of marriage must, no doubt, help materially to keep up population to a high figure. The latest statistical information we have, shows, however, that in a temperate climate, early marriages are a mistake as far as the safety of the mother is concerned, and it is a common observation in India that large families of living children are rarer there than elsewhere. Statistics then on the prudence of what would in other countries be considered the marriages of children, might show them to be a grand mistake in India, as they are believed to be by the people of other lands.

I would conclude this address with calling the attention of this Association to the large class of Hakeems and Baeds scattered over the land. The census of the North-Western Provinces alone shows them to number in that province 7,000 persons, and how many thousands there are in the rest of the country it is impossible to say. To this class of men it is that we ought to look in India, as in all other civilized countries, for assistance in matters connected with the public health. They are even now, as a class, most intelligent, and want only a little assistance to render them most useful in the sanitary measures which the Government desires to carry out. How is it then that their services are so little, if at all, available, for the high objects Government has at heart in relieving distress and preventing sickness by sanitary measures? The principal cause is that they are satisfied with the medical lore handed down by the ancient Arabic, Greek, and Hindu fathers of medicine, who, centuries ago, studied disease with great accuracy according to the means in their power at that time. The researches of later years have, however, shown many of their theories to be false, and with this progress many of the names of diseases have necessarily been altered. In Europe, America, and elsewhere these names have been assimilated, so that the causes of sickness and death in each country can readily be compared, and thereby often removed. It would therefore be a matter of the greatest importance, were the means afforded the Hakeems and Baeds of India of becoming acquainted with the modern descriptions and nomenclature of disease, that the returns of sickness and death among the people might become of use to the community. At present we are told in the census of the North-Western Provinces, of witchcraft, devils, mud-eating, &c., as carrying off two or three thousands of the people annually, with many other names of disease which no other nation can understand or have the patience to listen to. This would, doubtless, be remedied shortly, if the Hakeems and Baeds could be got to form themselves into guilds, as medical men have done in so many other countries. Instead of each man fancying that he knows the very best that can be known of the science of medicine, he would, in associating himself with his fellows, find out the littleness of his own knowledge, and his great need of a fellow-labourer's help. A medical literature would in time spring up, and through the facilities of printing be rapidly diffused, and no doubt the rest of the world would have cause to rejoice, that the genius and resources of Indian medicine were added to the store of its

knowledge of disease and the means of relieving the sufferings of mankind.

After some remarks by BABOO PRARY CHAND MITTRA,

DR. CHEVERS wished to say that he believed Dr. Bryden's statistics were all that Dr. Farquhar had said, but he hoped it was not to be understood for a moment that the statistics of the army in former times were less reliable than these.

DR. FARQUHAR stated in reply that he was far from saying anything against the former statistics, but from not having seen them in any detailed form, he could not speak of them so enthusiastically. He rejoiced to think of the diminished mortality of the European army in India, but he felt that a great part of that diminution depended on the extensive invaliding home for change of air that was now so freely adopted. He added that in case of war occurring, and this measure being stopped, we should probably find that insanitation still existed, and therefore we should not relax our efforts to discover and remedy existing defects in our sanitary system.

HEALTH.

2.—*On the uses of Narcotics and Stimulants and their effects on the human constitution.* By BABU KANNY LOIL DEY.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

As a sequel to my paper on the laws of Health, which I had the honor of reading at the last meeting of this Association, I propose in this paper to treat of the narcotics and stimulants, embracing therein all the drugs and beverages used either for excitement or intoxication, and to view their uses and effects in relation to health.

In examining this subject, I must guard against the common error of taking a one-sided view of the question, in which many in the fervour of enthusiasm overlook facts and principles to the great disparagement of truth and science.

I will take first for review the known varieties of the most important drugs used as intoxicating agencies, giving, where practicable, their chemical composition and describing the properties of the constituents. The beverages or stimulants properly so called will come last for consideration. In treating of them, I will devote some space to the description of some of the commonest forms of adulteration of wines, as many serious evils to the system may be traced to these adulterations as much as to abuses of excess and intemperance.

It appears from the universal use of narcotics and stimulants amongst all races and tribes of mankind in some form or other, that the craving for such excitement arises from a natural want, and that the same instinct which drives man as well as the inferior animals to seek for those healthy aliments which contribute to their bodily support and nourishment compels him to seek for these indulgences, hence it may be presumed that their use is a necessity of life.

Adhering to the plan I have laid down for the treatment of this subject, I will first describe the known varieties of the intoxicating *drugs*. The most important amongst these, as far as they are known, are, *1st*, tobacco, *2nd*, gunja, and its companion species, churus, sidhee, bhang, subjee, majun and khatta; *3rd*, opium, chundoo, and gooly; *4th*, tarry, and *5th*, dhatoora, or thorn apple. There are some other varieties of foreign growth

and use which, though not in common demand, may be incidentally mentioned. They are, the Siberian fungus, foxglove, henbane, belladonna, cocculus indicus, and nightshade.

First, in the order of these drugs, is tobacco. It is generally consumed, as is well known, almost in the state in which it is found in nature. The changes it undergoes are very inconsiderable, and, in most cases, inexpensive before it is made fit for human consumption. It is, like many other drugs, never eaten. It is used only by chewing, smoking, and snuffing. In Europe its use is chiefly restricted to smoking and snuffing. In Asia and America all the three modes are resorted to, only there is a difference in manner according to the tastes and habits of the different people. In Europe the smoke is inhaled either from pipes or leaves rolled into spindles; in Asia the favorite plan is to manufacture the drug into a sweet and odorous compound and inhale its smoke from a pipe peculiar to the people who use it.* In Europe the weed is preferred to be consumed in its raw state; in Asia it is softened and weak-

* Recipe for hookah tobacco—

The subjoined two recipes are for the manufacture of smoking tobacco of standard quality. One marked A is for the first quality, mild tobacco, and the other marked B, first quality, strong tobacco; the latter is commonly consumed by the middling classes of society.

Recipe A for making mild tobacco compound—

BHATSAH.			BHATSAH.		
Parts.			Parts.		
Tobacco leaf powder	...	72	Ripe chanipa plantain	...	16
Powdered scents	...	16	Ripe jack-fruit juice	...	2
Treacle (chitta-goor sit)	...	88	Ripe pineapple juice...	...	1

The above ingredients to be thoroughly mixed, and the mixture to be allowed to ferment for six months, after which it will be fit for use.

Recipe B for making strong tobacco compound—

MITTA-KURRAH.			MITTA-KURRAH.		
Parts.			Parts.		
Tobacco leaf powder	...	12	Powdered scents	...	2
Tobacco leaf rib powder	...	6	Treacle chitta-goor	...	22
Lime slaked	...	1			

The above ingredients, when thoroughly mixed, make the compound ready for use.

Ingredients of the powdered scents with proportions of each as used above in scenting the tobacco compound—

			Parts.		
Jatamangai	...	Sumbul	...	...	5
Tawz	...	Cassia bark	...	...	10
Abbul	...	Juniper berries	...	...	2
Chundun	...	Sandal-wood	...	...	2
Doona	...	Artimesia indica leaves	...	...	5
Golab	...	Rose petals	...	...	5
Googul	...	Bedellium	...	...	1
Lunga	...	Cloves	...	...	1
Pucha-pât	...	Patchouli	...	...	5
Tambul	...	Capsules of xanthoxylum hastile	...	...	5
Akungee	...	...	...	...	5
Soyloze	...	...	...	...	5
Tobacco powder to serve as a vehicle for preserving the scents	...	...	...	...	49

The articles to be thoroughly powdered, mixed, and then sieved,

ened. There are races, however, in the Eastern Continent, who, like the Europeans, are fond of smoking the raw unmanufactured leaves—the Oorias, for example, and some people on the Western Coast of the Indian Peninsula, as well as some of the Islanders of the Eastern Archipelago. These smokers form, however, a very inconsiderable section of the whole Asiatic nation. In America also smoking is not unfrequent, but chewing is nearly as much a favorite method as smoking is in Asia and Europe. There it is put into the mouth, in the form of quids, which cause profuse secretion of saliva in the mouth, and it is not unfrequent or uncommon for ladies and gentlemen being seen to squirt the tobacco liquid in volumes in the midst of social gatherings, to the infinite disgust of people not accustomed to such sights.

In India also tobacco is used by chewing, but here this form of use is solely confined to the very lowest classes. Low caste men and drain coolies of the hilly tribes, as well as women of the same rank of life, are somewhat fond of this use of raw tobacco, but I have seldom found that even they prefer to chew unmixed tobacco. What they do is to take a chip only at a time and chew it with betel and nut. Cigar smoking is least in fashion, and does not seem to suit our taste, though amongst one or two comparatively barbarous races of Hindoos it finds preference.

The use of tobacco for snuffing, though nearly as universal as smoking in most countries in India, and in most of the other Asiatic countries, is not so unrestricted as the smoking of manufactured tobacco, which is the only method universally resorted to for gratifying the narcotic appetite. In this form it fully satisfies the natural demand, as well as contributes to the gratification of a luxurious indulgence peculiar to the national character. With the rich and the well-to-do classes tobacco smoking is a luxury, with the operative and the middle classes it is an indispensable necessity. It is so much a necessity that a poor laboring man may one day dispense with some of the necessities of life, but he cannot for an hour undergo the privation of tobacco. Amongst the richer classes generally, it is apparently not indulged in so much for the gratification of an appetite as for luxury and external display. The tobacco of the rich is so much spiced and perfumed that the presence of its chief constituents is scarcely perceptible; amongst them the external paraphernalia of tobacco smoking receives greater attention than the practice itself. In large assemblies, and on occasions of festivity, the glittering smoking apparatus forms an important and a conspicuous ornament of a Native gentleman's saloon and drawing-room.

The practice, as it obtains amongst the masses of the people, deserves more than a passing notice. A tobacco pipe of the ordinary sort as used in this country is an indispensable appendage of Native life. It is one of those things which the humblest amongst the people cannot do without; he may not have the means of providing himself with a decent water-pot; his resources may not allow him to replace his cracked and broken stone-platter with a sound one to eat his rice from, but his *hooka* and its adjuncts will be always found complete. It may be, a family is living on half rations for days together, but they have always the means of entertaining a host of visitors with *chillum* after *chillum* of tobacco for hours together. A Bengallee's passion for tobacco is a prominent feature in his national character. A laboring man amongst them is almost useless when under the privation of this indulgence. It is therefore a great mistake committed by his employers when, in view to exact from him the greatest amount of work, he is long kept without it. It is true that much of a laboring man's time is unnecessarily wasted in tobacco smoking, but if it be intended to save that time by keeping him without it, not only is that time wasted in gaping and yawning, but that which would otherwise have been devoted to work is frittered away in trifling with his tools.

It is a remarkable fact in the habits of the people of this country that the prevalence of the practice of smoking varies according to locality and circumstances. People living in the interior, and far removed from the metropolis, for example, are more addicted to this habit, and contract it earlier than those living in the metropolis itself. In villages boys in their teens are hard smokers, and no pains are taken to discourage their early indulgence; and men also are, as a rule, most passionately fond of smoking. An ordinary villager in Bengal consumes nearly six times as much tobacco as a citizen of Calcutta. With him nothing short of 50 doses will be sufficient during his waking hours; with us eight to ten at an average are ample. In Calcutta the practice of smoking amongst boys is very uncommon. It may be mentioned to our credit that while the use of the weed for smoking is almost universal in this country, it is wholly restricted to the male population amongst the Hindoos. In the Up-country the pipe may now and then be seen in the hands of respectable Mahomedan females, but amongst Hindoo ladies it is a forbidden indulgence. We should not in this estimate take into account the practices of women who have already in graver matters set at defiance all laws, human and divine.

I have referred to the use of tobacco as being extensive in this country, but it may be remarked that this universality of use applies to the whole human race. It has been supposed that next to salt it is the article most extensively used by man. In Europe, where the duty on tobacco is throughout heavy, its use on that account is neither limited in quantity nor confined in extent. The quantity of consumption per head varies from 2 to 12lbs. Besides what is obtained by indigenous cultivation, more than 140 millions of lbs. are annually imported from America, and the share of distribution for each country ranges from three hundred thousand to 38 millions of pounds. The largest tobacco consumers in proportion to the population are the Germans, and the most abstemious are the Portuguese.

It has been estimated that nearly eight hundred millions of the human race are consumers of tobacco, and the average consumption is 70 oz. a head. The total growth is nearly two millions of tons, which at 800lbs. an acre would require more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions of acres of rich land.* One other fact in connection with this subject may be noticed, which to those who take interest in the progress of agriculture will appear to be of no small importance. I allude to the effect of tobacco cultivation in the soil in which it is grown. Agricultural chemistry has by indisputable scientific facts demonstrated that no crop that is grown for human subsistence or luxury has so deteriorating an influence in the productive powers of a soil as tobacco. Vegetable substances when burned in the open air leave a residue of inconsumable mineral matter or ash, the quantity of which determines their exhaustive effect on the soil. The leaves of plants abound in this incombustible ash, and those of tobacco yield proportionally the largest quantity. A dried tobacco leaf when burned, it has been shown, yields from 19 to 28 per cent. of ash, or the proportion of ash to other matter is nearly one-fourth; now this ash belongs to the class of constituents in a soil which are most necessary to vegetation. The quantity of the weight of these constituents withdrawn from the soil must be in proportion to the weight of the leaves gathered; and bearing in mind the proportion of these ashes to other ingredients, the exhaustion to the soil caused by the cultivation of tobacco may be imagined.†

I will now conclude this part of the subject with a few words on the effects of tobacco on the human constitution. It was a

* Johnston's Chemistry of Common Life, Vol. II, page 14.

† " " " " " 38.

subject of enquiry whether tobacco, in whatever form taken, has an injurious effect on the health of man. Those who deprecate its use on the score of its injurious tendency often base their assertion on mere fanciful theories. They have not been able to adduce a single fact based on chemical or physiological enquiries which would entitle their theories to credit. I cannot, however, forbear mentioning a theory which, though similarly unsupported, is still deserving of consideration, and our experience in some way seems to give to it a colour of truth. It has been maintained that amongst the constituents of tobacco, there are some nicotin and empyreumatic oil which have poisonous properties, and which, if inhaled by persons in green youth, when their organs are in a state of development, have a tendency to stunt their growth and give their persons an appearance of dryness and emaciation, and when tobacco is indulged in by a youthful pair, their offsprings will be of a diminutive size, sickly, and bony;—all these evils, it has been urged, are caused by the above poisons having the power of arresting the inhalation of oxygen in respiration.* Whatever truth there may be in the theory itself, the effects supposed are, I believe, in many cases apparent in this country amongst those who are addicted to an early indulgence in the use of this weed. I will quote some of the other evil effects which tobacco in any one of its forms is said to produce. When smoked to excess, specially by persons unaccustomed to its use, it produces nausea, vomiting, in some cases purging, universal trembling, staggering, convulsive movement, paralysis, torpor, and death. Another authority has the following: "Tobacco disorders the assimilating functions in general, but particularly, as I believe, the assimilation of the saccharine principle. Some poisonous principle probably of an acid nature is generated in certain individuals by its abuse, as is evident from their cachectic looks and from the dark and often greenish-yellow tint of the blood. The severe and peculiar dyspeptic symptoms sometimes produced by inveterate snuff-taking are well known; and I have more than once seen such cases terminate fatally with malignant disease of the stomach and liver." Great smokers also are said to be liable to rodent ulcers and cancerous affections of the lips. "Excessive use of snuff blunts the sense of smell, alters the tone of voice, and occasionally produces dyspepsia and loss of appetite. In rare cases it ultimately produces apoplexy and delirium."† Dr. Pereira and

* Dr. Richardson.

† Dr. Prout.

Dr. Christison, however, agree in maintaining that no well ascertained ill effects have been shown to result from the habitual practice of smoking.

Let us now see what has to be said on the other side of the question.

The first question which naturally comes for consideration is, whence came this weed to be so extensively and universally used? Is any of its constituents possessed of the virtues which affect the animal constitution in the same way as most of the edibles are known to do? Does it contribute to the support and nourishment of the human body? But we know that none of its constituents is capable of producing any of these effects, at least in a perceptible degree, as will be apparent from the following analysis of tobacco given by Posselt and Reinmann:—

Nicotina	...	...	...	...	0.06
Concrete vegetable oil	...	...	...	...	0.01
Bitter extractive	...	...	...	...	2.87
Gum with malate of lime	...	...	...	...	1.74
Chlorophylle	...	...	...	...	0.267
Albumen and gluten	...	...	...	...	1.308
Malic acid	...	...	...	...	0.51
Lignine and a trace of starch	...	...	...	...	4.969
Salts	...	...	...	...	0.734
Silica	...	...	...	...	0.088
Water	...	...	...	...	88.280
Fresh leaves of tobacco	...	...	...	...	<u>100.836</u>

The only two of the above constituents which possess the nutritive principle are albumen and gluten, of which there are less than three parts in nearly 200. But whatever good they are capable of doing is more than neutralised by a strong odorous poison taken into the constitution in the consumption of tobacco. But even without it, they would not contribute to nourishment, since tobacco is not so used as to come within the influence of the digestive functions. There is first the volatile alkali which may be found by the infusion of tobacco leaves in water made slightly sour by sulphuric acid, and when the infusion is subsequently distilled with quicklime, there comes over mixed with water a small quantity of a volatile oily colourless alkaline liquid, which is heavier than water, and to which the name of *nicotina* has been given. "It has the odour of tobacco, an acrid burning long continuing tobacco taste, and possesses narcotic and very poisonous qualities. In this latter respect it is scarcely inferior to prussic acid, a single drop

being sufficient to kill a dog. Its vapour is so irritating that it is difficult to breathe in a room in which a single drop has been evaporated.* The most important use for which it is valued and which has led to its large consumption is the property it possesses of gratifying the appetite for narcotic indulgence in man. But its effects as regards that object can with difficulty be described. Even the hardest consumer will be at a loss to define his sensations while under the influence of this narcotic. We all know that it possesses no perceptible intoxicating quality. The only thing that can be said of it is, that like many intoxicating drugs and beverages, when once you have begun the indulgence you cannot do without it. It cannot, however, be denied that it does afford a kind of relief to the fatigued body after toil and trouble. In habitual smokers, says Dr. Pereira, the practice, when moderately indulged in, provokes thirst, increases the secretion of saliva, and produces that remarkably soothing and tranquillising effect on the mind which has caused it to be so much admired and adopted by all classes of society and by all nations, civilized and barbarous.† We also know that it also forms a great aid to reflection. Poets and Essayists in our own country, when under the inspiration of the muses, find the pipe to be indispensable to the rapid and uninterrupted flow of their thoughts. To the chess-players the tobacco pipe is an inseparable adjunct. If the supply falls short they are undone. They find themselves then as if paralysed and quite incapable of moving the pieces. Tobacco, however, is said to possess one medicinal virtue, which, though not well known, is therefore not the less valuable. It is a great antidote to strychnia. A sufficient quantity of the juice of tobacco-leaf administered to the persons affected by the poison has been known to effect a cure. It is also used in some places as a sovereign application for wounds and bruises and the bites of poisonous serpents. None of these uses appear to be sufficiently known in this country.

I will now allude to the other drugs. Next to tobacco in the ascending scale are gunja and churus, both of Asiatic growth, and both are more or less consumed in the East. Unlike tobacco they are used for their intoxicating property alone. The first is the well known hemp, and the second is the resin of the same plant. There is but one form in which they can be used, which is by burning, like tobacco, in a *chillum* and inhaling the smoke through a pipe. Gunja is very common in India, and grows in

* Johnston's Chemistry of Common Life, Vol. II, page 29.

† Pereira's Materia Medica.

abundance in the Upper Provinces. It is a favorite with the up-country people quite as much as tobacco is with a Bengallee. I do not intend to say that its use is confined to the higher provinces alone; it is also in demand in Lower Bengal, but here it is not so universally adopted as a stimulating drug.

Churus, as is well known, is an extract or resin spontaneously exuded by the plant. In describing how these drugs are obtained, we must speak of the plant and extract together. A plant from which the resin has been extracted is not fit to be used as gunja, then it wants the very property for which it is valued. To make gunja what it is, it must be dried with the resin, for it is the existence of this sticky juice which helps the flower of the plants on each twig to stick with the leaves on it and form itself into a pod. In India some art is resorted to to quicken the formation of these pods, and particular care is taken of the plant to prevent its vegetating into an exuberantly leafy plant. Some say that to quicken the formation of the gunja-pods they pour milk at the root of the plant and mix sugar with the earth too when it has begun to flower. I am not prepared to dispute this fact, but I attach no importance to the practice as regards the end intended to be gained by it.

The churus or juicy extract of hemp is collected from the hemp plant either by scraping with the hand as in Nepaul, or by men covered with leather aprons running backwards and forwards through the hemp fields and beating the plants violently. The resin thus detaches itself from the leaves, stems, and flowers, and adheres to the leather, from which it is scraped off and formed into balls. This mode is adopted in Central India, and churus thus formed is known as the churus of Cabul. In Persia the resin is detached by pressing the plant on coarse cloths, and afterwards scraping it off and melting it in a little warm water. The ordinary churus sold in the bazars is the churus of Cabul as gathered in Central India. The most valuable drug is that grown in Nepaul, and sold at double the price of the ordinary churus. The churus of Herat is said to be the most powerful variety of the drug, but it is scarcely known in this country. There is another form of obtaining the resinous extract, which is by boiling gunja in alcohol, which method is said to be most economical, as the extract obtained is in a pure state and therefore most efficacious; while the expense of producing it is small. This method of obtaining the resin is not in use in India, and it is not known whether it is thus obtained in any other Asiatic country.

Very little is known of the properties of the chemical constituents of gunja and churus, except that when distilled with water the dried leaves and flowers yield a volatile oil in small quantity, and the resin dissolves readily in alcohol and ether, and is separated from these liquids in the form of a white powder when the solutions are mixed with water. The resin has a warm bitterish acid, somewhat balsamic taste, and a fragrant odour especially when heated.

A word now as to the effects of gunja and churus on the persons who indulge in them. Both gunja and churus, as is well known, are not smoked singly. They are both mixed with tobacco before burning them in the chillum or *kulka*; with gunja the leaf is used, with churus the prepared tobacco, which in the latter case is simply mixed in the proportion of nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ ds, the whole weighing about a tolah. A dose of gunja is also nearly of the same weight. A leaf or half a leaf is taken accordingly as a stick or half a stick of gunja is used, and both cut into chips on a piece of short thick wood and then pressed in the palm of the hand until the whole is nearly reduced to a powdered ball. The *kulka* used for smoking gunja is of a peculiar shape, quite unlike that for tobacco smoking, and the same thing may be said of the hookah. Its votaries, before beginning to smoke, always take the name of Mohadeb, with whom it is a favorite drug, and then sit in a ring and pass the hookah round, no body taking more than one or two long sustained puffs. It is a remarkable fact that in this country at least, the votaries of gunja, as a rule, always smoke the drug in company and never singly; a stranger falling in with them, though unaccustomed to the drug, is never allowed to be a passive spectator without joining the ring, which he is often pressed to do.

A gunja-smoker may often be made out by his appearance, which is always dry and rickety—eyes sunken and cheeks flattened. Gunja fumes are believed to possess the property of drying up the humours of the body, and giving the persons who inhale them a faded look. A gunja-smoker can never be slim, and if the habit of excessive indulgence be long persevered in, it brings dysentery and diarrhœa. These evils are, in a great measure, counteracted by wholesome diet of milk and ghee, and confectionary having a large share of these oily ingredients. None of these effects are perceived in churus-smokers. I do not know whether the resin has any property of mitigating the evils produced by gunja; but I believe the indulgence in this drug seldom or never grows into a passion.

Much has been said of the peculiar sensations produced while under the influence of gunja. I have never been able to elicit any satisfactory information as to what those sensations are even from those long inured to the use. The intoxication produced by churus-smoking is much tamer than that of gunja. It scarcely brings on any hallucination such as is caused by intoxication generally. Persons under its influence scarcely betray any incoherence in manner or speech, neither is the habit productive of any perceptible evil in the constitution. But gunja is more powerful in its effects, and it leaves a more lasting impression on the system. One peculiarity of gunja-smoking is that it makes the person, with whom the indulgence has become a habit, choleric and irascible, rough in manner and rough in speech.

I know of no useful purpose to which gunja is employed except its seeds, which are sometimes boiled with oil for external application for cure of cutaneous diseases. Of the resins, however, there are many important medicinal uses. If taken in moderation, it is said to produce increase of appetite and great mental cheerfulness, and excess causes a peculiar kind of delirium and catalepsy.* Though it is a well known fact that habits of intoxication when persevered in have a great tendency to affect the nerves, the truth is most strikingly illustrated in cases of intoxication produced by gunja-smoking. I have compiled a statement (Appendix C), which I annex, from the latest reports on lunatic asylums, of attacks of insanity induced by indulgence in drugs and liquors, from which it will be seen that gunja-smoking has a more powerful tendency in bringing on the attacks of this disease. More than 55 per cent. of these cases is the result of gunja-smoking.

Hemp is used in another form in Persia and Arabia, which there is known by the name of haschisch. Very glowing descriptions are given of the effects of the drug in this form. When taken in small doses its effect is simply to produce a moderate exhilaration of spirits, or at most a tendency to unreasonable laughter. Again, taken in doses sufficient to induce the *fantasia*, it produces an intense feeling of happiness which attends all the operations of the mind. "The sun shines upon every thought that passes through the brain, and every movement of the body is a source of enjoyment." The same writer concludes with the following descriptions given from his personal experience:—"It is real happiness which is produced by the haschisch; and by this

* Pereira's *Materia Medica* quoted by Johnston.

I mean an enjoyment entirely moral and by no means sensual as might be supposed. For the haschisch-eater is happy not like the gourmand or the famished man when satisfying his appetite, or the voluptuary in the gratification of his amative desires, but like him who hears tidings which fills him with joy, or like the miser counting his treasures; the gambler who is successful at play, or the ambitious man who is intoxicated with success."

There is another use of the hemp plant for the purpose of intoxication which remains to be noticed. When the plant is unusually leafy the leaves do not adhere to the flowers on the stems, so as to become clotted, but remain detached; these leaves are gathered and dried, and sold as *sidhee*, *subjee*, or *bhāng*. As an intoxicating agency this drug is least in favor in Lower Bengal, but like *gunja* is a universal favorite amongst the up-country people and the Punjabees. With them it is more in demand than tobacco is in this country. It is used in two forms, one is in liquid state, and the other in shape of paste. In Bengal, in whatever of the two forms it is used, it is always spiced and sweetened.

Its intoxicating power is very mild if moderately indulged in, but when taken in excess, it quite upsets the man and produces sensation by no means agreeable; while under its influence the person feels as if he is resting on his head, and the most familiar objects seem as if they are inverted. Its after effects are to sharpen the appetite and induce an extraordinary voraciousness. It has also the effect of producing costiveness.

The name of *sidhee* will recall to the mind even of the most heterodox Bengallee many agreeable associations. It is considered a sacred beverage indispensable on the occasion of those social and family gatherings which take place on the last day of the *dusserah* festival, when a cup of the mixture is offered to friends and relatives as pledge of welcome and friendship.

Sidhee or *bhāng* takes the name of *majaun* under a different form which resembles the *haschisch* and *dawames* of the Arabs and Syrians. It is a confection of powdered spices, milk and sugar, mixed with almost an equal portion of *bhāng* formed into cakes, and the effect produced upon the system of the person under its influence differ very little from those of the other varieties of the drug—*churus* excepted, which may be always considered as the mildest form of the hemp. Whatever other people may say about the extatic effects while under its influence, the sensations may be described as being of an agreeable and cheerful character, exciting to laughter, dancing and singing, and to the commission

of various extravagancies. Hemp in one or other of the forms described is consumed, it is supposed, by at least 300 millions of the human race.

Of all the known intoxicating drugs which I have described and may describe hereafter, opium occupies an important place and deserves to have more than a passing notice. It is comparatively rare, more costly than most inebriating agencies; but this inconvenience is fully compensated by a very small quantity being sufficient for all purposes either of intoxication or medicinal use. It may be considered as the concentrated essence of the narcotic principle. In taste, though not so hot and acrid as the varieties of the hemp, it is indescribably bitter and nauseous. The following is a chemical analysis of the drug given by Müllder:—

Morphine	...	...	...	...	63
Narcotine	...	...	...	...	77
Codeine	...	...	...	...	07
Narceine	...	...	...	...	90
Meconine	...	...	...	...	06
Meconic acid	...	...	...	...	61
Fat	...	...	...	...	22
Caoutchouc	...	...	...	...	45
Resin	...	...	...	...	27
Gummy extractive	...	...	...	...	253
Gum	...	...	...	...	17
Mucilage	...	...	...	...	187
Water and loss	...	...	...	...	145
					100

Since the above analysis five other constituents have been discovered, which are, thebaine, opeanine, pseudo-morphine, porphyroxine and papaverine.* The analysis here presented is that of Turkish opium. It is the proportion of morphia existing in any variety of the drug which determines its value, and in this respect Indian opium is inferior to the Turkish, but in the markets where it is valued it has no competition.

It is no part of our purpose here to dwell at any length on the processes of manufacturing opium or sorting or packing it for the market. I will content myself with describing how it is used for intoxication and what are its effects.

As far as is known, its use is confined to three forms, solid pills, smoke or vapour, and the liquid form of laudanum.† The last is a

* Johnston's Chemistry of Common Life, Vol II, page 87.

† In the Punjab an infusion of the Virgin poppy-head called *post* is consumed for intoxication.

perfect stranger to our part of the country or any place in the Asiatic continent as far as it is known. We owe its introduction into this country to European physicians, and the use in this form is solely confined to medicinal purposes. It is in Europe only where laudanum is used as an intoxicating drink amongst those who have learned this mode of sensual indulgence. There is little to be said about the process of pilling, which is simple enough, being nearly little bullets of pure opium swallowed with a draught of water, the quantity ordinarily consumed at each dose being from two to five grains, two or three times a day, increased up to from 30 to 90 grains. There is much of skill and contrivance in the smoking process, which is worthy of notice.

Opium, when used for this purpose, is called chundoo and gooly. The first is the celebrated composition universally used in the Indo Chinese-territory, and in the places where any of the Malay race are known to reside. The chundoo of India is an imitation of the Chinese invention, but the credit of inventing gooly is wholly our own. It is a pure Bengallee invention, having, it is said, originated in Chandernagore, where it began first to be used. A description of the two contrivances may well repay perusal. First, of the chundoo. Chundoo is opium in its pure state, divested of such impurities as vegetable matter, resin, and oil with the extractive matter. The soft part of opium is scooped out of balls and thrown into an earthen dish; the operative always moistens and washes his hands in a vessel where the water is preserved. When the soft part is carefully abstracted the shells or husks are broken up and split, and thrown into the vessel containing the water. These husks are then boiled in large shallow iron pots just as long as is necessary to break down the husks and dissolve the opium. This boiled matter is strained through folds of China paper laid in a frame of basket work, and over the paper is placed a cloth. This strained fluid is mixed with the soft opium scooped out and boiled in another large iron vessel to the consistence of thickish treacle. The refuse from the straining of the boiled husks is again boiled in water filtered through paper, and the filtered fluid added to the mass first obtained. The dissolved opium, being reduced to the consistence of treacle, is seethed over a fire of charcoal of a strong and steady but not fierce temperature, during which time it is most carefully worked, then spread out, then worked up again and again by the workman so as to expel the water and at the same time avoid burning it. When it is brought to the proper consistence, it is divided into half a dozen lots, each of which is spread like a plaster on a

nearly flat iron pot to the depth of from half to three quarters of an inch, and then scored in all manner of directions to allow the heat to be applied equally to every part. One pot after another is then placed over the fire, turned rapidly round, then reversed, so as to expose the opium itself to the full heat of the red fire. This is repeated three times;—the length of time requisite and the proper heat are judged of by the workman from the effluvium and colour.* In the last operation the fired opium is dissolved in a large quantity of water and boiled in copper vessels till it is reduced to the consistence of chundoo used in the shops. The method adopted here is precisely the same, except, from the custom being limited, the same purity is not secured. In the chundoo shops of Calcutta the drug is smoked by the consumers in the shops themselves, where there are arrangements for such purpose. There are beds in the shops for the smokers, the quality of which varies according to the rate of fee, which ranges from 8 annas to 2 rupees,—a common mat being for the first, and a mattress and pillow on a charpoy are provided for the last or the highest class. It is said that beds become absolutely necessary from the fact that the smokers, immediately after indulgence, fall either flat on their faces or on their backs, in either of which postures there is a corresponding result which I refrain from mentioning. The votaries of chundoo, after inhaling the smoke to their fill, remain in a trance for hours together, after which they are roused, and the beds and their occupants then both require to be thoroughly washed and cleansed for the sake of decency. These shops are kept by Chinamen, and principally resorted to by the Chinese and Mahomedans and scarcely by any Bengallee. Gooly has none of these effects, neither is so much preparation required for its indulgence. Judging from its price, it must be a mixed drug composed of all sorts of impurities which are melted and made into pills. One important ingredient which give these pills their peculiar character and effect are chips of guava or betel leaves and sometimes of rose petals which are fried in a dry pan. For this purpose every shop is furnished with one or two portable forges and bellows. These chips when fried are called *jassoo*. The hooka of the smoker and its pipe in the peculiar phraseology of the votaries are called *tore* and *jore* respectively. The kulka in which the pills are dressed for burning, called *maroo*, is the stump of what is used for tobacco smoking, being merely the tubular part without the surmounting cup.

* Cooke's Popular History of the seven narcotics.

The fire for burning is made by igniting short sticks of the same materials with which *ticca* and *hooka* gools are made. These sticks are called *batty*. The tongs with which these sticks are ignited are called *futky lutky*, and the chums who meet together in the shops for the purpose of smoking address each other by the name of *iarro* or friend. I have omitted one fact in connection with the arrangements for gooly smoking. It is indispensable that the smoker, immediately after the indulgences, should have some edible by his side to improve his taste. For this purpose he always provides himself with a cup of sherbet or some bits of sugarcane or fruits. There are many with whom even this simple arrangement is an inconvenience. For them small bits of common cork are soaked in sherbet and they suck one or two of these corks at a time. One or two pice often suffice to purchase as much gooly as is necessary for one indulgence.

Not having had any opportunities of coming in contact with a habitual *chundoo* smoker, I can give no idea of its effects on those who indulge in it. But a gooly-smoker, as we daily see him, is an ugly beast, whatever his rank of life may be; for it must be borne in mind that the shops are resorted to as much by men better born and better bred as by those of the lowest grades of society. A gooly-smoker has a lean haggard appearance, with sunken eyes blackened all round, and a protuberant belly, while the bones of the whole frame seem staring you in the face. Generally, an opium-smoker may be distinguished by his black eyes, blackened lips, and a thick voice.

It is said that opium imparts energy to the man, makes him active and conversable. I cannot do better than quote some intelligent Europeans who have left on record their unbiassed opinions on the effects of this drug. Some of these, it may be remarked, were no lovers of the drug. Dr. Christison, the most impartial writer on this subject, and who always condemns this and other similar drugs, says that its common effect is to remove torpor and sluggishness and to make the opium-consumer in the eyes of his friends an active and conversable man. Another writer, who speaks from personal experience, comparing opium with wine, thus concludes his observations: "Wine robs a man of his self-possession, opium greatly invigorates it; wine unsettles and clouds the judgment and gives a preternatural brightness and a vivid exaltation to the contempts and admirations, the loves and hatred of the drinkers: opium, on the contrary, communicates serenity and equipoise to all the faculties, active or passive;

and with respect to the temper and moral feelings in general, it gives simply that sort of vital warmth which is approved by the judgment and which would probably always accompany a bodily constitution of primeval or antediluvian health. To sum up all in one word, a man who is inebriated or tending to inebriation is and feels that he is in a condition which calls up into supremacy the merely human—too often the brutal—part of his nature; but the opium-eater feels that the diviner part of nature is paramount, that is, the moral affections are in a state of cloudless serenity, and over all is the great majestic light of the intellect.” Dr. Eatwell—who was many years in this country, and who had an extensive knowledge of the history and action of opium, has thus recorded his opinion: “The question to be determined is not what are the effects of opium used in excess, but what are its effects on the moral and physical constitution of the mass of individuals who use it habitually and in moderation, either as a stimulant to maintain the frame under fatigue, or a restorative and sedative after labor, bodily or mental. Having passed three years in China, I can affirm thus far that the effects of the abuse of the drug do not very frequently come under observation, and that when cases do occur, the habit is frequently found to have been induced by the presence of painful chronic disease, to escape from the sufferings of which the patient has fled to this resource. That this is not always the case, however, I am perfectly ready to admit; and there are doubtless many who indulge in the habit to a pernicious extent, led by the same morbid influences which induce men to become drunkards in even the most civilized countries, but these do not at all events come before the public eye. As regards the effects of the habitual use of the drug on the mass of the people, I must affirm that no injurious results are visible. The people generally are a muscular and well framed race, the laboring portion being capable of great and prolonged exertion under a fierce sun in an unhealthy climate. Their disposition is cheerful and peaceable, and quarrels and brawls are rarely heard of even amongst the lower orders, whilst in general intelligence they rank deservedly high amongst orientals. I conclude, therefore, with observing that the proofs are still wanting to show that the moderate use of opium produces more pernicious effects upon the constitution than the moderate use of spirituous liquors, whilst at the same time it is certain that the consequences of the abuse of the former are less appalling in their effects upon their victims and less disastrous to society at large than the consequences of the

abuse of the latter. All seem to agree in maintaining that when taken in moderate doses, the result of the action of opium on the nerves are, that the mind is exhilarated, the ideas flow more quickly, and a pleasurable or comfortable condition of the whole system is experienced which it is difficult to describe." Again, opium is said to possess "a wonderful power of sustaining the strength which is not found in alcoholic drinks, and of enabling men to undergo fatigue and continued exertion under which they would otherwise inevitably sink."*

In the literary ranks of England there were two men who were for a considerable portion of their lives slaves to opium. I allude to Samuel Taylor Coleridge and De Quincey, both of whom have left remarkable memorials of their impressions of the effects of opium. The second was an ardent admirer of the drug as long as he was in the habit of using it, as his *Confessions* will bear testimony. He has thus described the effect of laudanum when he took it for the first time: "But I took it, and in an hour, oh heavens! what a revolution, what an upheaving from its lowest depths of the inner spirit; what an apocalypse of the world within me! That my pains had vanished was a trifle in my eyes. This negative effect was swallowed up in the immensity of those positive effects which had opened before me in the abyss of divine enjoyment thus suddenly revealed. Here was a panacea for all human woes; here was the secret of happiness about which philosophers had disputed for so many ages at once discovered. Happiness might now be bought for a penny and carried in the waistcoat pocket; portable ecstasies might be had corked up in a pint bottle, and peace of mind could be sent down in gallons by the mail coach." Both De Quincey and Coleridge had recourse to opium to dispel bodily pain. De Quincey felt himself in raptures; Coleridge was in gloom and despondence while under the influence of the habit. The latter has thus painted his misery: "Conceive a poor miserable wretch who for many years has been attempting to beat off pain by a constant recurrence to a vice that reproduces it; conceive a spirit in hell employed in tracing out for others the road to that heaven from which his crimes exclude him; in short, conceive whatever is most wretched, helpless and hopeless, and you will form as tolerable a notion of my condition as it is possible for a good man to have."

Whatever might be said in praise by the admirer of the drug, whatever effect it may have on the Chinese and others of the Malayan

* Pereira's *Materia Medica* quoted by Johnston.

race, our experience in this part of the world does not give any favorable impression of its salutary effects. We leave entirely out of view the cases of men who have recourse to it to mitigate physical suffering, but those who indulge in it for the sake of pleasure and excitement often present miserable wrecks of humanity. There is much of truth and practical knowledge in the following picture of an opium-eater: "A total attenuation of body, a withered yellow countenance, a lame gait, a bending of the spine frequently to such a degree as to assume a circular form, and glossy deep sunken eyes betray the opium-eater at the first glance. The digestive organs are in the highest degree disturbed; the sufferer eats scarcely anything and has hardly one evacuation in a week. His mental and bodily powers are destroyed, he is impotent." It is for the property of constipating the bowels that opium is largely resorted to in this country in cases of chronic bowel complaints. I know of other diseases too in which it is used to mitigate suffering; as for the energy and liveliness which it is said to impart to the consumer, cases are neither so numerous nor frequent as to associate the drug with these virtues. I know only of one exceptional case in which these virtues remarkably exhibited themselves. There was a clerk, in a flourishing mercantile firm of this city, now extinct, who was a hardy opium-eater, and this was known to his employers. He was often made to taste opium, for his opinion on the quality of the drug was found to be correct, and as an indulgence the man had a daily allowance, which he took during office hours. As long as he had it not he was found to be sluggish and drowsy, perpetually yawning over his work; almost immediately after swallowing his usual modicum, he would be found a changed man altogether. He would resume his seat and work immediately from 12 to nearly an hour after candle-light, and then he did the work of nearly four men. He was as quick as he was accurate.

It is a common mistake that opium induces sleep. It brings on a state of half-waking and half-dreaming drowsiness; an opium-eater scarcely knows what is sound sleep. That state of listless insensibility which opium produces should not be confounded with sleep. I know of an opium-eater who, on one occasion, while dozing in a couch at candle-light, called for the servant to replenish his *chillum* with tobacco; for this purpose he held out his hand. The *chillum* was replenished, but the outstretched hand with the hooka in the grasp remained stiff and motionless; the man dozed away, the night wore out. It was nearly an hour after day-light he seemed to rouse himself; he reiterated the order

for tobacco, not being conscious that the order of the evening had been obeyed, and that since a whole night has passed away.

It is a remarkable and a peculiar characteristic of the opium-eaters of this country that they are inordinately fond of tobacco. You cannot give them tobacco too often. We can note the minutes of their respite from tobacco, but shall be perplexed to give an account of their consumption. Except that it is an aid to the effects of opium, we cannot account by any other way for this inscrutable relationship. We know not of any similar longing amongst the class in any other country.*

The habit of indulging in opium, when once ripened, cannot be shaken off. It has such a hold of its victim that it makes a slave of him. It is not every man who can be a De Quincey and Coleridge; the way in which they achieved their emancipation only proves how difficult it is for ordinary men to break the fetters. The following extract from the confessions of a living opium-smoker will be read with interest—"If the usual time of smoking should be put off through any excuse or difficulty, terrible spasms of the muscular system come on, so much so, that I was once lying on a couch which was shorter than my length of body, and something had delayed my morning smoke, when a spasm came on and very nearly dislocated my jaw; another caused my feet to stretch out full against the side of the couch which was broken by the stretch."

Laying aside the question of wholly shaking off the habit, the opium-eater feels as if he is under the pangs of death if deprived of the supply at the appointed hour of indulgence. Opium, it is supposed, is consumed by nearly four hundred billions of the human race.

I have enumerated the most important and extensively used intoxicating drugs; the few that remain are of little note, and may be simply indicated by their names for the curious. The first in this list is tarry or toddy; it is the juice of the fan palm (*borassus*) obtained like date juice by tapping the neck of the tree where the palms hang; when drunk fresh from the tree at day-break or candle-light it is quite innocuous. If taken in excess, it, in some measure, produces intoxication. Even in this state it can never do harm.

* Milk, it is well known, is considered as an indispensable adjunct to an opium-eater's diet. He sustains himself only by frequent potations of this beverage; and his health and vigor will be in proportion to the consumption.

It is a cool and refreshing drink, often recommended for its diuretic properties to those laboring under urinary diseases. Its effects are somewhat violent when fermented by solar heat. Then it froths and foams, being sour and turbid. In weak stomachs it causes flatulency and purging.

The following is a chemical analysis I made of tarry (toddy) ten hours after its being taken down from the tree, and kept exposed to the sun, from which it will be seen that its constituents very much resemble those of beer.

Percentage of constituents in toddy.

Absolute alcohol by volume	...	...	3.63
Total acidity	...	...	.40
Volatile acid	...	...	.18
Fixed acid	...	...	.22
Solid residue at 230° F.	...	...	2.76
Ash chiefly consists of alkaline chlorides and phosphates and traces of carbonates and sulphates			
	...	...	.17
Specific gravity at 60° F.	...	...	1.007

Adopting mean numbers, about 21 ounces of toddy will contain—

Alcohol	...	...	...	...	363 grains.
Extractives	...	...	...	...	276 "
Free acid	...	...	...	...	40 "
Salts	...	...	...	...	17 "

We have next khatta. This drug is a composition of sidhee, lemon-juice, salt and spices. It is not in common use, being prepared for special use according to the taste of the consumer. Dhotoora or thorn apple, though a strong stimulant, is seldom used for intoxication in the lower country; it is more dreaded for its poisonous than for its inebriating power. Its use in India is confined to the hilly regions of the Himalaya, but it is very extensively used by the savage tribes of America.

Drugs similar to those I have described obtain in some of the European and Northern Asiatic countries. I have no room for any lengthened description of them. I can but barely enumerate some of them. They are the Siberian fungus, foxglove, henbane, belladonna, cocculus indicus, and nightshade.

I have, in the preceding pages, confined my attention to drugs which are more or less intoxicating, and which are, for the most part, used in such a manner as least to contribute to the growth and nutrition of the physical system. There is little in the substances themselves which can serve either of the two purposes, and the manner of using them is opposed to the utilization

of the vital elements contained in them. I will now dwell on the intoxicating beverages embracing all spirits and wines. These, unlike the drugs before treated of, are composed of ingredients each of which demands special attention, and the effects produced by them, both by the manner of using them and their chemical constituents, present many curious and interesting facts.

It has now become a fashion to condemn wholesale the use of these beverages in any form ; but I will run the risk of incurring some odium in steering clear of these partisan opinions, and present an impartial view of both sides of the question. I must however, admit, before proceeding further, that there cannot be any dissentient opinion as to the evils of the abuse of a beverage which otherwise is calculated to contribute to the happiness of mankind. I know of no other cause which has done more to heap upon society misery, distress, and incalculable physical suffering as intemperance, and yet, when used with moderation, wine has been known to be a fruitful source of the most innocent, social, and domestic pleasures. It is also a great help to the medical practitioner in sustaining the sinking pulse as much as in restoring vigour to the fainting sick and worn-out convalescent ; while to the care-worn jaded man of business, its efficacy as a restorative and sedative cannot be denied.

If all those who have spoken their views on the use and abuse of alcoholic and fermented drinks had spoken as sensibly and temperately as in the extract from an address which I give below, they would have succeeded more in obtaining a respectful hearing and making a corresponding impression on those for whose benefit their instructions were intended than those rhapsodists who indulge in meaningless rant and bring ridicule upon themselves. The address I have alluded to is that of Dr. Lankester, delivered before the Congress of the British Social Science Association of 1864, and its conclusion runs as follows :—

“The extent to which substances may be taken with impunity that address the nervous system is a question that is occupying the attention of some of our most distinguished physiologists, and whilst at the present time science cannot be said to have pronounced on the question, there is no doubt of the fact that one of the most terrible scourges of the human race is the tendency to indulge to excess in drinking alcoholic beverages. The vices of tobacco smoking, chewing and snuffing, with opium and hemp eating, exert but little evil as compared with the

terrible vice of drunkenness. There are many here who will feel that the interdiction of these beverages is not the sound conclusion of social science. But all must acknowledge in a scientific point of view the value of the large body of facts which have been presented to us by total abstainers from alcohol, who have thus demonstrated that the consumption of these fermented liquors is not necessary for the maintenance of health or strength." With this may be contrasted the remarks of another writer with no more experience of the subject than what a general and intelligent thinker may be expected to have. "The most recent enquiries," says he, "into the action of alcohol upon the human body confirm the teachings of experience and observation which may be summed up in one brief sentence. That *vis nature* derives no real aid from the *vis vini spiritus*; that all the miserable effects of alcohol tend to diminish vital energy and to shorten life; and that no one has anything to fear, but something to hope for in reference to health and longevity, by dissolving all fellowship between himself and the bottle."* We stand least in want of such monitors to warn us of the effects of alcoholic indulgences. What is wanted is a scientific research into the effects of the drink, and the limits of its indulgence. That when long and habitually indulged in it lessens appetite, causes enlargement of the liver; its action in cases of immoderate indulgence is also to alter the molecular constitution of the lungs by inducing chronic bronchitis and lobular emphysema; it also in most cases is the cause of that terrible malady which we are familiar with under the name of *delirium tremens*, and also of that which the profession designate by the name of chronic alcoholic intoxication, the common effects of which are loss of appetite, impaired digestion, and inability to sleep, giddiness, and headache, and mental hallucinations approaching to unsoundness of the intellect; premature old age, or the appearance of it is also one of the common effects of habitual indulgence. But all these, it must be borne in mind, are the effects of habitual vicious indulgence.

Wine, beer, and spirits, and any drink which contain more or less of alcohol impartially considered may be taken as a food, a medicine, a luxury, and a poison. But every one of these views of the beverages must be supposed to be variously modified according to the difference of age, sex, climate, and constitution and occupation. As an article of food, though not susceptible of digestion in the same way as other alimentary substances, it serves the

* Transactions of the British Social Science Association for 1864.

purpose which many varieties of food known as heat-giving are intended to do, and therefore those addicted to moderate doses of alcohol in any one of the various forms in use, do not require much sugar, starch, and fat in the food which they consume. But this use of the beverage loses much of its urgency in climates where the want of heat-giving food is not felt. But there is another view of the question which deserves consideration. Alcohol, whether existing in beer or wines, is not, as I have said before, digested, and therefore transformed into an essential constituent of the blood. Hence it does not supply waste and effect restitution, which are the chief uses of food, but still it passes into the blood. It thereby *prevents* waste and indirectly serves the purposes of food by economising little food that may be taken. "By the oxygen we inhale, it is burnt in the blood into oxalic acid and water, and finally into water and carbonic acid. But the oxygen which decomposes the alcohol, is withdrawn from the albuminous and fatty substances of the blood. Alcohol from its greater combustibility protects these constituents of the blood from being burnt, and if in addition to this, both special experiment and ordinary experience prove that alcoholic beverages diminish the quantity of carbonic acid we inhale, apparently from a great part of the inhaled oxygen combining with the hydrogen of the alcohol into water, there is a two-fold argument for believing that alcohol moderates the combustion of the constituent of the blood, and therefore diminishes the first cause of the need of restitution."* It thus compensates for the scanty food of the poor, who with a frugal and may be insufficient meal are enabled to retain as much in the blood and tissues as an abstainer who has his full diet.

The instinct which drives a working man to have recourse to spirits is not, unless under exceptional circumstances, the result of a morbid craving after vicious indulgence as the impulse of an inexorable law which leads him to supply that which he has not the means to procure. "He must work, but in consequence of insufficient food, a certain portion of his working power is daily wanting. Spirits by their action on the nerves enable him to make up the deficient power."† We thus account for the fact why almost all the lowest orders of our working classes in this country who live by the meanest occupations and earn generally a scanty living are reckless and habitual drunkards. I have called wine, beer, and spirits as indirect and negative food from the absence

* Dr. Scoffern on the Chemistry of Food.

† Leibig.

of proper nutritive elements in their composition, but beer, however, does not properly fall under this category. There are some constituents in beer which possess properties of some of the best elements of nutritious food; in a measure of 20 ounces of beer there are in mean numbers—

Alcohol	...	..	...	...	1	ounce.
Extractive, dextrine sugar	...		...	...	1.2	"
Salts	...	...	...	...	13	grains.
Free acids	...	...	...	...	.25	"

Thus the important ingredients in beer are four, *viz.*, the extractive matter and sugar, the bitter matters, the free acids and the alcohol. The first play the same part in the system as starch and sugar, appropriating the oxygen and saving fat and albuminates from destruction.* Hence when large potation of this beverage is indulged in without corresponding exercise it induces a plethoric state of the body.

I have alluded to the beverages under notice being considered as medicines. They are as much so to the healthy as to the infirm and aged. Generally they are great restoratives in recruiting the wearied and enfeebled powers of the mind and body when both have been exhausted by fatigue. But they have also their special medicinal virtues. To the convalescent after lingering diseases, mild doses of beer have been found to be valuable restoratives. Brandy may be resorted to as a domestic remedy to relieve spasmodic pains of flatulency, to check vomiting, and to give temporary relief in some cases of indigestion, attended with pain after taking food. Even rum is preferred as a sedative in cases of slight colds, long standing coughs, and rheumatism.† Wines and alcoholic drinks act most beneficently in the aged and infirm in arresting too rapid changes of the tissues, and giving them increased vigor and strength. They are also prescribed in those diseases which are attended with depression of the feelings and diminished activity of the mental powers.

When I now speak of the use of intoxicating beverages as a luxury, I must guard against misapprehension as not implying sensuous pleasure and gratification. For such a purpose the indulgence must verge into dissipation. I mean that they may be used as ministers of refined domestic enjoyments and convivial pleasures. I cannot imagine any invention of art which adds

* Parkes' Practical Hygiene.

† Pereira on Food and Diet.

so much to the zest of social gatherings and refined enjoyment of friendly company as these beverages. Moreover, it is not desirable for a protracted healthy action of the intellectual faculties that the mind should during its waking hours be perpetually strung up to a pitch of thoughtful and care-ridden mood. It must have its moments of relaxation and ease when care disappears and ideas flow more easily and pleasantly.

To conclude, "wines," as has been remarked, "when used in moderate quantities, as to the extent of two or three glasses daily, prove a very grateful, and, to those who have been accustomed to it, an almost indispensable stimulant. They quicken the action of the heart and blood vessels, diffuse an agreeable warmth through the system, promote the different secretions, augment the muscular force and activity, excite the mental powers, and banish unpleasant ideas and reflections."* The notion that daily use of wines in moderate doses shortens life is imaginary, for proofs have not yet been collected to give to the conclusion the cogency of fact.

I have said that spirits and wines may be viewed in the light of poison, so they may, and the most baneful of all poisons when abused. I need not dwell here on the common-place facts relating to the evils which have afflicted society from over-indulgence in spirituous beverages. "Otherwise they are no more poisons than the common salt and the oxalic acid of our food. In common with many medicines they are poisons taken in over-doses; they kill as quickly as strychnia or arsenic; they may act as slow poisons by oft-repeated doses, but this is no argument against their use."†

Wines and spirituous drinks, therefore, unless abused, are not such unmitigated evils as they have been often represented by mere declaimers, and to use the words of an eminent chemist:—"I believe alcoholic drinks taken within limits of temperance to be a good and rational means of developing the mental and bodily powers of man. I cannot join in the gratulations of those who now so enthusiastically enjoy the blessings of total abstinence. I have seen something of the operation of this enthusiasm not only in England, but in Ireland, more especially in the native city of the originator of the movement; and even taking the low ground of argument that a pledged abstainer is a drunkard saved, I find it impossible to accede to that proposition in all its universality. According to my experience a

* Pereira on Food and Diet,

† Dr. Lankester on Food.

pledged abstainer is too frequently a man who drinks in secret, thus adding hypocrisy to the other sin."* And to this I have to add that the truth is universal, that what holds good in Europe, holds as well or more in India.

But to be fair to all parties, as well as persistent in my resolution of impartial dealing, I must reproduce two important documents in favor of total abstinence; one signed by men of the highest celebrity in the Department of Medicine and Chemistry, such as Sir Benjamin Brodie, Dr. W. F. Chalmers, Sir J. Clark, Mr. Bransby Cooper, Mr. Benjamin Travers, Dr. Marshall Hall, Dr. Herbert Myo, Dr. Hope, Sir James Eyre, Dr. Roupell, Dr. A. Thomson, and Sir Alexander Ure, which runs as follows:—

"An opinion handed down from rude and ignorant times, and imbibed by Englishmen from their youth, has become very general that habitual use of some portion of alcoholic drinks, as of wine, beer, or spirits, is beneficial to health and even necessary to those subjected to habitual labor. Anatomy, physiology, and the experience of ages and countries, when properly examined, must satisfy every mind well informed in medical science that the above opinion is altogether erroneous."

The second certificate, circulated under the auspices of Sir John Forbes, Dr. W. B. Carpenter, and Dr. W. A. Gay, and signed by a large proportion of the most eminent members of the faculty in Great Britain and Ireland, declared:—

"That a very large proportion of human misery, including poverty, disease, and crime, is induced by the use of alcoholic and fermented liquors as beverages; that the most perfect health is compatible with total abstinence from them, and that total abstinence would greatly contribute to the health, prosperity, morality, and happiness of the human race.†"

I will now add a few facts relative to the adulterations of wines and spirits. These adulterations make them, even when most sparingly used, most noxious poisons. Spirits in general do not admit of so much tampering as wine and beer. But there is a way by which they may be made to act most injuriously on the system. When spirits are the products of vinous fermentation they combine more readily with the other ingredients of

* Dr. Scoffern on the Chemistry of Food.

† Revd. Dawson Burns' Paper on Vital Statistics in relation to the use of intoxicating Liquors, read before the British Social Science Association.

liquors, and therefore prove less injurious. It is the existence of uncombined spirits mixed up with fermented liquors in bottles or casks to add to their strength, or to make up for deficient quality, which quickly inebriates, and induces in time, if long indulged in, complicated derangements in the chest, liver and lungs. This adulteration may often be detected by an ordinary drinker by taste and smell. The most common adulteration of brandy is rum. We may make one important use of the fact that spirits mixed with the alcohol of vinous fermentation do not readily combine in the use we make of brandy. Those who drink this liquor for health should remember that immediate dilution at the moment of consumption will not weaken it. Even water will not easily combine with spirit unless the mixture be made sufficiently long before potation, and the minimum time supposed to be necessary for combination is twelve hours.*

In justice to the trade of this city, I must add that they have never been known to adulterate brandy or other spirits. All adulterations on this head originate with the exporters. If they ever tamper with them it is by mixtures which do no more harm than withhold from the buyers their money's worth of alcohol. I had occasion once to test the quality of about a dozen variety of brandies, in all which the adulteration I found was water. To the lovers of cheap brandy I would warn that, if expensive liquors be inconvenient, they should for their personal safety confine themselves to the use of rum or some country arrack. Brandy at Rs. 10 a dozen is a composition of some of the most insidious poisons. The ingredients which usually enter into the composition of this so-called brandy, are wood-naptha mixed with spirit of wine, disguised with sugar, ginger and fenugreek. The adulteration of beer, like that of brandy, when it is made, also takes place in the brewery, for the simple reason that it repels foreign mixtures when finished and stored in casks and bottles. The most common ingredients employed for this purpose are first, *coccus indicus*, a poisonous fruit which imparts strength and inebriating quality to the mixture; quassia, to do the service of hops and communicate a bitter taste; grains of paradise and cayenne pepper to give pungency; coriander, caraway, and similar other spices to give flavor; liquorice, treacle and honey to give color and consistence.† But it is the wines which admit of large foreign admixtures with which great liber-

* Pereira on Food and Diet.

† Edinburgh Review, No. 257.

ties are taken. Port, sherry, and champagne even in England do not always mean what their names often import. The most astounding fact in these adulterations is, that they are sometimes not mixtures, but quite new fabrications without a drop of grape juice in them, and these fabrications take place as much in England as in the places of their growth. The common ingredient of adulteration in port and sherry, which is mixed in the countries where they are grown before exportation to England, is spirit, and this is done to suit it to the English taste for a strong sweet wine. The spirit used for this purpose is not always the product of any vinous fermentation, but corn and potato-spirit, and sometimes beet-root spirit. There are other ingredients also which enter into the composition, such as treacle and elder berries. The following anecdote relative to the manufacture of port wine will tell its own tale :—

“ A friend of mine, says the writer, who was staying in Reading, where the militia were exercising, had occasion to go into a back yard of one of the hotels, where he saw an old crone stirring a black mixture in a huge caldron, which looked like a compound of blacking, blackberries and sloes plucked from the neighbouring hedges. What are you brewing there, my good woman ? said my friend. The old witch, stirring up the compound with a thick stick, replied, naively enough, port wine for the Berkshire Militia.”

Similar adulterations take place in sherries, of which the following are some illustrations. First, for cold brown sherry, 20 or 30 gallons of unfermented juice are put into an earthen vessel and heated until not more than a fifth part remains, when it looks and tastes like treacle ; this is turned into a cask, containing more must which causes it to ferment, and the result is a very full luscious wine. But this is an innocent draught compared with what follow, of which three receipts are given below.

1st.—Forty-five gallons of cider, 6 of brandy, 8 of port wine, 2 gallons of sloe pressed in, 10 gallons of the liquor pressed off. If the color is not good, tincture of red sanders or cud bear is directed to be added. This bottled is sold as port.

2nd.—Spanish wine 1,529 gallons, of Fayal wine 544 gallons, of French wine 4,472 gallons, of Cape wines 689 gallons, of Portugal wine only 117 gallons, with 154 gallons of brandy, the result obtained being 7,525 gallons, minus 8 gallons loss, and the grand

result is 7,533 gallons of port wine thus manufactured ; and all this, it is added, was for exportation.

If this were all there would have been some consolation ; but we are treated with the refuse of what other people have disgorged and that at our expense. " All the refuse wine, red or white, old samples, heeltups of bottles, half tasted glasses, are thrown down and passed away into the collecting barrel, just as the cook throws any kind of meal and soup liquor into his stock pot, and with the addition of a little spirit and coloring matter it comes out very good eighteen shilling port.* Our Radha Bazar dealers, treading in the footsteps of their big prototypes in Europe, have learnt a bit of the art, and can turn out sherry of their own making. Here is their receipt—

Juice of pine-apple peel, fatty matter of rotten plantain of the *champa* species, treacle, rum and coloring matter. They will sell this at any price from Rs. 5 to 18 a dozen according to the experience of the buyer, but they will never refuse custom.†

It is my firm conviction that intoxication has a remarkable tendency to add to the number of our criminal population. Many of the most hideous crimes which the perpetrators would have never dreamed of in their sober moments are committed under the influence of liquor. This is capable of satisfactory demonstration, but I regret that the plan in which criminal statistics are now furnished does not admit of this information being given.

To give some idea of the progress of intemperance I annex two tabular statements showing the number of shops in existence for the sale of drugs and liquors in Calcutta and its suburbs, as also of the amount of excise revenue realized from this source in the Lower Provinces.

* See *Edinburgh Review*, No 257, for July 1867—Article—"Wine, and the Wine Trade."

† Here is another general receipt for making sherry, port, and ginger wines. They are all mixtures of hen eggs, sugar, and ginger with rum, together with coloring matter made from burnt sugar and sapan wood according to demand. These sell at 12 annas and 1 rupee a bottle. Some liquors are also similarly manufactured. Anis is a mixture of aniseed, jack fruits and plantains with rum make khatulia. Vendors also use gunja, sidhee, chilly, and bakoor pills which contain datura to strengthen the drinks.

A.

Statement showing the Excise Revenue of the Lower Provinces in the year 1865-66.

					Rs.
Revenue from license fees on account of imported wines and spirituous and fermented liquors ...					58,751
"	tarry	...	...	...	5,68,705
"	puchwai	...	...	...	1,27,576
"	churru	...	...	...	5,492
"	sidhee, subjee and bhang	...	...	...	6,834
"	Majun	...	...	...	2,650
"	Muddut	...	...	...	72,813
"	Chundoo	...	...	...	8,881
"	Gunja...	...	...	...	7,65,626
"	Abkarry opium	...	...	...	19,15,951
"	Rum or spirits manufactured in India in the English method	...	...	...	6,22,257
"	Country spirits...	...	...	...	14,43,903
TOTAL					49,39,439

NOTE.—Imported wines, it should be remembered, pay a separate import duty not included in this Table.

B.

Statement showing the number of Shops in Calcutta and its Suburbs for the sale of Liquors and intoxicating Drugs.

					Calcutta.	Suburbs.
Shop for retail sale of rum and imported liquors...					99	88
For imported wines only ...					23	8
"	gunja	...	...	...	14	29
"	Opium	...	...	...	32	29
"	Chundoo	...	...	...	14	2
"	Churus	...	...	...	13	11
"	Sidhee	...	...	...	2	8
"	Muddut	...	...	...	26	14
"	Toddy	...	...	...	6	61
"	Majun	...	...	...	4	2
Hotels ...					27	7
Punch-houses ...					4	0

C.
Statement showing cases of insanity produced by habits of intemperance.

YEAR.	DULLCORA.*				MOYDAPOR.				DACCA.				CUTTACK.*				PATNA.*				REMARKS.
	Admitted.	Gunja.	Opium.	Liquor.	Admitted.	Gunja.	Opium.	Liquor.	Admitted.	Gunja.	Opium.	Liquor.	Admitted.	Gunja.	Opium.	Liquor.	Admitted.	Gunja.	Opium.	Liquor.	
1863 ...	229	46	1	3	62	27	0	0	322	164	8	4	0	0	0	0	157	59	6	23	The number shown in the admitted column of 1863 was the number remaining in hospital in that year, which was the first of report.
1864 ...	127	47	0	2	32	3	0	0	121	53	0	2	80	12	0	0	70	32	1	19	
1865 ...	177	66	1	1	41	12	0	0	114	61	5	2	80	12	2	0	76	27	0	17	
1866 ...	166	95	1	2	34	12	0	0	68	5	0	2	25	9	1	0	59	34	3	6	* There was one case of dhootura intoxication.
1867 ...	180	47	2	17	0	0	0	0	67	23	1	6	21	7	1	0	75	26	0	19	

ECONOMY AND TRADE.

1.—*Social and Industrial Economy in India.* By JAMES

WILSON, Esq.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

Under all conditions of life man is an acquisitive being. Though the objects of his desire may differ according to his position, the tendency to acquire and accumulate is almost universal. The savage may covet as eagerly a link of glass beads as a courtier may desire the more costly diamond, yet the motive in both cases be the same, though less intelligently guided in one case than the other. The manifestations of this desire of possession may be greatly varied, while the principle is much the same in all cases. And though this principle is said to be the root of all evil, such a denunciation must be greatly modified when we consider that it is the basis of progressive civilisation, and consequently the root of much good as well as of evil. It is only when the desire of possession becomes morbid that it is immoral. In such cases, wealth is often sought as a means of gratifying other desires than the mere possession of property. It is followed as a secondary object in itself, though as a means of attaining other objects perhaps in themselves immoral. If the only aim of man's existence were the bare supply of the necessaries of life, he would never arrive at a stage of civilisation beyond that of the merest savage. But to counteract this principle of stagnation in a low existence, the desire of possession seems to have been implanted in man to urge him on to the employment of other and higher faculties with which he has been endowed. Society only becomes possible, as we understand it, by distinctions which arise mainly from the possession of property. And though it would be interesting to pursue this subject fully, I propose confining myself to such a view of the question as may more immediately affect the condition of the humbler grades of society, who are and must be the great mass of the people in all countries.

Whatever order of civilisation may obtain in any country, the mass of the people must necessarily be dependent upon their labour for their sustenance. But we can never expect them to labour like cattle for food alone. The workers of all classes in all countries try to save a little for a rainy day, and I wish to

consider briefly what is done or may be done in this country in the matter of social economy amongst the industrial orders, so far as relates to the possession and employment of the savings from their wages.

In considering this question, we naturally look for such means of saving and investment as we are accustomed to find in our own land. These are of various kinds, as Savings Banks, Friendly Societies, Money Clubs, Freehold Land Societies, Building Associations. We look in vain for these institutions in India, though it would be erroneous to conclude, therefore, that there are no savings in India, and no accumulations amongst the people. They save here as elsewhere, though they have never attained to such a position as to establish and carry on such institutions as those just named. It will be noticed that nearly all of these are of a reproductive character, and perfectly safe as investments for the savings of the people. Taking the first-named, they are supported largely by the class of people employed as domestic servants, who save yearly something out of their wages to set themselves up in business, or to begin house-keeping when they are in a position to enter upon such responsibilities. Savings Banks are also largely used by married people who contrive to place a little store there as provision for sickness or old age, or as a fund for their children. Depositors in these banks receive interest for their money, which is invested in Government Securities. Friendly Societies differ from these in their objects. They are not for saving money, but for mutual assistance to the members and their families in cases of sickness or death. Money Clubs differ from both these. The Savings Banks receive irregular sums at any period. Money Clubs only receive fixed sums at stated periods, and are terminable after so many payments. The money is lent out at greater interest than is obtained from the Savings Banks, though there is greater risk attending this mode of investment, unless great care is exercised in the management. It is only right, however, to state that these clubs are in the hands of the lower middle class rather than amongst the working-people as that term is ordinarily understood. Freehold Land Societies have become of late years a favourite mode of investment amongst working men. The movement was a political one in its origin, though it has had a social influence well worthy of special consideration. The principle is for a number of men to club together and buy a piece of land at wholesale price, which they allot in small plots among themselves, and pay for by periodical instalments, the land always remaining as security until the purchase money is paid. Akin to these are

the Building Societies, which are another favourite mode of investment for the higher order of working men, and the lower middle classes of society. These associations will lend out money to men who wish to build. A plot of land is some security, and a loan may be granted on that, to be increased as a building progresses, until the house is complete. The owner, instead of paying rent to a landlord, makes certain payments to the Building Association in gradual liquidation of the loan, and in a few years he becomes the owner of a house built on his own land, in a position of comparative independence.

These are all in their way admirable institutions. They raise up a class of independent men who are a credit to any country, and whom it would be well to increase. They are a class of men who are rarely criminal, never paupers, and whose position is the best possible proof of their loyalty as subjects and their intelligence and usefulness as citizens. I am led to enquire what there is in India corresponding with these. The answer, it is to be feared, would show little indeed. It may be that we Englishmen are not sufficiently acquainted with the social economies of Hindoo life to know what is doing. If so, it is to be hoped that this inquiry may elicit information. Should it be otherwise, as we suspect it is, there are some facts which the well-wishers of their country will do well to lay to heart.

There is a Savings Bank in India; but whether it receives the support that might be anticipated, remains to be shown. There may be Friendly Societies, though we have inquired in vain for them. The Money Club does not exist, and has but a poor substitute in the usurer and extortionate mahajun, who grind rather than assist the poor, and extrication from whose toils is all but impossible. The free-hold land movement has not yet reached India, although the possession of land is one of the objects most dearly cherished by the Hindus. The Building Club has yet found no place; and these economic projects have taken no root amongst a people remarkable for the economy of their social life.

If we search for a cause of such a state of things, it will not be difficult to find. The institutions we have named are essentially the offspring of freedom—a freedom based on just laws, that beget confidence, that render co-operation possible, and property secure. Such a state of things never yet existed in India. The reverse has been the case for centuries previous to the advent of the British Government. In former times the Government has been one of violence and spoliation. The weak were oppressed

and robbed by the strong, and to possess property was to invite attack and ensure plunder. Hence safety was sought in apparent poverty; and the property which it is natural for man to accumulate was hidden in the earth. It was never safe to give it a form of existence visible to the outer world. Money was buried, or invested in jewels, which would put wealth into small compass more favourable to concealment. Thus habits of caution and secretiveness grew upon the people, and a hundred years of security have failed to remove these habits, or to give that confidence which would render possible those institutions that have grown under the security and the freedom of England.

I am not in possession of the latest statistics of the various institutions to which I have referred, but it may afford some ground of comparison between the two countries to take the Savings Banks which exist in both. Of course the institution is much more recent in India than in England, and has not so far won the confidence of the people as in the latter country; and, moreover, the facilities in India for depositing savings are not nearly so great as in England. In England Savings Banks are an old institution, and bear no character of experiment or speculation, as they may appear to have, to the people of this country. I am not aware what is the total sum deposited in these banks. But a few years ago, in consequence of mismanagement in some few of them, and to increase facilities to depositors, as well as to give confidence in the institutions by placing them in more immediate contact with Government, Mr. Gladstone established the Post Office Savings Banks. These were not to supersede the old institutions, but to give the public the choice of a Government bank or a private one, and by the extensive ramification of the Postal service to place a safe means of deposit within the reach of parties in districts remote from regular banks. The success of the experiment has exceeded expectation, and the amount deposited in these Post Office Savings Banks at the date of the last return is about £37,600,000 sterling. This is in addition to the sums remaining in the old banks, many of the depositors in which still keep their savings there. Mr. Gladstone's project doubtless broke new ground, and there are probably not less than 50 or 60 millions thus placed at interest by the lower classes of the English people. This would give from 2 to 3 pounds sterling per head of the population. Of course the actual depositors are much less numerous. In the Post Office Savings Banks the average amount is £37 to each depositor in England; in Scotland the average is £18-5-0 per head; and in Ireland only £6-5-0. The Scotch are always considered

a thrifty people, and though their average deposits are below those of England, it may be accounted for by the greater facilities for depositing small sums afforded by the regular banks of Scotland. In Ireland there are many causes for the low average, not the least being, that of the thrifty classes who are the chief depositors in Savings Banks, many have emigrated to other lands.

It may be useful to give corresponding statistics of the Savings Bank in Bengal. The total amount deposited is Rs. 14,70,415 by 9,112 depositors, which gives an average of Rs. 161-5 to each depositor, or, reckoning the population of Bengal at forty millions, a fraction over 7 pies per head. But, as I wish to show how little the people of this country avail themselves of the Savings Bank, it will be needful to analyse the depositors, and we find that of the 9,000 depositors, 4,000 of them are Europeans, mostly in towns; while the other 5,000 consist of natives, 3,900 being town, and 1,200 mofussil depositors. Of the amount thus placed, 8½ lakhs belong to Europeans and 6½ lakhs to natives. This will give an average of Rs. 206 to the former; and to the latter, of Rs. 126. Or, if we take this last sum as representing the population of India, it is a fraction over 3 pies per head.

The above statistics would show that the mofussil is either practically excluded from the advantages of the bank, or that there is not the same confidence in these monetary institutions which city residence engenders. Taking the fact with which we started, that there is a tendency to accumulate, we desire to know how these accumulations are made, and to inquire whether they are invested profitably or otherwise. So far as I have been enabled to gather, many of those who are in a position to save, do so, and render their savings reproductive by dealing in grain, under the system of *bārkhí*; that is, they supply grain to poor cultivators or others, the condition being that the quantity lent shall be returned at harvest time with one-fourth in addition. This may be profitable economy to the lender, but it is a perpetual impoverishment of the producer.

Another source of investment is to lend the money at exorbitant rates of interest, which is in effect much the same as the *bārkhí* system, and must tend to the impoverishment or degradation of the borrower. It may be deemed wrong that exorbitant rates should be paid for loans, but it must be so according to the principle enunciated by the late Duke of Wellington, that high rates of interest mean bad security.

One method of investment—and it is a favourite one almost amounting to a passion with the Hindu—is to invest his money in

land, either in the absolute purchase of it, or in renting additional paddy fields, and the purchase of bullocks and implements of husbandry. This is a legitimate use of savings, and ought to produce a substantial class of yeomanry or farmers that the country so much requires.

A further use—if I may call it a use—of savings is the purchase of ornaments for personal decoration and jewels to place value in small compass. It is difficult even to guess at the amount of wealth thus kept idle in the hands of the people. Such a practice may be a relic of barbarous times, when concealment was the only safety. Under the British Government, there is no fear of spoliation; and the wealth thus lying idle should be brought into practical use. Supposing that each of one hundred millions of the people of India possessed in this way only ten rupees—an estimate which, I am informed, is by no means extravagant—this, if placed in Savings Banks under proper management, would give the magnificent sum of one hundred millions sterling as a working capital to the poor ryots of the country; and this is what India requires above all things. She has no *people* in the best sense of that term. She has workers in abundance; but they are too extensively the slaves of the village mahajuns, who have an embargo on the crops or the land, or the implements of industry, and the poor are kept always poor. There is no possibility of escaping indebtedness under the present system. The only change is from bad to worse, until the final ruin. Is it possible, under conditions like these, that there should ever be a *people* who would be a stay to the country or the Government? Their only idea is one of subsistence. They can have no thought for improvement, no idea of independence, and but too limited experience of even the comforts of life.

My notion is, that this useless wealth of the people should be put into active use for their benefit. I should be diffident in recommending on my own authority alone such a course as that I am about to suggest. But happily, there is the authority of a gentleman of extensive experience in this country whose opinions will have more weight than mine. Dr. Lees in his *Land and Labour in India*, page 54, speaking of money lenders, says:—

“The money lender is undoubtedly in some respects a great evil; but he is also in some respects a great good. Could Government be the means of scattering far and wide over the country a system of small commercial banking establishments, undoubtedly it would confer a lasting obligation on the people—could it, by any means, alleviate the present system of advances, it would be doing

much good. But to do either, in present circumstances seems impossible; and the wisest thing, therefore, that Government can do, is, instead of attempting to substitute one evil for another, to take the best measures for making the peasant proprietors of India altogether independent of money lenders, European or Native, at the very earliest possible date."

Here we have a clear indication of what is required for the good of the people of this country. But there are both difficulties and objections to the Government doing what Dr. Lees suggests; and we ask, why should not the people do it for themselves? If they have a hundred millions or more lying unproductive, why should they be thus eaten up by extortionate money lenders? I am not prepared with a detailed scheme to show what is required. But I conceive that the people of India have within themselves the means of greatly improving their position, and creating that class of independent yeomen who have been the mainstay of nations in all ages. It appears to me that this is a question which the members of this Association may consider with advantage; and with this object I have ventured to bring it before this meeting. The Native gentlemen, who are members, are in a position to inform and advise; and the Association will be happy to see them act in a matter that promises the best results to the people of this country.

THE REVEREND J. LONG thought that the subject of the paper was a most important one, and he would like to hear several points in it taken up and discussed. He was himself extremely desirous to see savings banks established in the Mofussil in connection with the Collectorate, as had been proposed years ago by a Secretary to the Bengal Government.

BABU GREESH CHUNDER GHOSE was of opinion that such banks were not wanted. When the ryot was pressed to pay cent. per cent. for his advances, he had no savings left to deposit. There were people with money in the Mofussil, but they could generally employ it much more profitably than by putting it into a savings bank. In some towns perhaps savings banks might be established with advantage. There was one already in the Presidency, and it was succeeding well.

MR. ATKINSON thought that small commercial banks, to take the place of the mahajun, would be found much more useful in the Mofussil than the establishment of savings banks.

BABU SRI COOMAR SIRCAR regretted that the zemindars did not make some effort to assist their ryots. He thought that whatever loans were required should be advanced by them.

MR. LONG urged that there were many other classes in the country, besides the ryots, who could save if they had the opportunity afforded them.

BABU SHAMACHURN SIRCAR said that there were doubtless many ryots who were in a position to save, but such men found much more profitable investments than savings banks.

DR. CHUCKERBUTTY approved of the establishment of banks in the Mofussil, but there was such a want of confidence among the people, that no private enterprise, he thought, would be likely to succeed. The undertaking should at least be under the auspices of Government, though it might be managed by Native agency.

MR. BEVERLEY entirely approved of the idea of establishing Mofussil banks to assist the ryot and take him out of the power of the mahajun, but he thought it would be an unwarrantable interference with free trade and competition, if the Government had any connection with what were strictly commercial banks. As regarded savings banks, however, there was not the same objection, and he trusted to see some scheme organized before long for their extension beyond the Presidency Town.

DR. EWART thought that the requisite machinery for the establishment of savings banks was already available in the Post Offices, and that they might be organized without much difficulty. He thought attention should also be directed to the utility of building societies, and he pointed how they might act in co-operation with savings banks.

BABU KISSORY CHAND MITTRA urged the extension of education as being better calculated to create habits of thrift and economy than all the savings banks that might be established.

THE PRESIDENT pointed out that an attempt had lately been made to establish a system of savings banks in Calcutta. An organization had been framed whereby the Government Savings Bank might be made more generally useful to the lower classes. If the experiment of the Anna Savings Banks in Calcutta was successful, he should be glad to see it extended to the Mofussil.

2. *The Festivals of the Hindus.* By BABOO KISSORY
CHAND MITTRA.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

Festivals are founded on a necessity of human nature. It is a necessity for play and pleasant excitement. The more civilized is the life that is lived by a people, the more imperative does that necessity become. Festivals are a break in the continuity of the dull uniformity of life. They diversify, so to speak, its dead level by lifting it out of the rut of routine. They make us cheerful and playful, and exercise a most healthy influence on our existence. The life of the Hindu expresses itself in religion and religious festivals, which exhibit the development of the inner existence of the nation.

Religion is so intimately bound up with the festivals of the Hindus, that the former must be prominently and frequently noticed in the course of describing the latter. Most of the festivals are invested with a religious significance, because Hinduism is grounded on fasts and feasts and festivals, in manifestations of sorrow and joy, in games and dances, in sacrifices and banquets. The Rig Veda, the substratum of the Hindu religion and the most ancient record of the institutions to which that religion gave rise, refers but incidentally to the performance of rites and festivals. The very first Sukta (Hymn) declares, "I glorify Agni, the high priest of the sacrifice, the divine ministrant who presents the oblation (to the gods), and is the possessor of great wealth." Agni is invoked as the *agra* or first of the gods, as the *agráni* or leader of the heavenly host, and as the *Prathama Devata* or the first of the gods. Indra is thus invoked: "Day by day we invoke the doer of good works for our protection, as a good milch cow for the milking (is called by the milker). Drinker of the soma juice, come to our (daily) rites and drink of the libations; the satisfaction of (thee who art) the bestower of riches, is verily (the cause of) the gift of cattle." It thus appears that the Homa and its concomitant rites and festivals were performed by the Northern Aryans, while they were settling and consolidating into a civilized and prosperous nation on the banks of the Sutlej.

The Yajur Veda, though a reflex of the Rig, enters more largely than its original into the performances of rites and festivals. It describes graphically the elaborate ceremonial connected with the Soma festival and sacrifices, *i. e.*, performed with the Somalata beer, or the fermented liquor of the Soma-plant. Their performance required an army of Hotas or priests, ladle-holders, songsters, and sacrificers. They lasted for weeks and months, and constituted the great national festival of the ancient Hindus.

The celebration of the Basanta or the advent of the vernal season was another festival of the Vedic era. It originated in the deification of Spring at a time when Sabeism, or elemental worship, had neither progressed to theism, nor degenerated into a debasing and demoralizing polytheism.

The Rajasúya Yogya was a royal festival which prevailed in the Vedic era, and was performed with great éclat in a subsequent period by the Pandavas in Indraprastha, some time after that city was founded on the ashes of Khandavaprastha. The last Rajasúya Yogya was celebrated by Rajah Joy Chunder of Kanouj in A. D. 1191. It was a festival not in celebration of the inauguration of a new and independent Raj, as is ingeniously, but erroneously, put forward by Mr. Talboys Wheeler in his History of India, but an assertion of sovereignty. Mr. Wheeler possibly may have thought it was the Septimontium of the Hindu, but it had no resemblance to the Roman festival of the Seven Mounts, which preserved the memory of the more extended settlement which gradually formed round the Palatine. It was (to compare small things with great) very much like a Durbar of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India (representing the paramount power) and its attendant balls and suppers and fireworks. Kanouj was an old and well established Raj. Joy Chunder had inherited it from a long line of ancestors. The fact of his performing the Rajasúya Yogya invalidates Mr. Wheeler's theory as to its character and object. But the festival had a sacred as well as a convivial element. While the Homa rites were being performed and the gods were being invoked, the Soma juice was circulated freely among the assembled Rajahs and their followers, the Nuts and Nutis attitudinised gracefully to the mellifluous music of the *Mridunga*, and the Bhats extolled the transcendent merits of the illustrious host.

The Aswamedha Yogya was however the most important festival in the Vedic era. It was founded on love of domination

and territorial aggrandisement. It was essentially a martial ceremonial and was peculiarly adapted to the pugnacious instincts of the Kshatriyas. The Aswamedha was tantamount to an assertion of imperial power. It was the putting forth of a claim of supremacy over rival chiefs and peoples. Its successful performance implied in popular estimation the establishment of the sovereignty of Bharatabarsa. Repeated a hundred times, it was supposed to ensure the headship of the host of heaven and the kingdom of Indra. It could be performed only by great Rajahs who, having conquered many countries, hungered and thirsted, like Alexander the Great, for more. It was a summary substitute for the formal declaration of war, and it aimed at the extinction of rival confederacies and kingdoms.

The Aswamedha consisted in letting loose an *aswa* or horse (with a gold plate with the name of the performer inscribed thereon) for one entire year, into foreign territories, where his entrance was a challenge to them. The horse wandered away at will, and his movements were followed by his owner and his army, ready to do battle with such chiefs as might carry away the animal and refuse on demand to tender their submission by restoring him. If the rival Rajah should get the better in battle, he was entitled to retain the horse and put a stop to the Aswamedha. But if he should be worsted, he was compelled to restore the horse, and assist as a feudatory in the celebration of the Aswamedha rite. The performer of the Aswamedha thus succeeded in reducing to submission every chief who dared to carry away his horse and was considered to have achieved a great feat and earned imperishable renown. The ceremony was brought to a termination by the sacrifice of the horse to the Devatas in the presence of the conquered chiefs and the people, and by a grand dinner at which the roasted flesh of the horse would be regarded as the *chef d'œuvre*. So the ancient Hindus discussed horse meat, ages before the French and the Londoners of the West End Club could dream of it. The Aswamedha was a combination of the idea of imperial sovereignty with that of an imperial festival. Commencing in a challenge to war, and progressing in the subjection of the recusant Rajahs, it culminated in fusing them into a friendly confraternity and enlisting their good will on behalf of the new imperial régime by a social and convivial gathering. It was a jubilation of the conquerors and the conquered.

The Ramayana describes the Aswamedha Yogya which was performed by Rama. It was not without strong resistance on the part of his own sons Naba and Kúsa that the sacrifice was celebrated. Naba and Kúsa had been born in the wilderness, whither their mother Síta had been banished by Rama for her supposed infidelity to him. They had been reared in the school of adversity, and inheriting the martial instincts of their father, had become great warriors. When the horse of Rama entered their settlement, they seized the animal and defied the owner. Father and sons fought fiercely and the fight resulted in the victory of the latter over the former. Rama recognized in his conquerors his own sons, his instinct having told him that none but his own flesh and blood could vanquish his invincible prowess. The recognition was followed by the reconciliation of Rama with Seeta. The sons tendered their submission and homage to the father and restored the horse. The happy family then returned to Ajodhya, and the Aswamedha was performed with due éclat.

In the post-vedic and the Puranic age the Aswamedha was no longer invested with its original political significance. It came to be regarded as an atonement for sins and a potent means of acquiring religious merit. Thus, after the Pandavas conquered the Kurus and were established in the Raj of Bharut, and the sensitive Yudhishtira grieved over the carnage committed in the great war, his ancestor, the mythical Vyása, counselled him to perform the Aswamedha as an expiation for his sins. The Aswamedha performed by Yudhishtira is most graphically described in the Mahabharata. When the Rishis, Rajahs, and Chiefs and their ladies and followers were assembled and seated according to their rank on thrones of gold and sandalwood, the Maharajah and his Raní Draupadí bathed themselves in the water of the holy Ganges. Then he ploughed the space of ground set apart for the horse sacrifice with a golden plough, Draupadí following her illustrious husband and sowing the space with paddy and other kinds of grains. The spot was then covered with four hundred golden bricks, and Vyása, Vasistha, and Naradá seated themselves on the golden pavement. Eight pillars with banners floating were planted round the pavement, which was then roofed with a golden sheet. The Homa of milk, ghee, and dhay was then performed in eight pits dug for the purpose. Twenty-four kulsis of water were then brought from the Ganges in a procession by distinguished Rishis and Rajahs and their Ranís. Yudhishtira distributed among them splendid dresses and decorated them with pearl

necklaces. Gold, silver, elephants, horses, and cows were distributed among the Brahmins. The Maharajah seated himself on a throne of gold and the twenty-four kulsis of water which had been brought from the Ganges were poured over his head. The horse was brought forward, and while undergoing the ceremony of bathing opened his mouth, and spoke.

"Then Nakula opened the mouth of the horse, and held up his head, and said :—' The horse is speaking : ' And those around cried out :—' What does the horse say ? ' Nakula replied :—The horse says :—' In other Yogas wherein a horse is sacrificed, he goes to Swarga, which is the heaven of Indra ; but I shall go far above Swarga, because in the present Yaga very many great and distinguished persons, such as Krishna, are here assembled together ; and Krishna has not been present at other sacrifices, for which reason I shall go far beyond all other sacrificial horses.'*

Rajah Janmajay, the grandson of Rajah Purikshit and the great grandson of Arjuna, is said to have celebrated the Aswamedha, but to have failed to reap the merit. After the assembled chiefs and Brahmins were honored and rewarded and the sacrifice of the horse was completed, a Brahmin boy, at the instigation or rather under the inspiration of some *devata* jealous of the renown which would be earned by the Rajah, laughed at him and ridiculed the ceremony. This so irritated the Rajah that he killed the boy there and then, and was thus deprived of the fruits of the sacrifice.

The last Aswamedha was celebrated by Pririthi Rajah of Delhi about the year 1190. In the last century, the Rajah of Marwara attempted the Aswamedha, but for want of sufficient funds he abandoned the idea.

But the time came when Hinduism underwent a great revolution. The old gods of the Vedas were superseded by the new gods of the Puranas. Agni and Indra were replaced by Siva and Krishna. The worship of the tri-murti was substituted for that of the unpersonified elements. Káma was dethroned by Sakti ; the celebration of the Basanta or the vernal season festival was changed into that of Dol Jatra. The introduction of new divinities led to the institution of new rites

* Wheeler's History of India, Vol. I., p. 430

and festivals. Some of these divinities are represented in terrible forms, and the attributes predicated of them are calculated to excite fear instead of love. While in England external nature is small and feeble, in India she is great and terrific. This difference has naturally moulded the minds of the two races. It has produced corresponding differences in their mental constitutions. The Englishman has been encouraged and taught to subordinate his imagination to his understanding. The Hindu has been intimidated, his imagination aroused, and his understanding dwarfed. The former has learnt to conquer nature, the latter has succumbed to her. This is illustrated in the most popular Pujas of the Hindus. In the very images and character of Durga, Kali, and Jagaddhatri, we see how the appalling aspects of the external world have filled the minds of the Hindus with the ideas of the terrible and the marvellous, which they have striven to embody in the ten-handed goddess in the act of killing Mahishur. Durga is the most popular goddess, and images of terror are intimately associated with her. She is represented as an Amazonian woman armed with sword and spear, mounted on a lion and fighting with a giant. She is represented as a still more hideous being, as Kali, encircled by a girdle of cobras, holding a human skull in her hand and wearing a garland of human bones. She has a body of dark blue, having four red arms symbolical of her blood-thirstiness. Durga is supposed to be the *tej* or emanation of the creative spirit.

The whole legend of Durga and the mode of her pujah or worship, which will be recited and described hereafter, afford a remarkable illustration of the influence of the aspects of nature in this country on the minds of her children. In her image and character we see that their tendency to inflame the imagination and to obfuscate the understanding has been very marked. In no country in Asia are the force and majesty of nature so powerfully exhibited as in India. Her impassable forests, her luxuriant vegetation, abounding in gigantic creepers and stupendous fice, her vast rivers traversing the length and breadth of the country, and her cloud-capped mountains, the fabled abode of Rishis and Devatas, have, from time immemorial, excited in the Hindu mind ideas of the vague and the uncontrollable, the undefined and the indefinable, the marvellous and the miraculous. Contrasting himself with these stupendous features of the external world, the diminutive Hindu is oppressed and bewildered

by their majestic and imposing grandeur on the one hand and his own insignificance and inferiority on the other. His mind instead of enquiring and analyzing the appearance and phenomena of nature, refers them to supernatural causes. Unable to generalize those phenomena and looking on isolated facts, he becomes the most superstitious of all Asiatics. Considering different events as unconnected with each other, he has been led to recognize a Lakshmi in the dispensation of wealth, and a Saraswati in that of knowledge, a Varuna in the rule of the waters, and a Pavana in that of the wind. But the simple and sublime idea of the one Director over all these gifts and elements, implies an inquisitive and an analytic spirit which is not encouraged by the peculiar aspects of external nature in Hindustan. Hindu idolatry, such as existed in the days of Vikramaditya, and such as is now practised by the great mass of the people, has arisen from a timid and torpid state of mind, which is naturally induced by the appalling appearances of nature. The imagination having been aroused, the understanding was proportionably weakened. Human power having failed, super-human power was evoked.

Of the minor rites and festivals there are an infinite number, every month or fortnight being set apart for some one or other of them. I shall mention only the most prominent and popular in a chronological order.

The 1st of Bysack is the New Year's Day. It is a day of great jubilation with the mahajuns and modies, who decorate their guddis and shops with evergreens and garlands, and entertain their constituents and customers. These latter or their representatives are received as guests, and are expected in return for the hospitality to deposit some money as earnest of their transactions for the ensuing year. In the second month, that is Jeit, the ceremony of *snanjantra* is performed. It consists in the bathing of Krishna, Juggernath, and other Thakurs representing them. In Mahesh, opposite Titaghur, a mela is held during the *snanjantra* and is frequented by the people of Calcutta. Fast Babus avail themselves of this occasion, to make boat excursions to Mahesh and get up picnics on the banks and churs of the river.

The Dasara also takes place this month. It consists in bathing in the holy stream of the Ganges and worshipping her with fruits and flowers. In a country where the weather is grilling during the summer, it is no wonder that ablution

should be inculcated by the Shastras as a religious obligation. They teach that cleanliness is not only next to, but is, godliness itself. On the day of Dasara, the orthodox Hindus abstain from rice and fish and dine off milk and fruits. In this month the festival of Sashtibátá takes place. It consists in mothers-in-law entertaining their sons-in-law. These are fed sumptuously and receive presents of fruits, sweetmeats, clothes, &c.

In Assar the celebration of Rath Jatra takes place. Those by whom Rathes are made and dedicated to gods, must have them drawn either in the compounds of their own houses or on the public roads for twelve years successively, after which period they may be disposed of to Bráhmíns. All Rathes are paraded twice every year, attended by a procession of khol and kurtal beaters, singing the praises of Juggernath and Krishna. Pooree being the head-quarters of Juggernath, is the great place for the Rath Jatra. It attracts during that festival thousands of men from all parts of India. The abominable exhibitions which take place annually during the Rath Jatra at Pooree and Mahesh afford a melancholy illustration of the prostration of mind caused by superstition.

In the month of Sraban, the *jhulan-jatra* or the swinging of Krishna and Radha is celebrated. Krishna was very fond of swinging while he was at Brindaban; he is said to have indulged in this diversion in the umbrageous groves of that classic spot. The festival is continued for three days and nights, and is accompanied by the performance of nautches and jattras, and also pyrotechnic exhibitions.

On the eighth night of the dark side of the moon in the month of Bhádon, Krishna was born. His birth is celebrated with great éclat in this month. The festival is called the *Janmastami*. It is to the Voishnavas what Christmas is to the Christians. The Hindu females, anxious to make themselves dear to the God, fast on the anniversary of his birth-day, and at night hear the story of his incarnation in the family of Basu Deb. On the next day, processions, representing the characters of milk-maids, songsters, hijras, brojobasees, &c., daubed with turmeric powder, are to be seen in the roads, bawling and howling to excite the hilarity of the mob, and impress on their minds the manners and customs of the people of Mathura, when Krishna was born there.

During the month of Bhadon, the Hindus offer every day *tíl* and Gunga water to the manes of their deceased ancestors to the fourteenth remove, for the purpose of augmenting their celestial enjoyments. The ceremony is called *tappan*. On the last day of this month all the braziers, carpenters, and smiths collect their respective implements of trade in a corner of their shops, and worship Biskarma, the god of all manual arts, under an impression of thriving in their professions under his protection. On the same day the Natives busy themselves in the pleasures of *arandhan*, or eating with a great many curries the rice dressed on the preceding night and soaked in water for converting it into a sour article of repast. This is done to propitiate *Manashá*, the goddess of serpents.

It is in the month of Assin, corresponding sometimes to the end of September and sometimes to the beginning of October, that the most popular Puja is celebrated. The pomp and circumstance with which the goddess Durga is worshipped, exercise a very marked effect on Hindu society. The legend of Durga is contained in the following extracts from the Markand Puran, and other Purans and Tantras :—

“When at the end of a Kalpa or great cycle of years, the world was converted into one boundless ocean, and the great Lord Bhagavan Vishnu was asleep in meditation on his endless (ocean) bed, two dreadful demons (asura) born of the wax of his ears, and known as Madhu and Kaitabhá, wished to destroy Brahma. He (Brahma) the father of creation, who was seated on a lotus in Vishnu’s navel, prayed Yoganidrá with earnest undivided attention.”—*Márkanedya Puran*.

“During the wars of Ráma and Rávana, Ráma worshipped Durgá, and because Ráma killed Rávana by worshipping Durgá in the month of Aswin, therefore do mankind celebrate the Sárada or dewy season festival of Durgá.”—*Kárttyáyini Tantra*.

“Hearing thus his words, he, the king Suratha, went immediately to the sage, and he, the Vasya, to the Muni, and the two prepared a figure of the Devi with earth, and worshipped her on the river bank with flowers, incense, and water.”—*Márkandeya Puran*.

“On the 9th of Kártika, when the moon was in Aquarius, the sun, by worshipping Durga with attention, attained health, progeny, and the office of being the witness of the creation.”—*Kattyáyani Tantra*.

During the Durga Puja festival a perfect flutter pervades the whole household. The excitement of the zenana is intense and is manifested in various ways. The ladies may be seen now busily occupied in the preparation of the consecrated food and anon decorating their persons with jewels of the latest fashion. All business stands aside. The dull routine of office work and home affairs is thrown off. The shroff puts away his hundis and the mahajun his khatta books. The ryot forgets his crops, and the zemindar forgets to put Act X of 1859 in force against the ryot. The rites last three days and three nights, during which the whole country presents a vast scene of gaiety and festive enjoyment. Dissipation and devilment reign in the *Báithak-khána* of the Babu, as well as in the *chálá* of the *chásá*.

There are those among the votaries of Durga who declare that in worshipping her, they worship the active or female principle of the universe. Matter and power constitute, the former the male, the latter the female, nature of the Godhead, to whom they attribute a double nature, though essentially an unity; *i. e.*, god is at once male and female, inseparably united to constitute a whole, the supreme perfection, the sole creator of the universe, the one without a second of the Vedas, Purush and Prikriti together, from the Mahapurush or Brahma. Durga then in their estimation is the symbol of Sati or the female or productive part of the supreme being or essence, and consequently the sovereign Mistress of the creation. In other words, God having a double nature, material and spiritual, the goddess Durga represents the spiritual. She is the deification of supreme intelligence. Of her three eyes, the one situated in the centre of the forehead between the two eyebrows is symbolical of intellect or reason, the internal or spiritual sight.

The group of idols, which during the three days of Durga-worship are exhibited in the halls of the Native houses, admit, according to this theory, of a learned and theological explanation, not in accordance with the popular belief derived from the legendary narrative of the Puranas. The chief of the group is Durga, that is, reason or intellect. Her two daughters, Lakshmi and Saraswati, placed on her left and right are the symbols of wealth and learning or knowledge, both being naturally created by, or the results of, the exercise of intelligence. Her two sons, Ganesha and Kartika, placed lower down, represent, the former wisdom, the latter military science, both being the fruits of the development of intelligence. The lion, on which Durga rides,

signifies the omnipotence of reason or knowledge which is power. The rebellious Asura, beneath the lion, is symbolical of the passions whom reason is controlling with the strength of a lion. This explanation is, it is said, but ill suited to the understanding of the vulgar herd; hence arose the necessity for inventing the Puranic legend above quoted, and which is adapted to the meanest capacities of an illiterate mob, to satisfy their latent and innate religious cravings, and pander to their strong animal propensities and superstitious imagination. In this manner, divested of its mystic symbolical character, the worship of Durga, the wife of Siva, the daughter of Himalaya and Manoca, the mother of Lakshmi, Saraswati, Ganesha, and Kartika, and the female saviour of the world, has been invested by some popular writers among her votaries with a human interest, calculated at once to win the popular mind by the most seducing appeals to its most powerful domestic instincts and devotional impulses, and encumbering the ceremonial with a number of unintelligible and unexplained rituals and sacrifices, of which even many learned Brahmins themselves do not understand the import. All families that are capable of affording it, welcome home the goddess, or rather her image, as if she were the mother of the universe coming *propria persona* to bless them and their homes with her beauty and grace, and freely showering on them the choicest gifts of fortune both here and hereafter. The reward of this annual observance is heaven and eternal beatitude.

To propitiate her, they offer her plantains, rice, sweetmeats, &c., and sacrifice goats, buffaloes, &c., entertaining, her at the same time with all sorts of music and dances, both devotional and obscene, prayers, amusements, revelry, and feastings being alike mingled together in one wild confusion. To express their joy at her advent, they invite their neighbours, relatives, friends, acquaintances, and dependents, feasting them with the choicest of native dishes, viands, and sweetmeats, and sending to them presents of clothes and eatables. In fact the Durga Puja is at once the most pious and jovial of all Hindu national festivals. It is the *ne plus ultra* of gaiety, fun and merriment of all sorts. On the three nights every house is illuminated. It imparts for the time being a prodigious artificial impulse to internal trade of every kind. Goods of every description rise to their maximum prices. During the three or four days it lasts, the whole nation, from the highest to the lowest, are to be found in their holiday clothes, passing their time in

thoughtless merry-making and amusements and in prayers and worship. Paris was not perhaps more thoughtless and gay, while her citizens were engaged in worshipping the goddess of reason, than the inhabitants of Bengal are during the holidays, nor was the blood then shed by the Parisians more profuse than the blood here shed in guillotining goats and other animals.

On the fourth day Durga is supposed to have returned to the Himalayan regions, the abode of her father. Her new lifeless image is carried to the river side in processions with flags flying and dols and dhaks thundering, and is consigned to the waters. On the return of the procession the members of the family assemble in the dalan or hall of worship and embrace each other, receiving and offering sweetmeats as a token of reciprocal love and amity, and of previous injuries and heart-burnings being forgiven and forgotten. This is called Bijoya, and is unquestionably the best and most interesting part of the Durga Puja ceremonial.

The next festival, in the order of time, is that of Lukhí Puja or the worship of Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune. It is held on the fifth night after the Durga Puja, the Kojagar Purníma or the full moon night. The ceremonies observed, irrespective of those connected with the worship of the goddess, are to drink copiously the milk of the cocoanut (*cocus nucifera*) and to keep up the whole night. Total abstinence from sleep and copious libations of cocoanut milk constitute the most important part of the Lukhí Puja, which greatly resembles a village wake. Verily the worshippers of Lakshmi believe with the poet of the "Seasons"—

"Is there aught
In sleeping that can charm the wise?"

On the following Amábásya, or the last day of the dark side of the moon, the *Sama* or *Kali Puja* festival is held. It lasts one night only, and is, so to speak, a great field day with persons who are given to the bottle and are the votaries of Bacchus. *Kali* is represented as of a jet black colour, standing in an attitude of defiance over the prostrate body of her husband Siva. She is armed with sword, with dishevelled curls flowing in a wild profusion and garlanded with a necklace of slaughtered heads of giants. In this position she is said to have destroyed *Sambhu* and *Nisambhu* the most puissant giants of the Satya

Yog. This most remarkable victory of *Kali* has been immortalized in an epic poem called *Chandi*, which is recited with great animation by the Purohits during the *Durga Puja*.

The *Kali Puja* night is dedicated to singing, dancing, and feasting, and in *suktá* families to drinking. The sacrificed meat is served up in the shape of curries, and is washed down by abundant potations of rice wine. It is generally supposed that this festival was established by Agambagish, who is said to have celebrated it for the first time; but it is of more ancient date, as may be reasonably inferred from the following extracts from the *Kalika Purana*:—

সর্বে সুরগণঃ সেন্দ্রা শুভো গবো হিমাচলং । গন্ধাবতার নিকটে মহামায়াং প্রতুষ্ণুঃ ॥
অনেক সংস্কাৰা দেবী তদা সন্তোষোং কটৈঃ । যাতঙ্গ বনিভা মূৰ্ত্তি ভুবো দেবানপুচ্ছত ॥
বৃন্দাভিন্নৈরৈরতঃ সুযতে কাচ ভাবিনী । কিমর্থমাগতা যুয়ং যাতঙ্গ স্যাশ্রমং প্রতি ॥ এবং
ব্রবতঃ ॥ যাতঙ্গা শুভাং কায়কোষতঃ । সমুদ্ভূতা ব্রুবোদেবী মাংসবন্তি সুরাইতি ॥
শুভো বিনিশ্চো হসুদৌ বাধেতে সকলান্ সুরান্ । তস্মাস্তযোৰ্দ্ধা বাহুং সুযেধ্য সকলৈঃ
সুতৈঃ ॥ বিনিঃ সত্যায়ং দেব্যাস্ত যাতঙ্গাঃ কায়তন্তদা । ভিঃশ্লাননিভাক্তা সাত্বং গোয
গীক নাদপি ॥ কালিকাখ্য ॥ ভবং সাপি হিমাচলকৃতশ্রী ॥

“All the Devas with Indra at their head then repaired to the Himálaya mountains, whence the river Ganges descends, and prayed Mahámáyá. The Devi, well pleased, assuming the form of a she-elephant, came there to bathe, and asked the gods, ‘Why have you come near the abode of the elephant, and why and to whom are you praying?’ As soon as she heard their reply, then forth issued from her body a goddess, who said, ‘You gods are praying to me. The demons Sambhu and Nisambhu obstruct all the gods, therefore I am for their destruction, urged thereto by the gods.’ Then the goddess fair who had issued from the body of the she-elephant, became for a moment dark black as the pigment from the Bhelá nut. Her name is Káliká, and she dwells on the Himáchala.”

On the night of the *Sama Puja* the *Dewali* festival is held. It consists in dusting furniture, washing and cleaning the house, and illuminating the same at night. Indeed illumination constitutes the most interesting part of the festival, and is resorted to on a large scale by up-country men inhabiting *Burra Bazar* and other places. Among Bengálí the mistress of the house collects around the female inmates, and impresses upon them the necessity and value of cleanliness by relating a tale of

which the following translation is given by "A Hindu" in an old number of the Calcutta Journal :—

In days of yore there lived a Brahmin and Brahmini in a hamlet. They were very poor and extremely unclean. In every corner of their cottage heaps of dust, soot, straw, and decayed vegetable had gathered, but neither of them ever thought of removing them. The Brahmini never cut her nails, nor painted her feet with the red streaks of *alta*. One evening of Sama Púja the Brahmin having received nothing from his neighbours, was returning home with a few betels in his mouth and betel-nuts in hand, after a fatiguing round. A tangled wood lay across his way. When he reached it, a huge female form of a most grisly aspect appeared before him, crying, "With betel-nuts in hand, betel in mouth, whither dost thou stray, Brahmin Thakur. Tell Coonee, Boonee has been blessed with a son?" This terrified the Brahmin so much, that he fell entranced on the ground. He, however, soon recovered his sense, and with a dejected spirit, writhing in the perturbation and agony of fear, he arrived home. "Oh Brahmini," said he, "I have received nothing to-day and have seen a most dreadful figure screaming, 'With betel-nuts in hand, betel in mouth, whither dost thou stray, Brahmin Thakur? Tell Coonee, Boonee has been blessed with a son.'" Scarce was the narration of this circumstance over, when another gigantic creature of an equally appalling nature issued from one of the corners of the cottage, yelling, "She is my sister, she is my sister, I was Boonee, I am Boonee. Execrable shade, who art thou that dwellest in our cottage? We two sisters, Coonee and Boonee, live whither rubbish and dirt are allowed to accumulate, and also near such persons as are strangers to cleanliness." This was a lesson to the Brahmin and to the Brahmini; they now changed their mode of living. "So ye children and girls," continues the grihini, "you must try to be very clean and neat to-day, unless you choose that your dwelling house should be haunted by those two hob-goblins."

Two days after the Sama Puja festival or the second day of the bright side of the moon, there is held a pleasing festival, namely the Bhratashditwiya. It consists in sisters entertaining their brothers. The former invite the latter to a rich breakfast and present them with costly clothes. This custom is supposed to have originated with the sisters of Yama, the Pluto of the Hindu.

কার্তিকে শুক্লপক্ষস্য দ্বিতীয়ায়াং যুধিষ্ঠির। বনো যমুনয়। পূর্বাং ভোজিতঃ স্বগৃহে সযয়। ॥
তন্মাদিকগৃহে পার্শ্ব নভোকব্য মভো বুধৈঃ। স্বভুজন ভগিনী হতা ভোক্তব্যং পুত্রিবর্জন। ॥
বানানিচ প্রদেখানি ভগিনী ভো। বিশেষতঃ।

"O Yudhishtira, on the second day of the waxing moon, in the month of Kártika, Yama was once respectfully treated with presents and entertained at her house by his sister Yamuna, therefore is that day celebrated in the three regions as the second day of Yama. On that day, O Parthá, men should not therefore eat in their own houses. Carefully should they eat for the improvement of the vigour from the hands of their sisters, and offer them becoming presents."—*Blavishya Purána*.

In the month of Kartick, and nine days after the Sama Puja, or rather on the ninth day of the bright side of the moon, the Jagaddhatrí Púja festival is held. Jagaddhatrí (literally the nurse of the universe) is another form of Durga, and is represented as an Amazon seated on a lion. The Puja lasts one day and one night, during which goats and buffaloes are sacrificed. It is enlivened by dancing and feasting. There are many Hindus who believe that the Rajah of Kishnaghur introduced this Puja, but they are mistaken, inasmuch as the worship of Jagaddhatrí prevailed in olden times.

কার্তিকে শ্রদ্ধাপক্ষে ভোমবাচরে জগৎ প্রসু । সর্বেদব হিতার্থায় দুবৃত্ত দমনায় চ ।
আবিয়াসে জগজ্জিহ্বঃ যুগাদৌ পরমেশ্বর । ইতি কুব্জীকাতন্ত্রে বচনং ।

কুড্রাসিগতে চন্দ্রে নবম্যাং কার্তিকশ্চ । উষস্য দোদিতৌ ভানু দুর্গা মায়াম্ব যজ্ঞবান্ ।
পুত্রা রোস্য বরং লেভে লোক সাক্ষিব্রু মেবচ ইতি কাত্যায়নী তন্ত্রে বচনং ।

"On Tuesday the ninth of the waxing moon, in the month of Kártika, being the first day of the Treta Yuga, the great lady Jagatprasu or the mother of creation, manifested herself for the good of the gods, the punishment of the wicked, and the peace of creation."—*Kubjika Tantra*.

On the last day of the month of Kartik, corresponding to the end of October, the youngest son of Dúrga is worshipped. Kartika is represented as the ideal of manly beauty, enthroned on a peacock of magnificent plumage and armed with a bow and arrow. The object of this Puja is to obtain children, for Kartika is supposed to have the peculiar power of conferring that blessing. Hence he is a great favorite with women, specially those who are desirous of being in that interesting condition, in which "ladies love to be who love their lords."

এবমায়াম্ব দেবেশী মিন্দ্রিদ্ভাবণাত্ততঃ । অভবৎ কার্তিকেয়ো বৈ দুর্গা মেবং সমার্কয়মঃ ।
অমায়ং কার্তিকেয়াসি তজ্জবকা সুরঃ নাশকঃ । ইতি কাত্যায়নী তন্ত্রে বচনং ।

“Indrajit, son of Ravana, thus worshipping the great goddess and offering adoration to Durgá on the new moon of Kartika, was born as Kartikeya, the destroyer of the demon Taraka.”—*Karttyáyni Tantra*.

বিস্কম্য সন্তানলাভায় পূজকাম্য বৃত্ত চরেৎ ।

“He who wishes for sons should observe a fast at the commencement of the scorpion, *i. e.*, at the end of the month of Kártika.”

The Rásh Jatra festival falls sometimes at the end of Kartik, and sometimes at the commencement of Augran. It is founded upon a legend recited by the *Srímát Bhugabat* relating to the flirtations of Krishna with the milkmaids of Brindabun. The festival lasts three days and is enlivened as usual with music and dinner. Melas are held during it in several places, such as Khurda, Baroepore, &c.

The last three days of Pous are set apart for the preparation and consumption of *peetas* or cakes. The Hindus prepare an endless variety of confectionery and invite their friends to discuss the same.

In the following month of Magh, *i. e.*, during the present month (and yesterday was the day), Saraswatí, or the goddess of learning, together with inkstands, pens, books, and other paraphernalia of writing and reading, are worshipped. The day of this Puja is called *Srī Punchomí*, or the fifth day of the moon *par excellence*. The feast that is given on this day consists of a vegetable diet, from which fish and meat are religiously excluded; the goddess, being a vegetarian, delighting in simple food and abominating sacrifices of animals or of anything else. The day of this Puja is regarded as the expiration of winter and the birth of spring. In order to celebrate the advent of the latter season, the Hindus put on yellow coloured dhotees and chadars, yellow being the favorite colour of Basantí or the god of spring. The day of this festival is dedicated to boat excursions and the night to music.

The Dol Jatra festival is celebrated in the month of Falgoon. It originated in Krishna's swinging with Radhika under the groves of Brindabun. It is the same as the holy festival of the up-country men. With these it is a Saturnalia. For several days before the actual Puja takes place, they parade the streets

and public thoroughfares, singing and dancing and throwing at each other as well as at passengers *Phag* or red powder. So this festival is with them a season of merriment and devilment.

The last day of the last month of the Bengali year is inaugurated by the *Charak Pújá* festival, of which the barbarous and cruel practice of hook-swinging forms a prominent feature. The institution of *Charak Pújá* is not sanctioned by the *Shastras*; it was simply a local ceremony, originally introduced by Ban Rajah in his own Raj, to propitiate Siva, and gradually extended to other places. In some districts this practice is unknown, while in others it has been put down by energetic magistrates and enlightened zemindars, but it nevertheless prevails in a great many places. As it endangers human life and is revolting to a degree, I trust it will soon be prohibited by the strong arm of the law. I readily admit that social and religious changes must be effected by the natural progress of society; but the barbarities of the *Charak Pújá* are not enjoined or even warranted by the *Shastras*. If Government puts them down, it will have the consent and support of the upper and educated classes of the community, those on whom the ruler in every civilized country naturally relies for the introduction of any measure of general usefulness, affecting the well-being of the entire community. I do not of course invoke the interference of Government with the religious observances connected with the *Charak Pújá*. Far be it also from me to discourage the *melas* which are held in hundreds of villages on the occasion of the festival, where thousands of people congregate, making purchases of edibles, toys, fancy articles, and articles of dress, and interchanging the social amenities of life.

This country is in a state of transition. We live in an age of revolution. The most conservative Hindu cannot fail to perceive that there is not a custom, or observance, or belief, which is not now subjected to the crucial test of impartial criticism. The causes and agencies of progress are now so actively at work among us, that we trust, devoutly trust, the day is not far distant when the festivals of the Hindus may be eliminated of all that is barbarous and superstitious, and rendered subservient to the promotion of their social and rational happiness.

BABU GRISH CHUNDER GHOSH thought the subject was of the highest interest, so far as it was connected with the religion of the country. At present that religion was doubtless in a state of transition. He (the speaker) could scarcely say whether or not he were an idolator, or whether or not he

were a Brahmoist. But however religion might change, festivals could not be entirely swept away. Every religion had its festivals. Even Brahmoism had exhibited its gorgeous procession only a few days since; its propagator had found it impossible to keep his hold upon the people without the aid of some such demonstration. For his own part he could never be otherwise than affected at the season of the Durga Púja. Durga was to him an incarnation of Semiramis, and his (the speaker's) ideas all went back at the festival to the time of Semiramis. He felt at such times that it was the re-enactment of the struggle between the Syrians and the aborigines of the country. The scene was laid in the passes from which the invading hordes had always come. He trusted that Western criticism would ere long throw much more light on the subject.

DR. CHUCKERBUTTY admitted that festivals were very dear to the masses. At the same time there had been a great change in the last 25 or 30 years, and they were now characterised rather as social gatherings than as being connected with worship. Like the festival of Gog and Magog, they would doubtless disappear by degrees, without any violent attempt to put them down.

3.—*Female occupations in Bengal.* By BABU GREESH

CHUNDRA GHOSE.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

An impression generally prevails in European society that the women of Bengal are conspicuous by a large vacuity of mind as well as of occupation. It is impossible, however, for the human mind to remain unfilled, and it is impossible also for the women of an ancient people once distinguished for civilization in no small degree to remain without some kind of active occupation. In treating of the occupations of the women of Bengal, it is necessary to divide the subject into three principal heads, *viz.* :—

1st.—The occupations of the women of rich families.

2nd.—The occupations of women of the middle station in society.

3rd.—The occupations of poor women.

As regards the rich, in large towns they unhappily present the worst conditions of an unhealthy inactivity. The rich man's wife, in a place where every luxury can be purchased for money, is a singular specimen of idleness and prostrated powers of body and mind. Rising from bed long after the sun has made a fair progress in the heaven, her handmaids are ready to loosen her hair. Every comfort and convenience is at hand. She bathes in winter on a sunny terrace. In summer the coldest water is reserved for her ablutions. She is wiped dry by her domestics, and the manner in which she is handled and manipulated upon by them might induce in a stranger the suspicion that she was suffering from paralysis of the limbs. This devout nursing produces in most instances stupendous proportions of body unfit for active employment, and fit only to grace the sitting room or the couch. Even the duty of attending to the children is taken away from her; numerous and officious servants are paid for that business. So soon as a child is born, a wet nurse is introduced to relieve maternity of its foremost and most natural occupation. The entire time of these splendid automatons is devoted indeed to feasting and dressing, playing cards and tearing characters. The affairs of the house proceed without their laborious interference, and when there happen to be young daughters-in law in the family they are

systematically bullied, and the bulk of such work as cannot be entrusted to servants is thrown upon their tender shoulders.

Many of the wives of the rich are exceedingly haughty and ill-tempered, the natural effect of the training which they undergo; so that their lives present one unbroken page of discord and strife, agitating all within the immediate range of their authority or influence. The mornings, as I have said, are devoted to ablutions, followed by poojahs—both lazily conducted. Then the fast is broken by a heavy dish of dainties, composed of fruits, curds, and sweet-meats plentifully piled up. The interval between this preliminary breakfast and the formal dinner is not very long. It is passed, however, in a recumbent posture, with a solace of betel-nuts and an ample allowance of tobacco. The dinner is elaborately set out with fish and ghee and milk measured by the seer. It is supplemented again by sweet-meats and confectionery. When the gorging is complete, the fair *gourmande* betakes herself to bed, and it is not till close upon evening that she finishes her siesta. The toilet now commences, but the entire details of the mysterious art are in the hands of the attendant maids. Their mistress gives them little help; she is completely at rest. But whatever rest other portions of the body may enjoy, the teeth certainly cannot be charged with inactivity; for when they are not masticating food, or hissing abuse, they are chewing the eternal pán leaf and nut. Before the evening meal demands attention, a few spare hours are available. These are passed with the help of cards and gossip, in which friends, foes, relatives, neighbours, and servants thump and bump against every point of the scandal compass. The hot work is interrupted only by a call to tiffin, in which sweet-meats and milk abound as usual. The whole is concluded by a very substantial feast at night, redolent of night-mare or dyspepsia. The monotony of this sort of life is occasionally broken by an excursion to Kalighat or a jaunt to Taruckesur. There is absolutely no leisure for any thing else, for books, elevated thought, art, or refinement.

In the country the case is completely the reverse. The zemindar is a much more industrious man than the city millionaire, and his wife, therefore, has no precedent for idleness. Her duties are too numerous not to keep her fully employed. The evil of a crowd of servants, to assist the mistress of the house to move her limbs, has not penetrated as yet into the mofussil. The zemindar's lady is compelled to be an early riser, in order to commence the duties of the household in proper time. In the depth

of winter she bathes in a cold biting tank, or, if she lives near the river, in the sacred stream before the sun is up. Cleansing is her first duty. The house is swept carefully, with an adequate smearing of cowdung in places occupied the previous night by unclean food or things. This she directs personally. The plates are then faultlessly washed. If a speck remains on them they are returned for a second process of cleaning. The preparations for food are next undertaken. They are vast and laborious. To give out the stores in approximate quantities is a task which only a practised eye and a firm hand can faithfully perform. The domestics are in league to steal whatever may be found superabundant; it is the perquisite of their office. The mistress of the house is fully aware of the danger. But her keenness baffles the coalition. Her family and establishment have to be plentifully, but not wastefully, provided for. In very large and rich families the number of persons to be thus fed daily seldom falls short of one hundred. The lady, assisted by her juniors, is laboriously employed in cutting and paring the vegetables destined for the dinner courses; the rice and the dall to be cooked are also carefully cleaned and picked. To this succeeds the task of cooking, which is often performed by her with similar assistance, for it is against the custom and the creed of many families to eat "bought food," as it is called, when the food is prepared by paid cooks. The enormous quantity of edibles required renders the duty of their provision by no means a pleasant one. The cooking-room may be large and spacious, but it is impossible to disconnect it from the accompaniments of heat and smoke. In the midst of that heat and that smoke the fairest and the richest voluntarily toil. How many delicate women have perished from disease contracted during the performance of this duty, and how many have permanently injured their eye-sight in the same cause!

In the city the beggar is disposed of by a handful of rice distributed by a growling servant. In the country hospitality is maintained by a table open to all comers. That the hungry man should be turned away, is deemed to be a sin equal in heinousness to an affront to a brahmin. So that a guest arriving at any hour of the day or night and requiring food must be immediately cared for. If the prepared food has been exhausted, the females of the house cheerfully resume their labours in order to provide a fresh supply. The task of furnishing food devolves wholly upon woman in India, and the precedents of the shasters enforcing this duty are numerous and irresistible. Annopurna, the wife of

Mahadeo, the god of gods, is represented with a ladle and a pot of boiled rice, freely distributing the staff of life to all comers, and her worship in our days is celebrated with an ample feast to the poor. There is a curious episode in the Mahabharat, which establishes the antiquity of the custom of the mistress of the house being bound to supply at any moment the wants of her guests. Draupadi, the wife of the five Pandavas, had one night retired to rest, when Durbasha, the most furious and ill-tempered amongst the *Rishis*, accompanied by his disciples, came and demanded food. It was the custom of Draupadi not to eat until all her guests had been fed; for there was this grace-conceded to her by heaven that her stores could not be exhausted by any number of guests, so long as she did not herself eat. But on the evening on which Durbasha came, Draupadi had already eaten, little anticipating such an untimely call. The Rishi had purposely delayed his visit in order to upset the fame for hospitality of a woman favored by the gods. He knew that Draupadi had eaten; and he knew also that there was for this reason no more food in her house. The Rishi was notorious for being terrible in his curse, and Draupadi had therefore ample cause to be distracted. Only one grain of cooked rice was sticking to her cooking pot; this could not allay the hunger of half a dozen famished brahmins. Happily Krishna, the incarnation of Vishnu, was with the five brothers at the time, and he suggested that the holy men should be requested to proceed with their ablutions and evening worship, at the conclusion of which they would find their repast ready. Durbasha departed to a neighbouring stream, when Krishna asked Draupadi to give him the grain of cooked rice in her pot. This the god ate, and the act had the effect of making the Rishi and his disciples so surfeited without actually tasting any food, that they lay belching and in great pain all night on the banks of the stream. Thus by a miracle was the fame for hospitality of Draupadi preserved.

The duty of attending to the wants of every body else before the mistress of the house proceeds to satisfy her own hunger, is rigidly observed in the country, and its requirements have introduced without doubt that feeling, which brands the practice of husband and wife eating together as a scandal and a sin. Not only is the food prepared by the female members of the household, but it is also distributed by them. The grace and devotion with which beautiful maidens with their veils drawn over their heads carry the rice plates and the plates laden with fish and curry from seat to seat, dropping the grateful viands according to the age and eating capacity of

the feasters, cannot be described on paper. The jewelled arms are bare, whilst the body is closely enveloped in the thick folds of the flowing sari. The labour of the office may be conceived from the fact that the distributor must stoop in order to drop the food gently, without splash or rebound, upon the plates of the persons squatting upon the ground according to the native form of eating. The strongest men are often fatigued by such an exercise, but the soft, pliant, wiry female form seems to have been devised for the special purpose. After the male members of the family have been served, and with them any guests that may be present, the domestics are attended to and then the younger females. The grown up ladies eat last, for they must complete a lengthened worship of the household god before they can taste food or even water.

This worship demands varied employment. The room occupied by the god is carefully cleaned every morning by one of the female members of the family, generally a widow. The flowers with which the poojah is made are plucked and sorted, the plates of the god are rubbed, cleaned, and shining; incense is prepared; the rice for the offerings is jealously washed, so that no unclean thing may lurk amongst the grains; the fruits are cut and pared; the lamp is cleaned and lighted; and as many plates of offering are set out with every necessary article as there are grown-up women to make poojah. These preliminaries consume the best part of the forenoon, and a great part of the afternoon is consumed in the poojah, so that the elderly women of the family have to maintain a rigid fast till 3 o'clock in the day, when the entire household has been fed and when they proceed to eat themselves. The reason for the fast will be understood, when I say that it is irreligious to eat before poojah; it is a mortal sin in fact to do so, not even a drop of water can be passed down the throat before the daily worship. Eating over, the task of cleanliness is resumed; the body is washed and the cloth is washed and changed; the toilet is almost wholly neglected, for duties crowd upon a scanty leisure; sweetmeats for tiffin demand attention; they must be prepared, for mere rubbish is sold in the village market. Piles of flour are kneaded and baked or fried in ghee into bread; sweetmeats are made of the same materials; also curries to accompany the bread. As soon as the work is ended, preparations commence on the same scale with the morning for the night's supper, and the household does not retire to bed before midnight. On the occasion of poojahs the picture I have drawn is vastly magnified, the labour and anxiety of the mistress of the house are increased a hundred-fold. The cooking is superhuman,

but the lady is ably supported by relations and neighbours. It is only a fanatical faith and unbounded benevolence of heart which enable her to extract holiday gratification from such titan work. It may be safely asserted that the conditions described by me leave little time or inclination for a settled course of education.

I now come to the second division of my subject, *viz.*, the occupations of women in the middle ranks of society. In towns the generality of these women are usefully employed, they attend to all the in-door concerns of their husbands. Early blessed with children, the nursing and feeding and cleaning of these, unassisted by any large retinue of servants, severely tax their patience and their time. Whatever may be the means at the disposal of the Hindu lady for educating herself previously, after she has been elevated to the stage of motherhood (and it does not take her long to arrive at that happy condition) the distractions and the duties that devolve upon her render abortive any attempt to include her within the routine and circle of a systematic course of instruction. The young mother has little rest indeed at night. The frequent demands of the infant for food, the oft-occurring occasions during which the child requires to be cleaned and its bed to be changed, render uninterrupted sleep a blessing to be prayed for. From a hot night of unrest she often rises to a day of continued trouble. If the child happens to be ill, she fasts; if it has to be physicked, the vexation is greater than if the mother herself swallowed the medicine. When English medicine is had recourse to, with its perplexing programme of mixtures and pills and embrocations alternating in constant whirls by the hour, the mother is generally the sole dispenser of the doses, for the father is absent on his out-door work. Supposing the child to be well, there are a hundred little things that the mother is making for the baby; all the quilts which it uses are the product of her needle, the little pillows and cases she has made herself, the bed sheets she has hemmed. Most Bengali ladies in moderate circumstances are *au fait* in the sewing of bed clothes and musquito curtains. Recently, carpet work and the knitting of caps and socks and shoes have been added to their accomplishments. They can relish also a good Bengali play, and in the art of cookery they are remarkably advancing. It is no longer a simple soup or a dish of porridge which establishes the fame of a Hindu woman as a cook; she must master the mysteries of pillaos and know exactly the true color of a kabab in order to pass for learned in the art; some even aspire to the glory of preparing fowl curry and cutlets in exact imitation of the Great Eastern Hotel. Though the middle classes of Bengalis usually keep an establishment of

hired cooks, yet their wives are not altogether relieved from the duty of cooking. The ordinary rations of their families are of course produced without their help, but the dainty dishes are altogether their handiwork. The cook-rooms are invariably at the base of the house; but the lady has a small apartment on a higher floor, close to her sleeping room, where sweetmeats and bread and meat preparations and other interesting articles of food are got ready by her own individual labour. Even in joint families, this separation of delicate eating is effected with the tacit consent of a majority of the members. The wife cooks for her own children and husband that which is agreeable to them, in excess of the joint allowance of rice and fish. It is a delight to her to make her children sit in a ring round her husband, as she distributes the warm bread and sweetmeats, listening to the eulogies pronounced upon them. The joint ration is always miserably cooked and coarsely issued. It is the wife's labour that gives the Hindu a taste for delicacies. Frequently the lady has to exchange presents of fancy sweetmeats with friends and relations, and the taste and skill with which these are prepared are surprising. Fruits and flowers are imitated to perfection in flour and sugar; moulds are delicately carved in dried earth, with the aid of which the most grotesque shapes are given; *bon mots* and jests are stamped upon the finest specimens of confectionery; cheera or the parched beaten-rice is made out of the kernels of cocoanuts, and a hundred transformations and illusions are practised upon the commonest articles; ships and gardens and houses and railway trains and ornaments are made with the stuff used to sweeten the pán-leaf. The beauty and skill of the designs would amuse, if not amaze, Europeans.

All this is the fancy work of the Hindu female. But there is holier work before her. On the sick bed her attendance is priceless; she seems to be formed by nature for the office of a nurse. Cool, patient, and self-denying for days and nights together, she hangs over the object of her solicitude; nothing escapes her eagle eye; every need of the patient is anticipated. Indeed the devotion and strength of character manifested on such occasions by the affectionate creature prove more efficient means of the patient's recovery than the prescriptions of the doctor. The rich who are thrown upon the attentions of their servants during severe illness seldom survive; the poor whose wives are their sole attendants on the sick bed generally escape death.

The third division of my subject, *viz.*, the employment of the poorer classes of women, embraces a large range. The multitude

of their occupations baffles the attempt to describe them faithfully. There is not a department of industry in which the tall bony Bengali woman of the lower ranks is not to be found. In towns mercantile firms dealing in seed produce, in mustard, in linseed, or in rice, give employment to myriads of Hindu women in their godowns. They clean, and winnow, and husk, and perform various other duties connected with the commercial enterprise of the city. They are largely employed besides in excavating tanks and canals and in house-building. They carry weights of the lighter descriptions, pound brick dust or soorki, weave baskets, spin cotton, make ropes, and perform delicate duties in steam and other manufactories. The bulk of women in Europe, who have to provide their subsistence by manual labour, are confined to the needle. But in India, where sewn clothes are worn only by the rich, this branch of female industry is wholly unknown. But the vast field of the small trade is open to Indian women instead. They sell fish and they sell vegetables; they keep shops and stalls, and the system of caste gives the female members of the various castes a monopoly of certain trades. Thus the barber's wife is very profitably occupied in paring the nails of the ladies of the zenana and in painting their feet and fingers with the red *alta*. The washerwoman does a good stroke of business in her line; the meh-trani defies competition. The wife of the Brahmin has the exclusive privilege of being employed as cook; the dairy woman sells milk with as large a mixture of water as she chooses, for her place is guaranteed to her by her caste; the weaver woman sells clothes; and the professional dancing girl amuses the zenana with songs and fantastic evolutions of the body. There are female doctors also who undertake to cure the diseases of infants by charmed waters and charmed oils and herbs and incantations. There is a class besides of feminine match-makers, who derive large gains by procuring advantageous marriages for families, the fees realised by them in various forms being considerable. The business was formerly the monopoly of a professional class of men called *Ghuttucks*, but the influence of the Hindu female has so remarkably increased of late in the disposal of the weightier concerns of domestic life, that the men, who necessarily had no access to the zenana, have been superseded by female members of the craft, and have almost passed away from cities and large towns. There is a class of women again, who go about from house to house exchanging looking-glasses, and combs, and brass and stone plates and pots, for old clothes, faded lace, and worn-out shawls. In the country the generality of poor women live by cleaning rice, draw-

ing water, or hiring themselves as casual servants to well-to-do families. A large number are employed also in farm work and agricultural pursuits. The women dig and hoe and weed and harvest, and the gains of such simple occupations suffice to provide their simpler food and clothing. There is not much distress observable in their condition, because their wants are remarkably few, and luxury is a thing of which they do not know the name. By the natural courtesy of the Bengali mind, female labourers are very mildly treated; for to raise hands against a woman is considered to be a sinful as well as an unmanly act.

It will be seen from the foregoing hurried sketch of the occupations of Bengali women that, with the sole exception of the women of the richest families in the city, the softer sex in Bengal are most agreeably and usefully employed. The Hindu wife not only obeys and loves, but also cherishes her husband, thereby fulfilling the marriage vow to the very letter. There is room indeed for improvement; a great deal of refinement could be introduced into her manners; she may be put upon higher descriptions of work. But that change in her destiny cannot be at once effected. Her surroundings must be altered before her habits can be safely or surely meddled with. There is a large spice of domesticity in her existing composition. It is to be feared it will pass away or be lost to a great extent, if other elements are introduced.

But the naked selfishness that may dictate a perpetuation of existing conditions is inconsistent with progress. Ideas have been introduced into the Hindu mind which, when fully developed, will chafe and batter against existing restraints. We must be prepared for the crisis that awaits us. The bulk of female work suits exactly the current state of Bengali life, an inactive state to which motion is imparted only by the demands of the senses. The Bengali people are content now to eat and to sleep. But the time is coming when these will be deemed only subordinate enjoyments. The mind will demand its food as strenuously by and by as the body now does, and a re-adjustment of female occupations must inevitably then be made. All the professions and duties, it will be observed, are more or less developed in the general class of Hindu women with the sole exception of that of teacher. That there is ample room for such a profession, who will deny? Many destitute widows of the higher castes whose occupation is essentially menial at the present moment, who draw water and clean rice or perform the painful drudgeries of the cooking-room, would be glad indeed to exchange this mode of life for the more honorable occupation of

a teacher. If schools are established in the villages contiguous to the metropolis, for it would not be safe to extend the experiment further inwards, on moderate scales, for the education of the class referred to with a view to their training as teachers, numbers will be found able and willing to profit by the opportunity. But the male element should be rigidly excluded from these schools, and a character imparted to them through the co-operation of the heads of the villages, of the strictest respectability. Female teachers thus trained will be a new power in Hindu sociology. Their services will be eagerly sought for as governesses in the families of the rich and even of those of the middle classes; they will impart a tone to the entire sex, a holy and an intellectual tone now sadly wanted. It will become the fashion soon enough to have a tutoress in the establishment of each household, and if the Bengal Social Science Association can be the means of promulgating such a fashion, the gain to refinement and civilization will be such as to entitle it to the lasting gratitude of the human race.

BABU SHAMACHURN SIRCAR expressed his general concurrence* in the remarks which were contained in the paper.

BABU KISSORY CHAND MITTRA had much pleasure in testifying to the correctness of the photograph of domestic life—not perhaps a very flattering one—which had been presented to the Association. There was a proverb about a bird fouling its own nest, but he would rather liken the writer to the skilful surgeon who only probed the wound to heal it. The Hindus had one great virtue which the paper had brought out. Charity was a conspicuous trait in the national character, and provision was made for the poor in all parts of the country.

THE REV. J. LONG thought that a Poor Law would nevertheless be soon required in Bengal—not perhaps for the sake of professional beggars, but for a class above them who had greater claims to consideration.

4.—*Popular Bengali Proverbs, illustrating the social condition and opinions of the ryots, working classes, and women of Bengal.* By THE REVEREND J. LONG.

[Read on the 30th January 1868.]

The literature of Proverbs is in the present day assuming an important position among the agencies for sounding the depths of popular opinion and feeling, and as one of the best clues to the labyrinths of thought among the masses. Archbishop Trench, D'Israeli, Bohn, and a host of writers, have published works on the subjects, which have gained a wide circulation. Lord Bacon, three centuries ago, said, "Proverbs serve not only for ornament and delight, but also for action and civil uses, as being the edge tools of speech which cut and penetrate the knots of business and affairs.*" The truth of this has been exemplified in the Proverbs of Solomon, the Edda of the Scandinavians, the Poems of Hesiod, the writings of Cicero, down to the period of Erasmus, Scaliger, and a host of writers in different parts of Europe and Asia.

I have made a collection of more than 5,000 Bengali Proverbs;* a great number of which have been collected from the zenana, which is always the strong-hold of Native life and opinion. These Proverbs have been in current use for centuries, and show—in opposition to a common notion—that the Bengali was a nervous and expressive language centuries ago; in fact the style that is now coming into use among educated Native authors is pretty similar to that which prevailed for centuries before the English held a foot of land in the country. Many of them date probably from the era of Bulal Sen a thousand years ago. I give here a selection to show what treasures remain in this folk-lore repository.

The Bengal ryot has been called a dumb animal; he is certainly a very patient one, for he seldom kicks against his oppressors; he has been consigned not only to serfdom, but to what generally accompanies it—ignorance, and on one ground that he is too stupid to learn, and that money for his education is only flung into a Serbonian bog. Now, that the Bengal ryots and working classes are not naturally stupid, but have great powers of

* A selection from them is now passing through the press.

discrimination and observation, could, we think, be shown from the information regarding plants and animals they acquire in every-day life, as well as from what forms the subject of our present essay, the proverbs, which express, as Proverbs generally do, shortness, sense, and salt, confirming the truth of what Disraeli says on this subject:—"Proverbs, those neglected fragments of wisdom which exist among all nations, still offer many interesting objects for the studies of the philosopher and the historian; and for men of the world still open an extensive school of human life and manners."

CASTE.

Caste is gone and the stomach not filled. When a man has sacrificed his principles without gaining any advantage.

The nightingale lays its eggs in the crow's nest, but afterwards the young ones act according to their natural disposition.

When you like a person, what care you whether he is a sweeper or basket-maker?

Notice a dog and he'll leap on your neck.

Though you sing filthy songs on its banks, the Ganges is not defiled; a world of praises to the wicked, they will not be gentle.

DOCTORS AND LAWYERS.

Doctors in Bengal, as elsewhere, come in for their share of popular sarcasm.

*An ignorant doctor is as bad as Yama, the god of death.
The death of one hundred patients makes a man a doctor;
The death of one thousand patients makes a man a physician.
This quack is only equal to a cow doctor.
Once a patient and a physician ever after.
The healthy man fears not the doctor.*

Lawyers, too, have their share.

The Judge is changed, not so his decision.

The facility for litigation is denoted by

The Judge's door is open.

*During the trial the Judge is a Kázi, when it is over, he is a pájî (or fool).**

* Sic. When the work is finished the carpenter is a scoundrel; or the river crossed and God forgotten.

He is a shell cutter's saw. This cuts both ways, like attorneys who act for both plaintiff and defendant. So the English proverb:—
Keeping with the hare, running with the hound.

DOMESTIC LIFE.

Who has no mother and whose wife is foul-mouthed, his house is like a jungle.

Where there are brothers there is division; referring to the quarrels about family property.

My husband cannot give me rice for food,

But he is clever in thumping me.

My home is a dish to bake me in.

A man beaten by his wife no more tells it than he does his losses.

I cannot see with patience a twinkling lamp or a prying husband.

• *No clothes to the back, a veil on the head.*

HISTORICAL.

The Bengalis have generally little knowledge of or taste for history. Of the Mahrattas who desolated Bengal a century and a half ago, there is little trace except in these Proverbs:—

Bargir-hāngam (the outrages of the Mahrattas).

The Mahratta and his army crossed the Damuda.

Of the Musulmans there are a few—

The Mullah runs as far as the mosque.

Ask the Kāzi, the Hindū has no holidays.

In my mind I am a Sikh;

Yet I carry a brick under my arm.

Ridiculing the poor and proud Moslem nobles—

Like a Hindū's com or a Musulman's bastard.

One is of little use, the other vicious and contemptible!

IMAGERY.

Like all Orientals the Bengali ryot loves to illustrate ethical truths through the medium of imagery. There is much poetic prose in the language of the common people. The following are some specimens:—

An upstart boasting of his family.

A devotee of yesterday with his top-knot down to his heels.

The French system of equality does not find much favor in the patriarchal system of the East—

Are the five fingers equal?

On the evil effects of gain won by oppression—

The ant's wings increase to its own destruction.

The friendship of the wicked is a dam of sand.

The bondage of the Mahajan or creditor is expressed by

A goat tied up is at the will of even a child.

A mere plodder or drudge is *an oilman's ox*.

The man who cares little for his parents when living, yet spends much money on their shradh or funeral ceremony—

While alive he gives not a slap of his fingers for him,

When dead he covers his head with fragrant grass.

Poor people wishing for fine furniture, &c.—

Living in a hovel in a rice field,

Wishing for a bedstead.

An useless gift is denoted by *giving a blind cow to a Brahmin*.*

The difficulty of separating things when once united is expressed by

Sand mixed up with molasses.

Old women proud of their ornaments—

A gray head decorated with vermilion spots.

A fellow without shame—

A crow with its bill cut off.

Uncertain affection—

A witch's love.

Applying different treatment according to the persons you have to deal with—

The palm thrives when its leaves are kept uncleft,

The date thrives when its leaves are cut.

Even if taken up to heaven, the pedal would continue to husk the rice.

Were a woman to go to heaven, she would take her cow with her.

*As long as he does not see the devil, he does not use Ram's name.**

In separating the hair from the blanket nothing remains.

Water never mixes with oil.

The Blacksmith knows what he will make of the iron.

* So when the devil was ill, the devil a monk would be, when the devil was well, the devil a monk was he.

*A looking glass in the hand of a monkey.
Which is more useful, the nose or the breath?
He is a dwarf, yet he tries to catch the moon.
He cuts at the root, yet waters the top.
Having an Almanac, yet guessing lucky days.
Using a looking glass to look at one's bracelets.
An ox without a tail pushing at an elephant.
The sieve says to the needle, You have a large hole.
The poor man's word like the tortoise's head.
The birdlime falls on the moustache.
They pour oil into the mouth.
Sprinkling salt on a wound,—like "Job's comforters."
One is impaled;
Another counts the joints of the stake.*

Any one that has seen a crowd of Bengalis watching a fire without lending any aid, can understand this—

Commence with putting on a load of cotton, you may afterwards make the man draw a harrow.

*Inserting the thin edge of the wedge—
Milk once drawn re-enters not the dug.*

*What's done is done—
The Churuck Puja is spoiled by many devotees.
So, too many cooks spoil the broth.
He caught a frog, but broke his stick.*

In promise placing the moon in your hands.

He whose relation has been devoured by an alligator, is terrified when he sees a log.

So, a burnt child dreads the fire.

Unless there be crows, will there be no morning? alluding to those who think a work cannot be accomplished without them.

The bore is come up the river, therefore punish the potter.

So, the Godwin Sands and Tenterden steeple.

KNOWLEDGE.

Knowledge is valued to a certain extent as is shown by the 40,000 vernacular village schools in Bengal and Behar.

As is the master, so the scholar.

If the buttermilk be sour, the cocoanut splits.

If the bamboo is not bent when young, when of full age it makes a harsh sound.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A body with an ugly nose, yet named lotus' eye.
The lame man's foot slips in the hole.
If the stomach be empty, blushing is of no consequence.
Going to Ceylon for a few grains of turmeric.
Weeding out the rogues, the village is a desert.
Like digging a well when the house is on fire.
Scented oil on the head, the body so filthy as to drive away sleep.
The sight of a horse makes the traveller lame.
When a fool tries to be witty, he gives you a stroke with
his scythe.
The fool not knowing how to walk, cries out the road is rough.
Is there a fellow so stupid as to wish to hear a thing, when he
can see it with his own eyes?
Droppings from his own thatch drown him, yet he would cross
the ocean.
You can never tame the wild.
Oil and water can never mix.
Can the fishing boat hold the ship's mast?

NATURAL AFFECTION.

No people exceed the Hindus in the strength of their natural affections; even "sati" was regarded, like duelling in Europe, as a point of honor.

Who venerates his mother gains salvation.
Happiness is found in the mother's bosom.

OPPRESSION.

The relation of the carving knife to the pumpkin.
The love the Musulman has to his fowl,
The same the Zemindar has to the ryot,
So the English, As sheep fattened for the slaughter.
The twig is harder than its parent bamboo. Showing that minor
 agents are more oppressive than the principals.
The tiger killing the cow.
No gain, but the punch of a stick.

TALKING, GRATITUDE.

That the Bengali is too much a race of talkers is acknowledged in the following :—

In talk a tiger, in fighting a lizard.

Lazy in work, powerful in eating, in word he sets every thing on fire.

Bengalis have been accused of having neither gratitude nor a word for it in their language, though there are such terms as *Kritagyata*, the sense of a favor.—*Nimakharam* one who destroys his salt.

Whose food he eats, his praises he sings.

Whose salt he eats, his qualities he respects.

TRUTH, HONESTY.

It is only the shrimp who moves backward.

The house of Yam (Death) is a razor's edge.

For the double minded there is no salvation.

The thief and the hog go the same road.

WOMEN.

Women of course are treated very sarcastically—

Woman's cunning brings on a deluge of destruction.

Woman eats twice as much as a man. And is four times as cunning.

Women are never straightforward.

Tell a woman a secret, she will publish it.

A woman with a high forehead, long teeth, crooked feet, whoever marries her, destroys three generations.

Like the boasting of the chaukular before his wife.

It is only when a woman dies and is turned to ashes, that we know certainly she is free from fault.

He gets no place in the assembly,

On returning home he thrashes his wife.

The wife recognises not the Brahman in the husband.

So the English, Too much familiarity breeds contempt.

BABU GREESH CHUNDER GHOSE said that Bengali literature abounded in proverbs, and that weddings were a fruitful source of them, it being the custom for the bridesmaids to exhibit their wit in this way, and to test severely the intellect of the bridegroom by asking him to explain them. There was one proverb, however, which the writer had erroneously translated. "During the trial the judge is a Kazi, when it is over, he is a fool." The true meaning of the proverb was this: speaking of a selfish and ungrateful man, "When he wants anything from me, he treats me like a judge, but when he has got it, I am nobody at all."

BABU SHAMACHURN SIRCAR supported the writer in his opinion that Bengali literature was of no recent date. The Ramayana dated back several centuries, and he (the speaker) had seen Bengali Sanads which were some hundred years old. At the same time prose writing was doubtless of later date than poetry.

THE REV. MR. LONG said he had not been able to find any proverbs relating to the English conquest of the country, and he should be glad to be made acquainted with any which existed.

ECONOMY AND TRADE.

5.—*Statistics of Agriculture in Bengal.* By H. BEVERLEY, M. A.

[Read on the 31st March 1868.]

The want of trustworthy agricultural statistics has long been felt to be a crying evil in Lower Bengal; and the subject was therefore very properly one of the first to engage the attention of this Association. In October last, the Council prepared and circulated a series of questions bearing upon the state of agriculture in this country and the condition of the agricultural classes. Replies have been received from thirty different quarters, and in the following paper an endeavour has been made to exhibit, in as clear a light as possible, the general results which may be deduced from them. To prevent misconception, however, it should perhaps first be explained that, although very valuable information may doubtless be collected and made public by such an Association as this, it is not to be expected that any *complete* returns can result from a purely voluntary agency. The Association has, of course, no means of *compelling* information; it can only ask assistance from its members and friends, and can only receive just so much as they choose to afford it. The difficulty of collecting information in this country, even in official walks of life, is proverbial. It may well be illustrated by the case of the Collector of a certain district in Bengal, who at the time of the late famine addressed two hundred and fifty of the most influential zemindars and others in the district, requesting them in the most courteous terms to visit him and discuss the prospects of the season. He received no more than thirteen replies, and not a single individual ever came to see him. It is satisfactory, therefore, to observe that the Association has received as many as thirty papers in answer to its enquiries regarding the agriculture of Bengal. It is quite possible that more replies may yet be received (and the Association will be very glad to receive them), but it is only fair to those gentlemen who have so promptly complied with the Society's request that an abstract of their labours should be laid before the Association without further delay.

NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE CROPS.

The first subject on which information was requested related to agricultural statistics properly so called, the number and rotation of crops, the proportion of land occupied by different descrip-

tions of produce, and the means of renewing the productive powers of the soil, whether by a system of fallows or otherwise. The replies on this head, which have been received, are somewhat conflicting, and they are not so complete as to render any minute analysis of them of any value or importance. It may be stated, generally, as indeed is probably well known already, that the great staple produce of the country is *rice*, the cultivation of which occupies at least three-fourths of the culturable area of Bengal Proper, one-half of that in Behar, and nearly the whole of Orissa. In Bengal there are two crops of rice; the *Aus*, which is sown in June and reaped in September, and the *Aman*, sown also in June, transplanted in August, and reaped in December. The proportion of the *Aus* to the *Aman* varies in different districts, depending upon the level of the soil relative to the water supply. In Nuddea and Jessore this proportion would appear to be as nearly as possible 2 to 1.

The *Aus* lands are invariably sown afterwards with a cold weather crop, and they are in certain localities allowed to lie fallow,—in Nuddea and Comorcolly for two or three years after every three successive years of cultivation—in Jessore, for one year after two years' cultivation. The *Aman* lands, on the other hand, do not always yield a second crop during the year, and, as a rule, they are never allowed to lie fallow; but the localities in which a system of fallows prevails would appear to be very limited. In most districts the soil is so rich that, without either fallows or manure, it yields crop after crop, year after year, without ever being exhausted.

Of the other crops grown besides rice, indigo is perhaps the most important in Bengal, occupying in some districts as much as one-eighth of the culturable area. Sugar-cane, mulberry, chillies, tobacco, and jute are also grown during the rains in about equal proportions. The cold weather crops are *oil-seeds* (which occupy about five-eighths of the land), *pulses* (one-fourth), and *grain* (one-eighth).

The greater part of the *Shálí* or rice land in Bengal yields but one crop in the year. Some of the *Saneh* lands, on the other hand, are said to yield as many as *three* successive crops in the year. Moreover, two crops are often sown simultaneously on the same land. Thus in Midnapore *khesárl* is sown in paddy-fields, and *sudágunja* is grown with indigo. In Hooghly *teora* (a kind of pulse) grows simultaneously with paddy. In Tipperah *shatya* is sown with the *Aus* paddy. In Nuddea *arhar* and *kalát* are grown with the *Aus* paddy, and *rai*, *matar*, and *kalát* with Indigo. In Bancoorah

wheat or peas are grown with mustard, barley or gram with linseed, and cotton with gram. The yield of each is never so great as if the crop were sown singly, but the aggregate of the two is greater than one, and with two simultaneous crops a return of some sort is made more certain.

In Behar the *kharif* lands, forming about $\frac{9}{16}$ ths of the whole area of the province, produce but one crop in the year, paddy, *janerá* or *kalát*. This is also called the *Aghari* crop. On other lands there are two crops, the *Bhádowí*, consisting of *janerá*, *marwa*, and *sathi* paddy, and then the *rabí*, or cold weather crops of seeds, wheat, barley, and poppy. In some parts *khesári* is sown on paddy lands as in Bengal, and reaped in the following March or April. Fallows appear to be almost unknown.

Rice is, of course, the great crop of Orissa. Mr. Barton, an official of some experience in the province, whose statements may be relied on, estimates that there must be at least twenty different kinds of rice grown there. There are three crops—

- (1). The *Sarud*, sown in May and June, and cut in January. This is the great crop of the province, and is sown on the best land.
- (2). The *Beali*, sown also in May and reaped in October, after which pulses are grown on the same land.
- (3). The *Dalna*, sown from December to February, and reaped about three months afterwards. This crop can only be grown on lands which are easily inundated.

Arhar is sown on high land and not on paddy land at all. Sugar-cane on *Beali* land. Tobacco, of which there is a good deal grown in Pooree, on the river banks. The only crops which are sown simultaneously in Orissa are *mandia* and *kalát*, and *kulthi* and *phesú*.

"Land when once brought into cultivation," writes Mr. Barton, "is never allowed to lie fallow, but is cropped as long as it will bear. Fallow land in the strict sense of the term is unknown. Only when sugar-cane is grown, land is sometimes allowed to rest for a year or two, as the ryots have a firm belief that this crop exhausts the land much."

In going through these papers, it is curious to remark the great difference which is reported in the yield of the soil in adjacent districts. In Bancoorah a beegah appears to yield 16 maunds of

paddy; in Maunbhoom 5 or 6 only; in Midnapore 10 maunds; and in Hooghly 16. In Tipperah the yield appears to be only 5 maunds. These statements regarding the average produce of various crops have been reduced to a tabular form in the Appendix, but an attempt will be made in some future number to render the Statement more accurate and complete.

AGENCY EMPLOYED IN CULTIVATION.

The next point on which the Council solicited information regarded the agency by which the cultivation of the soil is carried on. And, generally speaking, the result of our enquiries goes to show that almost the whole of the land in Bengal is held and cultivated in small patches by families or individual ryots, who use their own cattle and implements for the purpose. Such a class as the capitalist-farmers of England appears to be altogether unknown in this country. At the same time cases are reported in which hired labour is employed to work with the capital, and under the direction of, the master ryot. High caste Brahmin and Rajput ryots in Behar and elsewhere employ hired labour in this way, and a zemindar frequently in this manner himself holds and cultivates his own *Kámut* land. Our Maunbhoom correspondent mentions, as a curious fact, that while Brahmins and such like would sooner resort to beggary than lose caste by handling a *plough*, yet they do not scruple to use the *kodáli* (spade), to dig the earth, and aid the ploughman in other ways. But they religiously abstain from themselves touching the plough, which is worked by hired labourers.

It is the fact, too, that many of the Bengalis who are engaged in public offices or business in and around Calcutta hold and cultivate land by means of hired labour in the surrounding districts; the operations being superintended by a sort of head-servant or bailiff, and the master-farmer himself visiting the land from time to time. This practice, it is believed, is not uncommon in the district of Hooghly.

The average size of a ryot's holding appears to vary from 3 or 4 acres in Lower Bengal and Orissa to 5 and 6 acres in Behar. The reason of the smaller comparative holdings in the districts of Hooghly, Burdwan, and the 24-Pergunnahs is attributed to the scarcity of, and consequent competition for, land. The holding may either be taken in the name of a single ryot or in the names of two or three of the same family, but the opinion seems to be general that beyond the joint family, there is no attempt at combination in the taking and cultivating of land. An exception to this rule is

mentioned by a correspondent from Midnapore, who writes:—"A family consisting of female and minor members only, joins with another or other families having able-bodied male members."—And again, "in cases in which the zemindar does not like to divide an entire *jumma*, ryots take the land in combination, each of them being jointly and severally liable for the rent." But in such a case our Jessore correspondent adds, that the ryots immediately divide the lands among themselves.

In Orissa Mr. Barton says that this combination of ryots has lately become considerable, in consequence of the impoverishment of the people by the famine.

Mr. Barton also mentions a peculiar method of cultivation which is common in Pooree: "The owner of the land makes it over to a ryot, who gives all the labour and pays to the owner part of the produce in kind. This compact is known as *bhag*. There are two sorts of it; *viz.*, *Sunja bhag*, when the particular amount to be given is defined, and *Dhali bhag*, when the cultivator gets one-half of the produce and the owner of the land the other half." Mr. Barton would appear to imply that the capital is found by the land-owner, and if so, the system would appear to be the pure *métayer* system of Italy and France. Similarly, in Bengal, if a ryot's *jumma* exceeds the quantity he can cultivate himself, he either makes over a portion to a neighbour on the condition of an equal division of produce, or sub-lets it. In the former case sometimes the ryot finds the seed for the land as well as the rent; but generally the actual cultivator finds the whole of the capital as well as the labour required, the superior ryot paying the rent only. In regard to certain crops, the cultivation of which is more expensive, as sugar-cane and potatoe, the share of the superior ryot in this arrangement is one-third only, and this is called the *teoth* system. A similar practice would seem to be known in Maunbhoom, but our correspondent's meaning is not very intelligible: "Some people cultivate by admitting ryots to shares, who grow the produce at their own expense and labour, the owners of the land being satisfied with only one-third of the produce, the cattle and implements being their own. The proportion between such proprietors and cultivators is supposed to be $\frac{3}{4}$ th and $\frac{1}{4}$ th."

REGULATION OF RENTS.

The rent of the holding is mainly regulated by custom. "It is only when a piece of land is particularly fertile," writes Babú Jadúnath Rai of Kishnaghur, "or when it possesses peculiar advan-

“tages of situation, that there is any competition for it. Ordinarily rents are paid according to a certain established *nirikh*, made out from time to time in accordance with the supposed productive powers of the land. There are fixed *nirikhs* for each *pergunnah*, and in ‘*uthbundi*’ tenures, a ryot can cultivate as much land as he pleases on paying rent according to the *nirikh*. But the case is not the same with *jummas*, which are generally let out at much less than the fixed *nirikh*. Consequently there is a good deal of competition for them, and the rents are regulated accordingly. When there is any competition for *uthbundi* tenures the ryot would rather pay the zemindar something in the shape of *salāmi* than pay a *cowri* above the fixed *nirikh*.

“The way in which the *nirikh* is changed is worthy of remark : When a *Mohal* passes from one to another by *ijāra*, *putnī*, or sale, the *nirikh* is generally changed. The *ijārādar*, *putnīdar*, or the new purchaser summons the principal ryots to his zemindarry *cutcherry*, and informs them of his wish to enhance the *nirikh*, either in the name of *ijārādari* or *putnīdārī*, or some other sort of contribution. If the ryots agree, the rates are at once increased; otherwise he uses every means, legal or illegal, to harass them till they yield to his wishes. When a zemindar is a monied or influential man, and needs not to let out his estate in *ijāra* or *putnī*, he generally levies some sort of contribution, either *Chunda* or *Mathut*, at intervals when the ryot appears to be in good circumstances. These *Chundas* and *Mathuts* are irregularly realized for some years, that is to say, they are only exacted from those who are in a position to pay them easily, and not from such as are in bad circumstances. This state of things continues until the zemindar can realize the whole amount without any murmur on the part of the ryots, when he thinks it expedient to incorporate it with the former rent. The village lands are then measured again, and the rents fixed according to an increased *nirikh*.”

Of Pooree Mr. Barton writes as follows :—“ Competition for land exists, but it is local rather than general, being chiefly confined to the village to which the land belongs. Custom, however, I believe to have the chief influence in the regulation of rent. With regard to that, all land is stereotyped into one of three kinds, and an Oorya will seldom give more than its own stated rent for each kind. They are thus known among the ryots :—

“ (1). *Sardar*, literally the whole price. This is paid for the best rice land, being Rs. 3-8 to Rs. 4 a beegah.

"(2). *Duffadar*, somewhat short of the full price, about Rs. 2-8 a beegah.

"(3). *Kamdar*, low-price land, fetching only Rs. 1-4 a beegah.

"River banks often let at Rs. 8 a beegah, and even more. But an Oorya ryot first asks as to the kind of land, and when he is told that, the rent is a matter of course."

In Jessore there is said to be great competition for land. "The demand for it is 'very high.' This is the best cultivated district in Bengal. Every *pergunnah* has its fixed rate of rent, but this competition among the ryots often proves very injurious to them by enhancing the rate."

EXTENT OF THE RYOT'S RESOURCES.

"The capital of a ryot," writes Babú Jadúnath Rai, "usually consists of his house, a *kutchah* building thatched with straw, worth Rs. 20 or 25, a cow-shed, worth Rs. 10 or 15, a pair or two of oxen, worth Rs. 30 to Rs. 60, and his agricultural implements. These are a *meda* (harrow), valued at Rs. 1-8, a plough worth Re. 1, a *moye* (or levelling instrument) 2 annas, a spade or *kodili* Rs. 1-4, a *nirani* (or weeding instrument) 2 annas, and a *kastia* or reaping instrument 6 annas, or Rs. 4-6 in all. The capital of a ryot, therefore, varies between Rs. 65 and Rs. 105."

We have similar replies from other districts. In Monghyr "an average ryot generally keeps 2 ploughs, 4 bullocks, a *kodal*, a *khurpa*, a couple of *haswas*, and some stored produce. This is predicated of a ryot in easy circumstances, but a poor ryot has only his one plough, a pair of bullocks, a *kodal*, *khurpa* and *haswa*. He has no stored produce and never any available money."

Mr. Barton writes of Pooree:—"A ryot usually has two bullocks, a plough, a cart, a spade, and a harrow. The harrow, however, is only a block of wood on which the ryot stands while the bullocks drag it—a fairly difficult gymnastic feat! A good many ryots store grain, but it is only that of the current year, and is *always* sold off by the end of the year. This remark applies only to well-to-do ryots, of whom I am glad to say there are many in this district, especially in the Government Estate of Khurda. The poorer ryots sell off the grain as soon as it is threshed. The house in which a ryot lives is chiefly his own. His cow-house is under the same roof, and is generally that part of the house which is

"next the street. Few ryots have money, but in some villages there are enterprising ryots, who save a rupee or two, and trade on it with their neighbours."

In Maunbhoom the ryots are perhaps worse off than elsewhere, but there is one article which the poorest are not without, that is a charpoy matted with ropes. "Strange, yet true," writes our correspondent, "a ryot never lays himself down on the bare ground."

EMPLOYMENT OF HIRED OR BORROWED LABOUR.

The holding of a ryot being so restricted, it is not often that he has to look for extra labour beyond the limits of his own family circle. Labour is, however, both *hired* and *borrowed* to a considerable extent. In Orissa Mr. Barton estimates that one-half the labour employed in the cultivation of the soil is hired and paid for. In an agricultural village of 60 families in Jessore, three individuals only employed hired servants. The younger brothers of a well-to-do ryot labour, while the eldest, the Mandal, directs and acts as superintendent, settling accounts with the zemindar and mahajun. The number that employ *hired* labour, writes Babu Shishir Coomarr Ghose, may be estimated at six per cent. A Midnapore correspondent writes:—"It has been stated above that the average extent of land actually cultivated by each ryot is 8 beegahs, but it is not to be therefore understood that he *alone* either ploughs or irrigates, or reaps the whole. When a ryot holds just so much land as a single man can cultivate, the extra labour is borrowed, and repaid by his own services; but when the holding exceeds that limit, the ryot must pay the labourers in money, and this payment varies from 1 anna to 1½ annas per diem. The charge for ploughmen is sometimes greater." In the adjoining district of Bancoorah, the charge for ploughmen is stated to be 2 annas per diem. In Maunbhoom the labourers are paid in kind at the rate of four or five seers of paddy a day, and in this way a labourer may earn twelve maunds of paddy during the season. Others are paid by a fixed share of the produce. In Hooghly and 24-Pergunnahs, the wages of an agricultural labourer average from three annas to six annas per diem. The hire of a plough and yoke of oxen is four annas a day.

Babú Bhugwun Chunder Bose thus writes from Tipperah:—"Generally the ryots have recourse to hired labour at the time of ploughing and reaping. At the former season they keep one or two servants, and at the latter as many as twenty or thirty, who are employed at the same time and paid in kind, each man being

"allowed a bundle of paddy. But when a family consists of three or four individuals capable of work, and is rich enough to possess two or three ploughs, hired labour is not employed. There exists a practice in Pergunnah Sarail, under which ryots holding distinct lands assist each other by the loan of ploughs and cattle as well as their own labour. In some cases a money payment is made, and in other the labour is exchanged."

But the Nuddea division would seem to be the locality in which this system of *exchanging* labour flourishes best. Babú Jadúnath Rai thus describes it:—"Hired labour is not so common as the system of *gántha*; it is only when a *gántha* cannot be formed, or when the urgency of the occasion requires the immediate employment of coolies, that recourse is had to hired daily labour. A *gántha* means a contract or combination formed among cultivators to assist each other by the mutual loan of labour and implements. For example, A possesses two pair of oxen and a plough; he forms a *gántha* with five, six or ten others, all of whom come on a certain day to A's land and work together for a fixed time. On the second day B's land is taken up, and so on for five, six, or ten days. Almost all the processes of cultivation from ploughing to reaping are carried on by *gántha*. But one and the same *gántha* does not exist from the commencement throughout. Separate *gánthas* are formed among different parties from time to time, and it is only when A finds that he cannot form a *gántha*, or that his fields will be overgrown with weeds before his turn for the *gántha* comes, that he is compelled to employ hired labour. The obligation of the *gántha* is then sold to a stranger. The word *gántha* is perhaps a corruption of the Sanskrit word *granthana*, a knot, from *grantha*, to join."

In Behar, where the ryots as a body would appear to be much better off and to cultivate larger holdings than in Bengal Proper, the employment of paid labourers is the rule rather than the exception. The well-to-do ryots keep their own *harwáhts* and *kameeas*, and others employ them from time to time, as required. They advance them a sum of money without interest, binding them to plough whenever wanted until the amount is repaid. For each day's labour, they receive diet at the rate of two seers of grain per man.

FUNCTIONS OF THE MAHAJUN.

Such, however, is the impecuniosity of the ordinary Bengal ryot, that no cultivation can be carried on—nay, often life itself cannot be supported—without the aid of the money-lender or mahajun.

The replies to the Society's question show that there are very few ryots who are altogether independent of the village mahajun. The number of these exceptional cases is almost unanimously estimated at from one to six per cent. of the whole. In Tipperah only we are told that "about half the ryots of this Sub-division (Nasirnagar) "have capital of their own and are independent of the mahajun." In Maunbhoom the proportion of free and independent ryots is estimated at $\frac{1}{6}$ th. Babú Prosono Coomar Sen says of Narail:—"The high "price of paddy during the last few years has very much improved "the condition of the ryots. Nearly a sixth of them have been "rendered independent of the mahajun and possess capital of their "own." "The ryots no sooner become independent however," writes Babú Shishir Coomar Ghose, "than they themselves become "mahajuns in their turn." Babú Joykissen Mookerjee confirms this statement as regards the districts of Howrah, Burdwan, and the 24-Pergunnahs. He estimates that nearly $\frac{5}{16}$ ths of the ryots are independent; about one-half have to borrow for half the year, and the rest are in a chronic state of indebtedness. A class of independent ryots has also sprung into existence, and appears to be on the increase in Hooghly, Burdwan, and Jessore.

The assistance of the *mahajun* is given by way of advances, either by loans of money or of grain under the usurious *barki* system. As a rule, it may be laid down that the latter is the more general shape which these advances take. Grain is required by the ryot for two purposes; (1), for *seed*, and (2), for *food*, till the next crop is ripe. Grain advanced for seed is repayable at harvest time with 100 per cent. in addition by way of interest. Grain advanced for food carries 50 per cent. interest. The distinction is very curious, and it is almost universal. It is curious, because it accords with the great distinction between productive and unproductive wealth. There are some minor differences, however, in the practice of the *mahajuns* in different districts, and as the subject is one of considerable interest, it may be pardonable to quote at greater length from the replies which the Association has received:—

Babú Jadúnath Rai (of Kishnaghur) writes:—"The mahajuns "advance paddy in measures that are repaid in kind with 50 per "cent. interest on the principal. The paddy or other kind of grain "used for seed is repaid, increased by an equal quantity by way of "interest. There is no difference in the interest on account of the "time of the advance; for instance, paddy advanced in the month of "April or May is repaid in the same manner, and with the same interest on the principal, as that advanced in August. The advance

"of paddy covers almost all the expenses of the ryot, except his rent, which is generally paid in money. The money advanced by the mahajun for rent or casual expenses is repaid after the cold weather crops are reaped, with interest at the rate of 37 or 38 per cent."

Babú Shishir Coomar Ghose writes of Jessore :—"Paddy is advanced in April, May, and June. The ryot chooses his own time for repayment. He must pay within the year, and the interest must be one-half of the quantity advanced, but he derives no advantage from paying early, for the charge is just the same. Yet the ryots pay a large part in July, and the rest in January, in order to maintain their credit."*

"In Midnapore the advances of *paddy* are generally made by the zemindar, to whom the crop is hypothecated in the first place for the *rent*, and in the next for repayment of these advances. The rates of interest, or usury as it may be termed, is, however, the same." This is not always the case. Our Bancoorah correspondent says :—"Good zemindars generally advance money to their ryots to avoid their going over to the village merchants, charging them 12 per cent. per annum. The people thus not only get money at moderate rates of interest, but have the further advantage of being able to sell their own crop at market rates." So Babú Rash Behary Bose of Khoolna :—"It is generally not from the mahajun, but from the zemindar, that the ryots take advances."

One of our Midnapore correspondents states that if the advance is made in October, instead of in June, the amount is repaid with one-third only instead of with one-half in addition, but this statement is not confirmed by any other writer. On the contrary Babú Gourdash Bysack states that the rate of interest varies in Maunbhoom *inversely* as the period for which the loan is advanced. "Mahajuns' advances," he writes, "generally assume the shape of seeds and paddy; the former for sowing, and the latter for the current consumption of the ryot. In rare cases money is lent. The former is repaid by 50 to 100 per cent., and the latter at an interest of 24 to 30 per cent. per annum. It depends upon the length of time for which the loan is sought; if it is taken in Assar, there is a longer prospect of interest and the charge is less. If at a later time, when the cultivation is in progress, the interest is greater, but the figures above quoted are rarely exceeded."

* [Query.—Is it not rather taken from them?]

In Bancoorah also the rates of interest appear to be only half what they are farther east. A zemindar of that district, Babú Radha Churn Gangooly, writes:—"There are petty tradesmen in the villages here, who are assisted by the merchants of adjacent markets to advance money to the cultivators for which they generally charge 24 per cent. per annum; and when seed and food are advanced, they are to return the articles in kind with 50 per cent. for seed, and 24 per cent. for food on the quantity advanced."

In Orissa the rate is generally 50 per cent. Mr. Barton writes:—"The mahajun advances seed grain generally at the rate known as *deri*, that is, the seed is to be repaid from the next crop, plus 50 per cent. as interest. The *deri* compact is the general one on all loans of rice, but sometimes a shady ryot with a bad character is obliged to come under the shears of the *do-pul* contract, or 100 per cent. per annum. The ryot generally borrows paddy, but he sometimes indulges in the loan of money also."

In Behar the ryot would appear to borrow money as often as grain, and the rates are much lower than in Bengal Proper, rarely indeed exceeding 24 per cent. "A ryot wants grain for seed," writes our Monghyr correspondent, "and for his own use during the cultivating season, July and August. He goes to the *mahajun* and gets a rupee's worth. Suppose grain sells at 50 seers, the mahajun gives him 45 seers only, and gets a bond for Re. 1-4. It is agreed that the ryot repays him in December or January in cash or in kind, which latter is taken at the then maximum market rate. If perchance the ryot is unable to repay within the stipulated time interest is charged on the balance at the rate of 2 per cent. per mensem. If he borrows a rupee in cash he gives a bond for Re. 1-4, engaging to repay the amount on the gathering of the crops in cash or in kind. The mahajun generally prefers being repaid in kind."

As regards the rate of interest charged for these advances, it will be seen that the replies are most conflicting even for the same district; the rates given varying from 18 to 100 per cent. It may be gathered, however, that interest on *money advances* ranges from 24 to 35½ per cent, while on paddy it is generally 50 per cent. After all, it must be remembered, as is remarked by Babú Shishir Coomar Ghose, "the mahajun advances dried paddy, and gets new and moist paddy in return. By this he loses ½th of his apparent profit, which is thereby reduced to 37½ per cent., as in the case of cash advances. Another ½th is probably lost from the roguary

"or poverty of his creditors. Of course there are some who are "ruined by such transactions, but a profit of 25 per cent. on advances of paddy may be fairly expected."

EXTENT TO WHICH THE RYOT CAN DISCHARGE HIS OBLIGATIONS.

How far the ryot is able to discharge his debt at the close of the season is a matter on which considerable difference of opinion is expressed. *Prima facie*, it might certainly be thought that, with a rate of interest varying from 25 to 50 per cent. upon the working capital, the profits upon agriculture in this country must be very exceptional, to enable a ryot to liquidate the advances taken each year, besides paying wages and rent. Let us, however, examine our authorities. On the one side we have replies such as these: "The account between the ryot and the mahajun is always annually settled, but it is seldom a poor ryot gets his discharge. The debt continues for some time, until he is in a better position to meet the mahajun's demands." (Monghyr). "There is an account annually, but rarely complete discharge of debt." (Maunbhoom). "The account is scarcely ever settled at the end of the year with the mahajun. Generally the ryot pays 3ths of what he owes, leaving a fourth unpaid. The ruinous interest keeps the ryot without interruption between the fangs of the usurer, where he sticks till he dies or has the last drop of blood sucked out of him." (Pooree). "The account between the ryot and mahajun is not always settled annually." (Tipperah). "If the proceeds of the cultivation turn out fair, the ryot pays both principal and interest, otherwise the debt hangs on from year to year."

On the other hand, we have opinions such as these:—"The account between the ryot and mahajun is annually settled, and the balance discharged, excepting in case of scarcity." (Jessore). "The ryots are very punctual in their payments, but in bad seasons many ryots are not able to pay up all they owe." (Jessore). "The ryots, with few exceptions, pay off their debts in the month of Magh." (Midnapore). "The *dena paona* between them is cleared off annually." (Midnapore). "The account between him and the ryot is settled annually, and the balance, except in few instances, discharged." (Hooghly).

Many of our correspondents avoid giving any opinion whatever on the subject, and the balance of such opinions as are expressed would appear to be pretty equal. It is admitted, however, by almost all that there are cases every year in which the ryot is not able to liquidate his advances, and we may therefore fairly conclude that the

number of such cases is not inconsiderable. Indeed, when it is considered how ruinous the system of working upon borrowed capital has proved in the cultivation of such valuable crops as tea and indigo, it can scarcely be the fact that a similar system should be remunerative in the case of the ordinary products of the soil, and when the rate of interest is at least double that which is charged in the case of European enterprise.

But our correspondents are unanimous in the assertion that, whenever a ryot does fail in this way to liquidate his obligations at the season's close, the balance of both principal and interest due is carried on to the next year, at precisely the same rate of interest as if it were a fresh advance. Thus the debt accumulates at compound interest at rates varying from 25 to 50 per cent., and it may perhaps be stated without fear of contradiction that if a ryot once fails to meet his obligations, and no very extraordinary season intervene, he must sooner or later become hopelessly involved and ruined.

DISPOSAL OF THE CROP.

When the ryot is thus bound hand and foot to the mahajun it is not to be expected that the crop should be at his free disposal. It is in fact hypothecated to the mahajun, and on being reaped is often stored at once in his *khamar*, or threshing floor. In Bengal Proper this is generally the case, so far at least as the rice crop is concerned; the number of ryots, who are not dependent on the mahajun, being small. The mahajun further appraises the crop at 2 annas per rupee below the market price.* As regards the cold weather crops, they are generally purchased from the ryot by *beparis*, petty dealers, who sell them to *aratdars* or brokers, to be transferred by them again to traders or shop-keepers. A large proportion of these crops are, however, kept by the ryot for his own use.

Babú Gour Dass Bysack writes, speaking of the rice crop in Maunbhoom:—"As the greater part of the produce happens to be "hypothecated, the disposal of it virtually rests with the mahajun, "who often manages to appropriate the whole to his own benefit. "A considerable portion goes out of the district by means of be- "paris, who come from other districts with such commodities as "salt, clothes, and the necessaries of life. Most of the ryot's bar- "gains and transactions are made by barter. Sales take place at

* The produce is sometimes stored out of doors, but more often inside the house. Babú Shishir Coomarr Ghose significantly remarks that the License Tax will drive it all in. Babú Shishir Coomarr Ghose, we believe, is an Assessor.

“hâts, but a ryot rarely leaves them with money; he acquires the articles needed by him in *exchange*. * * * As a rule, every person is expected to replenish his *marûl* against the year's consumption, but the poor *chasa's* little supply soon runs out, and he is left, as ever, a hanger on on the hands of the usurer and the speculator. It is true that a considerable portion of the produce is disposed of both at the hâts and in the compound, but in very few cases is it in the interest of the ryot.”

A correspondent from Midnapore states that, after paying his rent and the expenses of cultivation, a ryot will have $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the crop left for himself; but this, it must be presumed, is predicated of an independent ryot, who has freed himself from the grasp of the mahajun.

Mr. Barton thus describes the manner in which the rice crop is disposed of in Orissa:—

“The rice crop is first threshed out by the treading of oxen in the house of the ryot. It is then cleaned by being riddled through a sieve, the wind blowing the chaff away. If there is no wind, an artificial current of air is created by means of fans.

“The grain now assumes the form of *paddy*, which is for the most part disposed of in the following way: The first thing is to store sufficient for next year's seed, and this is religiously preserved. The ryot then conveys to his mahajun as much paddy as he can in payment of his debt. He afterwards stores as much as is consistent with the above for his own use, but if he cannot afford to store it, he disposes of it in the following manner: He himself takes it to market in his cart, where he is met by an institution of the mahajuns. Each mahajun entertains a number of *touters* for grain, called *dandidars*, who frequent the routes pursued by the ryots to market, and use every endeavour to persuade them to dispose of their grain to their respective masters. No doubt these *dandidars* are often instrumental in causing the ryot loss and inconvenience. If the ryot does not himself take the grain to market, he disposes of it to some itinerating grain merchant, or to the village agent of the mahajun.

“Paddy, as every one knows, is converted into rice before consumption, and this is done by the people themselves, for it is profitable, especially to the poor, whose women and children can do the *dhenki* work. It may be stated generally that the husked rice sold in the market is converted from paddy by labour expended on it in the house of the ryot.

"The rice universally eaten here is called 'osuna,' from the fact "that the paddy is par-boiled before it is husked. A little *aru* "rice is also made."

POPULATION AND MARRIAGE.

A most interesting, and indeed a most important consideration connected with the agriculture of any country is the ratio which its population bears to the land. But until we have a regular, periodical and accurate census in India, all questions relating to population must be more or less subject to doubt and error. We have reason for believing that the population of Bengal is remarkably dense—the population of the North-West Provinces is as dense as that of England—and it is an undoubted fact that it is mainly agricultural. A most intelligent zemindar of Orissa—a gentleman well known in this city—took a census of his estates there shortly before the famine of 1866, and he states that he found from 600 to 700 souls to the square mile. If that is a true average, those parts of Orissa are inhabited with a density nearly twice that of Belgium, the most densely populated country in Europe. And, although one-third of the population of Orissa is said to have been carried off by the ravages of the famine, I myself witnessed a few months ago the greatest competition going on for the holdings of those who had fallen victims to that calamity. And yet Orissa exported rice largely before the famine, and doubtless will shortly do so again.

Without some statistics, it would be impossible even to guess at the rate at which population normally progresses in this country. And even if we had statistics, a single year of those famines or pestilences by which this country is periodically devastated, would cause a disturbance in the calculations not to be easily remedied. But the question arises, whether there is any limit, short of such national calamities, to the natural increase of the human species in this country. I am myself inclined to think not. Malthusian doctrines are not popular anywhere; but in Europe a man does not ordinarily take to himself a wife until he has acquired the means of supporting her as well as himself. In India, on the contrary, no such considerations affect the question of marriage. Marriages take place at an early age, before the husband is able to support himself even, and they take place as a matter of course. Assuming further that they are at least as prolific as marriages in England, what is there to prevent over-population in this country, but those visitations of Providence of which it has such painful experience? The answers to the Society's enquiry on this point

are unanimous. Girls at least must be and are married before the age of puberty. "This superstitious custom," writes Babu Jadunath Rai, "in a manner necessitates the early marriage of men also, for no man of 25 or 30 would like to marry a girl of 10. It is none the less incumbent on parents to marry their male children, but it is not considered improper or irreligious to wait till they are old enough to earn their means of livelihood."

"Marriage among the agricultural classes," writes Babu Prosono Coomar Sen, "is a matter of course at the age of between eighteen and twenty-four generally; it is not governed by any prudential considerations. When they arrive at the above mentioned age, they must marry as soon as they obtain a good crop. If they do not obtain any good crop soon, they make a contract with some rich man who requires their services, take their one year's pay in advance and spend the amount in marriage. Some five or six years back, the annual wages of one of the agricultural class was hardly above Rs. 15, of which Rs. 10 would be paid as *pun* for the daughter, and the remaining Rs. 5 they would spend in performing other ceremonies considered as necessary to the formation of a marriage tie. But during the last few years the annual pay of one of this class has been raised from Rs. 15 to Rs. 36 per annum; the *pun* for the daughter has also been increased from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 nearly, and the ceremonial expenses have likewise been proportionably increased. This shows a considerable improvement in their condition. But prudential motives do not govern their marriage even now."

"Marriage among the agricultural classes," writes Babu Gour Dass Bysack, "takes place as soon as the ryot is able to scrape together the expenses of a wedding. There is no fixed age, but it is governed by no considerations of the means of living. Such an idea never enters the head of a ryot. His idea of life is that he was born to marry and to leave progeny for his salvation, and marry he will, come what may, as soon as he is in a position to meet the necessary charges. The parents often settle their children in wedlock before they are old enough to act for themselves, and in no case is the question hampered by a thought for the future."

Mr. Barton writes: "Very many families insist throughout their castes that the men and women shall marry at ages varying for the former from 20 to 25 and for the latter from 12 to 25. If observation is confined to those Hindus only whose status and character with their caste-brethren are good, and who themselves

"desire to live in good favour with their caste, it may be laid down as a general rule, that marriage of the males at the age of from 20 to 25 is a matter of course. Bachelorhood after this age would be considered highly discreditable, and would inflict upon the culprit a loss of status and respectability in his community. The people who have a regard to the privileges and requirements of caste form an overwhelming majority of the country population."

"As to their regarding the means of living in a question of marriage," he continues, "doubtless if a united Hindu family could only support *in life* its present members, they would not add to their number by marriage. I do not, however, believe that anything short of *severe privation* would stop a respectable Hindu from marrying off his son or daughter at the customary age. Without a doubt the privation, to stop such marriages, must be *very severe*. I noticed in the famine of 1866 that marriages among the agricultural population entirely ceased *in the crisis of suffering*, but that when the people got a little relief, just as much as would permit them as it were to catch their breath, they broke out again into marriage in a curious way." And again "nothing short of starvation would stop a Hindu who is in caste and respectable from marrying at 20 or 25; and when we consider how very little is necessary to keep him from starvation, it may be said that a respectable Hindu marries at once, without giving himself much thought for the morrow."

EDUCATION.

It is now beginning to be admitted that popular education is not the strong point in the Bengal system of administration. The replies which have been received to the Society's enquiry on the subject only confirm the fact. Very few of the ryots indeed send their children to the village *patshalas*. We quote some of the statements we have received on the subject: "The ryots' children receive no education. They tend the cattle from the age of eight to twelve, when they begin to learn the business of the field." (Jessore). Babu Jadunath Rai says: "Education has not yet reached the threshold of the ryot. His children serve him in several ways, such as tending the cattle while grazing in the field, supplying him with meals and water while at work, carrying errands from the field to his house, and performing many other little duties in the way of an assistant. An intelligent countryman was asked in the course of conversation why the ryots did not send their

"children to the *patshalas* that had been opened in the adjacent villages. He replied, 'Children, if sent to school, become useless for our purposes, inasmuch as, unless they are inured to toil and hardship and accustomed to bear the heat of the sun from their infancy, they are unfit to labour in the field, and our means do not enable us to continue their studies long enough for them to become useful to us in any other way.' The children of such ryots only learn to read and write as can easily spare their services from the field and afford to keep them sufficiently long at school. One who learns to read and write thinks it a degradation to handle a plough or any other agricultural implement." And this statement is confirmed by several other writers. "Those who receive any education at all generally seek employment under Government or the *zemin-dar*, and are rarely employed upon the land" (Jessore). "Once they learn to read and write, and they seldom return to agricultural pursuits." (Jessore.) "The educated villager will turn out a mookhtear or an *amlah*. Mahomedan ryots generally teach their lads to enable them to become mookhtears in after-life" (Purneah). Those who do avail themselves of village schools appear to be the richer and higher castes, as Brahmins, Rajputs, and Kayesths, whose children will not under ordinary circumstances be compelled to handle the plough. These boys simply learn to read and write Bengalee, to add and subtract and keep accounts, so as to be able to check the receipts given them by their *zemindar* or *mahajun*.

Regarding the difficulty in the way of teaching raised by Babu Jadunath Rai's "intelligent countryman," namely, the loss of the children's services during the day time and the necessity of inuring them early in life to bear the sun, our Tipperah correspondent makes the obvious suggestion of establishing *night* schools.

In Orissa education seems to be more highly prized. Mr. Barton writes:—

"An Oorya prides himself on his power of signing his name, and reading his *Bhagbat* in the evening to his neighbours and family, when the day's work is done. If, therefore, the Oorya ryot can afford it, no doubt he likes to allow his son to acquire these accomplishments. The sons of a respectable ryot go to the village *patshala* when they are 5 or 6 years old, stay there for various periods according to the father's circumstances, but generally leave off their education at the age of 10 or 12, when they begin work. In a village of 100 people, from 4 to 14 boys may be found in the school."

The result then of the Society's enquiries in this direction would seem to show that the cultivation of the soil in Bengal is carried on under a system of *la petite culture*, or minute farming; that the actual cultivator or ryot, however, is in no sense a proprietor, but a mere tenant, it may be with rights of occupancy or a tenant-at-will; that, however secure his occupancy, his rent at least is ill-defined, payable as often in kind as in money, and liable to be as frequently enhanced by illegal extortion as by the ordinary agency of the courts; that so far from receiving assistance, encouragement and sympathy from his landlord, he is almost always in a position of antagonism, if not actually in litigation with him; that he has rarely the capital necessary for the season's operations, and, in consequence, has to borrow at usurious rates of interest, which absorb all the profits of cultivation; and that in very many cases he is a mere serf and bondman from one year to another in the hands of the village mahajun. We nevertheless see a soil so rich and fertile that, with no scientific culture, with the rudest of implements and the most primitive system of fallows and rotation of crops, it yields two and even three harvests in the year in return for the minimum of labour that is bestowed upon it. But the improvements in agriculture are few and rare. The zemindar is often an absentee landlord, caring only for his rents which his agents are expected to remit with punctuality and in full tale. May be he has nothing whatever to do with the collection of rents, having sub-let his estate in *putni* or *ijara* to another, and being content with a moderate fixed payment in lieu of the trouble and risk of dealing directly with his ryots. The dependent talookdar again, if his occupancy is limited, finds it convenient to disregard the prospect of greater productiveness in future years in the enjoyment of present returns; it is equally his interest to drain the resources of the soil and of the cultivator, until both are exhausted. The ryot, a child of ignorance and superstition, is a mere machine, as it were, working at the will and for the sole profit of his landlord and the mahajun. For, even if he is fairly treated by his zemindar, it is probable that he is nevertheless bound down to the village money-lender. His rent may be light, but the last penny will be wrung from him in usury. There are no profits left for himself, no capital is accumulated for improvements. And so the Bengal ryot toils on from year to year, all motives to energy and industry sapped or eradicated, sick at heart of hope deferred, careless of the future, living from hand to mouth and yet marrying his children while mere infants to perpetuate a system of misery and wretchedness, till some season of drought or some fearful cyclone comes and finds him unprepared and hurries him away.

I do not mean to say that there are not exceptional cases. There are landlords, meaning by the term those who are in the actual receipt of the rents, who take a lively interest in their tenants and in agricultural improvements, and there are ryots who are in a manner independent, and who are rapidly accumulating capital of their own. The number of both is, I believe, yearly increasing. But the replies to the enquiries of this Association—replies which have been mainly furnished, it must be remembered, by zemindars—show that the general condition of the country and of its agricultural population is not very different from what I have sketched.

Now, is this state of things good for the country or for the people? Does it succeed in getting the most out of the land? Does it conduce to the welfare of the ryot, or the true interests of the zemindar? Though the holdings are so sub-divided, is the most made of every beegha? Is it well dug, well watered, well manured, cultivated with intelligence and energy? Is it not rather left to nature and the seasons.

Those who are most in favour of *la petite culture* admit that there are conditions which are indispensably necessary to its success. One of such conditions is—if not absolute proprietary right in the soil—at least security of tenure and fixity of rent for a longer or shorter period. Another may be said to be a sufficiency of working capital to carry on the season's operations. But do either of these conditions exist in Bengal?

And if the land is not cultivated to its full extent, if it is not made to yield as much as under the circumstances it ought to yield, do not the zemindar's interests suffer also? Putting aside the question of pecuniary advantage, does not the zemindar benefit in other ways by having a prosperous, contented and well-ordered tenantry? Or is the Bengal ryot really a happy and contented man? Is he more so, at least, than his buffalo or his ox? Has he aspirations, hopes, fears and enjoyments above theirs? Do the peasantry of this province really constitute its pride and strength? Are they as industrious, as intelligent and as enterprising as we should desire to see them?

Such statistics as those before us, however, would be of little use, if they did not point out the remedy for some at least of the evils which would seem to be inherent in the present system. And the first consideration which will probably suggest itself to every one is, that greater facilities ought to be afforded

to the ryot for accumulating capital of his own, so as at any rate to be able to carry on the season's cultivation without being under the necessity of having recourse to the mahajun. No crop can leave more than a bare subsistence to the ryot, when interest, at the rate of from 25 to 50 per cent., has to be paid on the working capital.

Now it would seem as if there were at least three causes which militated against the independence and prosperity of the Bengal ryot. In the first place, notwithstanding Act X of 1859, the relations between tenant and landlord are still very unsatisfactory and ill-defined. Although nearly ten years have elapsed since that Act of the Legislature was passed, we may venture to say that many of the abuses against which it was directed flourish as widely as ever. The exchange of pottah and kabuliut is still the exception rather than the rule. Even if a pottah is granted to a ryot, it will probably bind him to pay the "customary *abwab*." What the *abwab* of the present day are, we are told by Babu Jadunath Rai, and his statement does not stand alone or unconfirmed, when he says that no sooner does the ryot begin to show signs of increased prosperity, than some new exaction is devised by his landlord, the enforcement of which reduces him to the level of the rest. It is obvious that no peasantry can prosper under such conditions. If cultivators are to be encouraged to save, there must be some guarantee afforded them that their savings will not be taken from them; that they will be themselves allowed to enjoy what they have earned by the sweat of their brow.

The second cause, to which may be attributed the wretched and impoverished condition of the Bengal ryot, is the necessity which drives him to borrow from the mahajun at ruinous and extortionate rates of interest. It has been pointed out that these usurious rates must, in the nature of things, swallow up whatever profit the ryot might make upon the season's cultivation; in many cases we have seen that the profits of cultivation do not suffice to pay the bare interest. Accumulation of capital, therefore, under such circumstances, is simply an impossibility. If the ryot were assisted with advances at a reasonable rate of interest, say 12 per cent., and if at the same time he had some guarantee that any profit he made upon the crop would not be taken from him, either by way of enhancement of his rent or in the shape of *abwab*, there can be little doubt that, in a few years, we should see his condition materially ameliorated and the foundation laid for building up a prosperous and rising class of sturdy yeomen who would be a

source of strength to their landlords, the country and the Government. In some districts we are told that the zemindars have begun to see the evil of the present system in the light in which we have viewed it, and that they have themselves undertaken to advance the working capital required by their ryots at moderate rates of interest. It is to be hoped that their example and the success which must attend such a proceeding, will stimulate others elsewhere to do the same.

The system of paying the zemindar or mahajun in produce, instead of in money, is also a pernicious custom, striking, as it does, at the root of all motive to improvement. It is a relic of barbaric times, when exchange was carried on by barter, and when a circulating medium was unknown. The system is pernicious for this reason: if a fixed proportion of the produce be paid as rent, the ryot is discouraged from making improvements and laying out capital, the returns for which are appropriated by another. If, on the other hand, a certain quantity of grain has to be delivered either to the zemindar or the mahajun, the ryot gets no benefit from a dear market. If it is a bad season, he cannot take advantage of the general rise of prices to compensate for a short crop; he is probably unable to meet his liabilities, and he is fortunate if he is not further compelled to execute a bond for payment at some future time *in cash* at the prices then ruling. There is of course the further objection, so far as our returns show, that advances of grain, *to be repaid in kind*, carry a rate of interest double that which is charged in the case of money-loans. There may be good reason for this. The new grain may possess greater bulk or weight than that which was advanced, and there is probably a considerable difference in the price of grain at the time of sowing and at the time of harvest. However this may be, the complications which are liable to arise out of the system, and the cause which it not unfrequently is of disagreement and bad relations between the parties, must be admitted to be sound arguments for its discontinuance.

Such are the lessons we would draw from the present returns. It will be seen that the information which the Society has acquired on this subject, tends to confirm the results enunciated by the President in his last address, though derived from sources altogether independent. It may be that further enquiry in the same direction will expose other peculiarities in the agricultural regime of this country, the removal or modification of which may seem desirable. The Association invites the free discussion of such questions, with a view to the discovery and propagation of the truth, and the

amelioration of the present condition of the agricultural classes of Bengal. It is quite possible for every enlightend zemindar to assist in the enquiry, and it is to be hoped that he will see his own advantage in seconding those who are making the endeavour to raise and improve the condition of his tenantry. Such a one should never forget that not only is it the agricultural classes whose labours contribute to his maintenance and welfare, but it is their prosperity and contentment which are the best guarantee for the safety and security of the country.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX

Comparative Statement showing the average produce (in maunds)

	Diamond Harbour, 24- Pergunnahs.	Hooghly.	Bancoorah,	Bancoorah, Bood-Bood.
	Mds. 10 to 12	Mds. 16	Mds. 16	Mds. 12 to 14
A'man or Winter Paddy ...	3 to 4	.....	.....	10 to 12
A'us or early Paddy	4	1½ to 2
Barley	4	1½ to 2
Wheat	3	.....
Linseed	2	.....
Soor Gunjá	2	3	1½ to 2
Mustard Seed	2½ to 3	3	2	.....
Mash Kaláí	1½ to 2	3	.....	.....
Moog Kaláí	3	4	1½ to 2
Gram	1½ to 2	3	.....	.....
Vetch	3	4	.....
Lentils	3	.....	1½ to 2
Poas	3	4	.....
Arhur	60	.....	.....
Potatoes	8	20	10
Sugarcane (Molasses)	Bundles. 60	Bundles. 30	Bundles. 70
Indigo	3	Mds. 2
Cotton	1½	.....	.....
Hemp	2	4	1½ to 2
Sesamum (Til)

I.

per beegah of certain crops grown in the Districts named.

Tipperah, Per kani= $1\frac{1}{2}$ boegahs.	Midnapore.	Howrah.	Burdwan.	Burdwan, Chuckdiggee.	Berhoom.
Mds. 6	Mds. 10	Mds. 8 to 10	Mds. 8 to 10	Mds. $7\frac{1}{2}$	Mds. 12
.....	5	6 to 7	6 to 7	$7\frac{1}{2}$	
.....	$1\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	$\frac{1}{2}$	
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12
$1\frac{1}{2}$					
.....	3				
$1\frac{1}{2}$	2 to 3	.....	.....	1	
$2\frac{1}{2}$	3	2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$	2	$2\frac{1}{2}$
$1\frac{1}{2}$	2	$2\frac{1}{2}$			
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	$2\frac{1}{2}$
$2\frac{1}{2}$	2	.....	.....	.....	$2\frac{1}{2}$
.....	.....	2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	$2\frac{1}{2}$
$2\frac{1}{2}$	2	.....	.....	.....	$2\frac{1}{2}$
.....	.....	2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$			
7	Hs. 10	.....	.....	15	
7	2	15 to 16	9 to 10	15	12
Bundles. 8	Mds. 20	.....	.....	.....	Bundles. 10
.....	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2	Acers 25 to 40	.....	2
$1\frac{1}{2}$	2				
$1\frac{1}{2}$	2				

II.

maund of certain crops grown in the Districts named.

1859.	1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.
Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
...	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 5 6	0 7 6	0 0 0	1 4 0	0 12 0	.....
...	2 4 0	2 4 0	1 15 0	1 13 0	1 4 0	1 4 0	2 12 0	2 2 0	.....
...	1 8 0	1 6 0	1 5 0	1 10 0	1 12 0	1 12 0	3 4 0	1 12 0	.....
...	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 6 6	0 6 6	0 5 6	0 7 6	1 8 0	1 4 0	.....
...	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 3 0	1 4 0	1 12 0	2 12 0	2 0 0	.....
...	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 3 0	1 4 0	1 12 0	2 12 0	2 0 0	.....
...	2 8 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	7 8 0	8 0 0	3 2 0	3 4 0	.....
...	3 0 0	3 8 0	3 4 0	4 0 0	4 4 0	4 0 0	4 0 0	4 0 0	.....
...	3 0 0	3 0 0	5 12 0	5 12 0	4 0 0	4 12 0	4 0 0	6 0 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	1-9 to 2-10	1-9 to 2-10	1-5 to 0-13	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	2-8 to 4-7	3-5 to 0-10	2-8 to 1-7	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	3 to 4-7	5 to 4	2-13 to 1-13	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	1-2-6 to 4	3-5	1 2 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	1-13 to 4-7	4-7 to 3-5	3 to 1-13	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	2 0 0	2-10	1 8 6	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	1-12 to 3	2-8 to 2-13	2-3 to 1-12	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2-8	2 to 1-13	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	1-9	5 0 0	2 13 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	2-3 to 2-13	3-11	1 13 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	3 0 0	3-5 to 1-1	3 to 1	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	1 2 0	1 12 0	0 14 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	3 5 0	5 0 0	2 8 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	2 13 0	3 5 0	2 3 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	3 5 0	3 5 0	2 13 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	3 5 0	4 0 0	3 5 0	.....
...	...	...	...	...	...	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 13 0	.....

PRODUCE.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857.	1858.
Burdwan,—contd.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Wheat
Molasses
Til
Cotton
Linseed
Sugar Gunjá
Biri Kaldí
Hooghly.								
Paddy
Pulses
Potatoes
Goor
Mustard
Sesamum
Indigo
Hemp
Jute
Howrah, Burdwan and 24-Pergunnahs.								
Rice
Kaldí
Molasses
Paddy
Khóolnah in Jessore.								
Coarse rice	1 0 0	0 15 0	1 1 3	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 1 0	1 12 0	2 2 0

Statement.—continued.

1859.	1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866	1867.	1868.	
Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
..	3 5 0	4 0 0	3 5 0	.....
...	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	.....
...	2 13 0	3 5 0	3 5 0	.....
..	5 0 0	4 0 0	4 0 0	.....
..	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	.....
...	2 8 0	2 14 0	2 9 0	.....
...	2 8 0	3 5 0	2 14 0	.....
						20 to 21 Seers per Rupee			
...	From 1863 to 1867.		8 to 9 to 10 kātās per Rupee			
...	Rs. 2 to 2½ to 3 per maund				.....		
...	" 4 to 4½ to 5 "				.....		
...	8 to 9 kātās per Rupee				.....		
...	From 6 to 7 to 8 to 9 bds. per Rupee				.. ..		
...			Rs. 3 to 5 per maund			
...	2½ to 3 "				.....		
From 1858 to 1865 averaging from Rs. 5 to 5-8						...	...	1½ to 2	.....
...	" 3-8 to 4		...	...	1½ to 1½	.....	
...	" 3-8 to 4 or 5		...	...	4 to 5	.....	
...	6-12 to 1	.....
...	1 0	1 4 0	1 8 0	1 4 0	2 3 0	2 8 0	2 0 0	1 2 0	.....

PRODUCE.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857.	1858.
Maunbhoom.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Rice, coarse
Rice, fine
Moog Kalái
Mash Kalái
Arhur
Flour
Indian corn
Gram
Midnapore.								
Paddy
Mash Kalái
Moog Kalái
Goor
Sugar
Tobacco
Oil seeds
Indigo
Silk
Nuddea and Jessore.								
Coarse rice	1 0 0	...	...	...	1 12
Middling rice	1 8 0	...	...	...	2 4
Fine rice	1 12 0	...	...	...	2 12
Mustard oil	6 11 0	...	...	...	8 0
Ghee (cow's)	20 0 0	23 10
„ (buffalo's)	16 0 0	23 0
Moog	3 0 0	3 0
Kalái	1 4 0	1 8
Abiri	2 0 0	1 12

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Statement,—continued.

1859.	1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.
Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
...	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	3 5 4	1 7 8	1 0 0
...	1 4 0	1 5 4	1 5 4	6 2 5	2 11 0	1 5 4
...	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 10 8	4 11 3	3 0 0	2 13 6
...	1 2 3	1 1 8	2 0 0	3 5 0	2 9 3	2 6 8
...	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	4 3 8	2 13 8	1 10 8
...	5 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0	11 7 4	5 2 8	5 0 0
...	0 8 0	0 10 0	0 10 8	5 0 0	1 1 8	1 0 0
...	2 8 0	2 10 8	2 13 8	5 11 8	3 11 6	2 8 0
...	...	5 coonies per Ro.	5½	6	6	10 mans	3 5 4	...	.....
...	...	1 12 0	1 12 0	1 2 0	2 0 0	2 8 0	3 8 0	...	.....
...	...	2 8 0	2 8 0	2 8 0	2 8 0	2 12 0	4 0 0	...	.....
...	...	3 4 0	3 0 0	4 0 0	3 4 0	4 0 0	6 0 0	...	.....
...	...	9 0 0	9 0 0	9 0 0	10 0 0	11 0 0	16 0 0	...	.....
...	...	16 0 0	16 0 0	12 0 0	6 0 0	9 0 0	8 0 0	...	.....
...	...	3 0 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	3 4 0	3 0 0	5 8 0	...	.....
...	...	250 0 0	250 0 0	250 0 0	200 0 0	225 0 0	250 0 0	...	.....
...	...	400 0 0	400 0 0	440 0 0	1,080 0 0	640 0 0	600 0 0	...	.....
...	...	2 0 0	...	...	2 2 0	...	...	1 8 0	.....
...	...	2 8 0	...	...	2 10 0	...	...	2 0 0	.....
...	...	2 14 0	...	...	3 0 0	...	...	2 8 0	...
...	...	9 0 0	...	...	10 0 0	...	...	9 8 0	.....
...	...	32 0 0	...	...	40 0 0	...	...	45 0 0	.....
...	...	26 10 0	...	...	32 0 0	...	...	35 6 0	.....
...	...	3 4 0	...	...	3 12 0	...	...	3 12 0	.....
...	...	1 12 0	...	...	2 4 0	...	...	2 4 0	.....
...	...	2 0 0	...	...	3 0 0	...	...	2 8 0	.....

PRODUCE.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855	1856.	1857.	1858.
Nuddes and Jessore,—contd.	Rs. A.P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs A. P.
Gram	3 0 0	...	...	...	3 4 0
Flour	5 0 0	...	...	...	6 0 0
Mustard Seed	2 12 0	...	...	...	3 4 0
Fuel per 100 mds.	12 8 0	...	...	...	13 0 0
Pubna.								
Gram	1 0 0	...	...	...	1 1 0	...
Moog	1 1 0	...	...	...	2 3 0	...
Kaldf	0 12 0	...	...	...	1 4 0	...
Peas	0 7 0	...	...	...	0 13 0	..
Rice	0 14 0	...	...	...	1 2 0	...
Wheat	0 14 0	...	...	...	1 9 0	...
Mustard	2 10 0	...	...	...	2 10 0	..
Linseed	1 10 0	...	...	...	2 0 0	..
Til	1 3 0	...	...	...	2 0 0	...
Jute	1 10 0	...	...	...	2 2 0	...
Moshta	1 5 0	...	...	...	2 4 0	..
Sono (Hemp)	1 13 0	..	...	...	2 10 0	..
Pubna.								
Rice
Pulses
Molasses
Cotton
Wheat
Tipperah.								
Paddy
Rice
Mustard

Statement,—continued.

1850.	1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.
Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
...	...	3 12 0	...	...	4 0 0	...	...	3 0 0	...
...	...	6 0 0	...	...	7 0 0	...	...	5 8 0	...
...	...	3 12 0	...	...	4 0 0	...	...	3 12 0	...
...	...	14 0 0	...	...	16 0 0	...	...	24 0 0	...
...	1 11 0	...	...	...	2 0 0	...
...	2 4 0	...	...	...	2 10 0	...
...	1 9 0	...	...	...	2 8 0	...
...	0 12 0	...	...	...	1 0 0	...
...	1 3 0	...	...	...	1 4 0	...
...	1 5 0	...	...	...	...	...
...	3 5 0	...	...	...	...	...
...	2 10 0	...	...	...	...	...
...	2 10 0	...	...	...	...	...
...	2 10 0	...	...	...	2 2 0	...
...	2 3 0	...	...	...	2 4 0	...
...	3 0 0	...	...	...	3 0 0	...
...	1 13 0	2-8 to 1-13	1-3 to 3-5	1 1 0	...
...	2-10 to 2-8	3-5 to 3	4 to 3-5	1 13 0	...
...	4 7 0	6 0 0	5 0 0	4 7 0	...
...	22 0 0	22 0 0	22 0 0	20 0 0	...
...	2 10 0	3 5 0	4 7 0	1 12 0	...
...	0 8 0	0 10 0	1 0 0	1 8 0	...	...
...	1 4 0	1 6 0	1 8 0	3 8 0	...	...
...	2 0 0	2 4 0	2 10 0	2 4 0	...	...

PRODUCER.	1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857.	1858.
Tipperah,—contd.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Til
Khessari
Dhal ditto
Moog
Mash Kaldi
Goor
Linseed
Chillies
Turmeric
Ginger
Potatoes
Jute
Hemp
Safflower
Kacon
Coriander
Peas
Tobacco...
Garlic
Onion
24-Pergunnahs Satkhirah.								
Rice	0 5 0	0 5 2	0 4 5	0 4 10	0 5 4	0 5 11	0 6 5	0 9 8

Statement,—continued.

1859.	1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.
Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
...	1 8 0	1 8 0	1 10 0	1 8 0	..	....
...	0 12 0	0 12 0	1 0 0	1 4 0	..	....
...	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 8 0	2 0 0	..	....
...	1 8 0	1 12 0	2 0 0	2 4 0	..	....
...	1 0 0	1 2 0	1 4 0	1 8 0	..	....
...	4 0 0	4 8 0	5 8 0	6 0 0	..	....
..	2 8 0	2 0 0	2 8 0	2 8 0	..	....
...	5 0 0	3 0 0	2 8 0	1 8 0	..	....
...	0 8 0	0 10 0	0 12 0	1 0 0	..	....
...	•	2 0 0	2 8 0	3 0 0	3 8 0	..	....
..	0 6 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	..	.....
..	2 0 0	1 12 0	1 2 0	1 8 0	...	....
...	5 0 0	3 0 0	2 8 0	4 0 0	..	....
..	•	..	•	20 0 0	18 0 0	19 0 0	20 0 0	..	....
...	0 6 0	0 8 0	0 12 0	1 0 0	..	.....
..	0 12 0	1 4 0	1 8 0	1 8 0	..	....
..	0 10 0	0 12 0	1 0 0	1 4 0	..	....
...	5 0 0	3 0 0	1 8 0	1 0 0	..	....
...	1 0 0	1 8 0	3 0 0	5 0 0	..	....
..	...	•	..	0 8 0	0 6 0	0 8 0	1 0 0	..	.....
0 9 8	0 8 10	0 5 4	0 5 2	0 7 1	0 8 2	0 12 9	0 12 9	0 10 8	....

APPENDIX III.

List of the Gentlemen from whose replies to the Enquiries of the Association the foregoing paper has been compiled.

BABU RADHA CHARAN GANGOOLY ...	...	...	} Bancoorah.
„ GODA DHAR BANDOPADHYA ...	...	...
„ PARESH NATH MOOKERJEE ...	...	...	} Beerbhoom.
„ RAMDRAHMO SIRCAR ...	...	...
COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE ...	...	...	Bhaugulpore.
BABU JOYKISSEN MOOKERJEE ...	...	...	} Burdwan.
„ DWARKA NATH MITTER ...	...	...
„ RADHA BINOD CHOWDREY ...	...	...
„ HIT LAL MISHRA ...	...	...
„ RAKHAL DASS MOOKERJEE ...	...	...
„ JOYKISSEN MOOKERJEE ...	...	...	Howrah.
MR. J. S. McLEOD ...	...	...	Chowgatcha
BABU SHIRIS CHUNDRA GHOSE ...	...	...	} Jessore.
MR. W. SHERIFF, PLANTER ...	...	...	Jenidah
BABU PROSANNA COOMAR SEN...	...	...	Narail
„ RASHBEHARI BOSE ..	..	..	Khoolnah
„ GOUR DASS BYSACK ...	...	...	Maunbhoom.
„ BHUBAN CHUNDRA ...	...	...	} Midnapore.
„ JAGGAT BULLUB JANA ...	...	...
TRANSLATOR, JUDGE'S COURT...	...	...
BABU JODU NATH ROY ...	..	...	Kishnaghur.
„ SARADA PROSANNA MOOKERJEE ...	...	...	Nuddea.
MR. A. P. McDONALD, C. S. ...	...	...	Monghyr.
BABU NOBIN KISHNA SIRCAR ...	...	...	Comarcolly
„ BRAJA GATI BANERJEE ...	...	...	} Pubna.
MR. E. J. BARTON, C. S. ...	...	...	Pooree.
BABU BHAGABAN CHUNDRA BOSE ...	...	...	Tipperah.
„ JOYKISSEN MOOKERJEE ...	..	..	Diamond Harbour
„ DEB NATH ROY CHOWDREY ...	...	...	} 24 Pergunnahs.

The PRESIDENT having, on its conclusion, invited the members, and more particularly the Native members, to express their opinion on any of the points raised in the above paper, BABU JUGGODANUND MOOKERJEE at once raised issue with the writer on the point whether the condition of the ryot be in fact so bad as it had been tried to be made out. He was strongly of opinion that it is not, and cited facts within his own experience in support of his opinion.

BABU TRANNAUTH CHATTERJEE corroborated from his personal experience the remarks made by the last speaker.

BABU SHAMA CHURN SIRCAR said that in the Nuddea district the general rate of *jumma-bundee*, or annual *jumma* assessed after measurement, is eight annas per bigha, where *doos* paddy and also a winter crop are grown; the rent of the *ámon* paddy-land is a little more than eight annas a bigha, that of the lands capable of producing turmeric, chilli, sugarcane, vegetables and the like is not less than twelve annas per bigha, and that of the lands capable of growing betel, *pepul* or the like is from Rs. 2 to 2-8 per bigha. But when lands are cultivated in the *úthbandi* form without any lease, and the cultivation continues for three years, the rate of *doos* paddy-lands is one rupee per bigha, of those lands which produce *paricol* is Rs. 4; sugarcane, chilli, turmeric and the like, Rs. 2; plantain and other vegetables, Rs. 1-4, and betel, *pepul* or the like, Rs. 5. If only a winter crop is grown, then the rate is six annas per bigha. If well grown, the crop of paddy yields from Rs. 10 to 12 per bigha, that of turmeric, chilli, sugarcane or the like, from Rs. 30 to 40, and *paricol* yields from Rs. 50 to 80 inclusive of all charges.

MR. C. D. FIELD remarked that information on the subject procured from unbiassed sources was most valuable; that some years ago when he tried suits for enhancement in the district of Nuddea, the ryots according to their own showing lost steadily every year by cultivating their *jotes*, while those whose interest lay on the other side exaggerated as much in that direction; it was clear that the truth lay as it always lies in the middle, but at what exact line to place it was very difficult; that information like what was now submitted to the Association was all the more valuable as being given, when no contending interests were liable to create exaggeration, mistake or misconception. In judging of the condition of the ryot however, it was scarcely sufficient to look merely at the profits per beegah for certain crops. The size of each holding, the average number of beegahs planted with rice, or capable of bearing a good cold-weather crop, the distribution of the high and the low lands among the members of the village, the proportion of land capable of bearing chillies or sugar-cane, risk of the drought or inundation, the neighbourhood of markets, were all elements and important elements of the calculation. Then again the ryot's indebtedness or freedom from debt must not be overlooked. When from a series of bad seasons or any other cause, the ryot had fallen within the mahajun's power, he did not escape easily, and the zemindar had to support the mahajun as well as the ryot; both mahajun and ryot had to be supported out of the difference between the whole profit of cultivation and that portion which found its way into the zemindar's coffers as rent. A double strain was thus put on the labour of the ryot. Further, that the tenures of land were different in different districts.

That in view of all these considerations, conclusions that would hold good for one part of the country might not be true in other parts. That on

this account too great generalization might be dangerous, and the exceptions to any general rule might be the most important part of it.

BABU MOHENDRA LALL SHOME said—"I am not prepared with any statistical details of the subject now under discussion, but it appears from what has been read this evening that there is great misapprehension with regard to the present condition of the ryot in Bengal. It has been said that after paying his rent and his debt to the mahajun, there is hardly anything left for his own use throughout the year, and he is devoid of the barest necessities of life from one end of it to the other. This I think is not the true picture of the present state of things in the country, whatever it might have been some years back. On the contrary, I have sure information (derived from the ryots themselves, from different zillahs) that their present mode of living is a great deal better than what it used to be previously. They have now, (I mean the great body of them, for there will be always some who are utterly destitute) all the necessities fit for their condition, and they can always lay by something for emergencies. They have enough left in their hands to indulge in the luxury of litigation in their feuds with each other, and sometimes carry on a crusade against the zemindar or the indigo-planter. They are also enabled to furnish their wives and daughters with ornaments of silver and rarely of gold, and sometimes spend money in festivals and religious ceremonies. However, when any great and general calamity occurs, like the late famine, their savings are not enough to carry them on for any length of time. The reason is simple; the way in which these savings are invested (when they are invested and not spent in litigation and festivities) is such as to make them of very little use on such occasions of general want. I have heard from persons from Midnapore that during the late famine, they have purchased ten seers of brass utensils for a rupee, and that gold and silver also sold for one-fourth of their ordinary values. There was no body to purchase them. But these were exceptional periods. In ordinary times the moderate wants of our peasantry are easily supplied. I do not say that there is no room for improvement, and that their condition is all that can be desired, but it is not so bad as has been depicted."

DR. CHUCKERBUTTY thought that the increase of exports and imports showed the increase of material prosperity, and that the application of the educational test gave a similar result. Nevertheless, he did not think that the condition of the ryot was very much improved. His poverty was shown by his inability to employ improved agricultural implements, and to keep his children at school, as he wanted their aid, at an early age, to obtain the means of supporting his family. His more independent bearing than formerly was due to the increased value of labour, and not to any accession of affluence from the produce of the soil. There was a great demand for his industry on railway, irrigation, and municipal works; and this enabled him to supplement his earnings from agricultural operations. Besides, within the last few years, several exports, such as jute, cotton, &c. have become largely developed, which, as well as the extension of trade, gave him additional employment. Hence it so happened that the ryot often earned more money than his quondam superiors; and it is no wonder that he resented the assumption of superiority by persons in the position of sircars on 8 Rupees a month, merely because they thought themselves to be gentlemen, when he could himself earn by his industry Rs. 15 or 20.

BABU CHUNDER NATH BOSE expressed his concurrence generally with the view taken by BABU MOHENDRO LALL SHOME, and said that, in dis-

discussing the question of the condition of the Bengal ryot, it was of the utmost importance to keep the mind free from all the disturbing influence of feeling. The very fact that the Indian ryot is sometimes likened to the Spartan helot, sometimes to the worst Irish Cottier, and sometimes to the most wretched Negro slave, appeared to him to prove that the condition of the ryot is viewed more through the medium of feeling than through that of the understanding. He was, therefore, of opinion that the necessity of approaching the question of the condition of the Bengal ryot not in the impassioned manner of a sentimentalist, but in the matter of fact style of a statistician could not be too strongly insisted upon. He said that the information which the Association had received regarding the present state of agriculture in Bengal, was too meagre to afford a basis for anything like a sound or healthy discussion of the question on hand. He was fully aware of the existence of vices of the grossest character in the agricultural system of Bengal; but, said he, if his experience of the *mofussil* were allowed to count for anything, he could not induce himself to think that the condition of the Bengal ryot was *generally* so bad as it is usually represented to be. People in the lowest classes of agricultural life are now seen to celebrate *poajahs*, to use brazen utensils in the place of those earthen utensils which alone they could afford to purchase 8 or 10 years ago, and in many cases to use even ornaments made of silver. The general complaint about the growing insolence of the agricultural classes and their unwillingness, amounting in some cases to aversion, to work as day labourers when required to do so by their wealthier neighbours, appeared to him proofs or indications of an agricultural life better than that which it is the fashion to ascribe to the Bengal ryot. He thought that it was extremely improper to say that the circumstances in life of the various classes of ryots, *mouroosters*, *morcurrures*, *occupancy*, *khodkust*, &c., were or could possibly be one and the same. In making these remarks, he did not mean to say that the condition of the ryot was a prosperous one. All that he meant was that the picture which is usually drawn of the ryot's condition is, *generally speaking*, rather an exaggerated one, and that a more correct view of that condition ought to be formed from a more accurate observation than has hitherto been made of the life and *character* of the ryot, in order that the public or any portion of it or even the very ryot himself might not one day suffer at the hands either of the Government or of any inferior power. The Association could not do better than push forward its enquiries about the present state of agriculture in Bengal. Agriculture in Bengal possesses an influence on social and individual manners and character, such as it possesses no where else.

MR. J. WILSON thought that there was at least one admirable point in the Bengal system of agriculture, namely, the carrying out of the principle of co-operation. He went on to say that he differed from a previous speaker in thinking that the mahajun and zemindar kept the ryot. On the other hand, it appeared to him that the ryot kept the zemindar and mahajun. He thought that the middlemen should justly bear great part of the odium which was thrown on the zemindar and mahajun, because they take so much and give nothing. It was a misfortune in the discussion of this question, that the ryots were so little in a position to give information. He feared there might be some want of candour in the statements of the other party. He thought the subject was one worthy of diligent and careful investigation.

MR. SOUTTAR wished to say a few words on behalf of the paper which had been so much found fault with, and his friend the writer of it, who was

absent. He said that the reading of detached extracts of the paper was not, he believed, quite fair to it, and that when the members would be able to read the whole of it in print, they would find it fair to the zemindar, and by no means exclusively in the interest of the ryot. He would, however, ask them to remember that the paper was but a compilation, and that the gentlemen who had supplied the information were almost entirely zemindars. As regarded the necessity for further information, he was happy to be able to say that the Association was still receiving replies to the questions which had been circulated and was still circulating them in other quarters. It was satisfactory, he might mention, in conclusion to know that various Government officers and Government itself were now paying great attention to this particular department of statistics. He was personally aware that a very valuable series of agricultural statistics was being compiled in the Presidency Division, a copy of which the Commissioner of the Division had been kind enough to promise the Association on completion, and he had also seen that the Board of Revenue, in a recent Circular, had forwarded the orders of Government, impressing upon subordinate officers the importance of supplying full and accurate statistics in the elaborate returns which have been called for. He believed that the present paper was but an introduction to what would yet be a very complete treatment of the subject.

THE PRESIDENT, in concluding the discussion, remarked, it was a matter of regret that all the speakers had confined their attention to one point only, namely, the status of the ryots, to the exclusion of the many broad questions suggested by the returns. Passing by the enquiry, whether or not the ryot was able to live in the state of rural luxury, which had been depicted, he thought, two important points relative to the agricultural economy of this country were prominent on the face of these papers. In the first place it was clear that the holdings of the occupants of the soil averaged some 10 to 15 beegahs, and even if the cultivator were not a pauper, he possessed no capital beyond that which was barely necessary for tilling the ground; and, secondly, the beneficial interest in the land, *viz.*, the perception of the rents and profits, instead of residing in a single person, belonged to a most complex body, possessing, he might say, both vertical and lateral extension. As an instance of what he meant, he described what was commonly to be found in the district of Backergunge. He might say, there were generally four or five intermediate holders of tenures, subordinate the one to the other, between the cultivator on the one hand, and the Government on the other. He would mention the putneedar, the durputneedar, the howladar, nimhowladar, ausathowladar, nimausathowladar, and so on. The Native gentlemen present, would, he was sure, confirm him in this statement, and, probably, in any given case, not one of these tenureholders was a single individual, not even was he so simple in form as a joint family. Strangers constituted a common ingredient in this complex entity; not introduced by the voluntary action of the original members of the family coparcenary, but coming in hostilely as purchasers of undivided shares at sales held in execution of decrees against individual shareholders. It was often almost startling to see the number of incongruous parties themselves not all single but sometimes entering by groups, who went to make up the owner of a putnee, or howla, &c., each party being entitled to a fractional undivided share of the whole tenure, and to assert his rights of whatever kind thereto, without joinder of the others. He despaired of giving by words any faithful picture of the reality; and how could it be expected that a recipient of rent, constructed as was the body which he had attempted to outline, should ever

discharge a landlord's duties. The landlord's part in the economy of agriculture required definiteness of purpose and ready capital for its proper fulfilment. How little it was approached, or thought of one need go but a short distance out of Calcutta to perceive. No roads were to be found. Almost no means at all existed for transporting the produce of the soil from its place of growth to the centres of distribution, except the primitive mode of conveyance on the top of coolies' heads. Here or there a way of some six or eight *haths* wide existed as a precious subject of litigation, but that even was only cutcha, and a "boil ghari," was the highest form of vehicle which could struggle along over its sloughs and ruts. Again, bunds and irrigation were necessities to the agriculture of this country. What had been, or was being done in this direction? But, without going further into detail at that hour, he would content himself with saying that to him the existing state of things appeared scarcely elevated above the lowest round of the ladder of advancement. At the same time he believed it well nigh impossible that material improvement should be effected throughout the length and breadth of the land at the hands of the proprietors of the rents and profits under the present system. Individuals undoubtedly stood out as illustrious exceptions to the general rule. But as long as the middle tenures, with minute sub-division of interest among the members of their respective proprietary bodies largely prevailed, it was simply impossible that from this source the requisite energy, capital and purpose should ordinarily be supplied. The same state of things gave rise to serious difficulties and obstructions to advance on another side. It was necessary for the proper development of the resources of the country, that the Government should carry out certain public objects, such as education, and discharge some municipal functions by the aid of funds locally raised. For this purpose the soil must be had recourse to. How is this to be done? If the tax is placed on the land itself will not the whole burden fall, in fact, upon the ryot in his poverty? How can you effectually protect him, and enable him to reimburse himself from above? And if on the other hand you tax the person whose name is in the Collector's books as answerable for the revenue, the chances are that he is but a representative of a large class, and how is he to be furnished with the means of obtaining contribution from both co-ordinate and subordinate holders. The Government had long hesitated in the face of these difficulties, but it would probably soon feel itself obliged to overcome them. The knot would have to be cut if it could not be effectively untied. Finally the President expressed his belief that there could be little real progress until the tenure of land interests was reduced to simplicity, and the agricultural proprietors had shaken themselves free of the fetters with which their social habits and customs bound them.

6.—*Peeps into Social Life in Calcutta a Century ago.*

By the REV. J. LONG.

[Read on the 24th July 1868.]

The study of an antiquarian subject, bearing on the *social* life of the past, is interesting, not only as a branch of valuable knowledge, but also as tending to draw off the mind from too much attention to the petty interests of the present and from many trifling carking cares. We feel invigorated and refreshed after an hour spent in communing with the olden time, and enter with more energy on the battle of life.

To those who are dissatisfied with the existing social state, the study of the past of Calcutta is calculated to yield comfort, by showing what reason we have to be thankful that our lives are cast upon better days, and that we have so many advantages of a social nature above our predecessors of last century.

We call this paper *Peeps* into Calcutta Society, for, alas! time has swept so much of the past both of men and books into oblivion, that only a few floating fragments can be found, and especially on our subject, which relates mainly to the period immediately previous and subsequent to the battle of Plassey,—when there was no newspaper to record the passing events of the day,—no printing press,—no Calcutta correspondent to the English press;—while letters were few and far between, a year and a half being allowed for the despatch and answer to a letter. The earthquake and inundation of 1737 in Calcutta destroyed many documents, and the capture of the city in 1756 completed the destruction.

No more valuable contribution could be made to social science and to history than a memoir of the rise and social progress of Calcutta, both European and Native. The Government Records in the India House in London, amounting to 100,000 volumes, open out a rich store-house in this respect to the future historian of Calcutta; a city, which, like St. Petersburg, sprang out of a swamp, is surely one of the most interesting subjects for enquiry. We trust that ere long some one may bring out the Life and Times of Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta, whose remains lie in St. John's Burial Ground, in a splendid Mausoleum, the oldest piece of masonry in Calcutta; beside him is interred his Hindu wife whom he rescued

as a widow from the funeral pyre, at whose tomb he was said to have sacrificed a cock annually.

People complain now of Calcutta as being dull, of there being little recreation: what would they have said a century ago, when a few hours a day sufficed for the business in hand, which was chiefly commercial, and mainly transacted at the time the ships from Europe arrived in the river, and when they were departing. The Portuguese Kerani did the writing part, and that in so slovenly a fashion as to call down the censure of the Court of Directors. There was little letter writing, as the first post between Calcutta and Allahabad was not established until 1763. The first Newspaper, *Hickey's Gazette*, appeared in 1780, and news came only in the season of the ships, the cold weather, some nine months old, except when a chance vessel arrived from Bussora in the Persian Gulf, conveying intelligence by way of Aleppo and the Mediterranean.* Hence there was little correspondence. There was little music, for there were only some two dozen European ladies in Calcutta, and the Court of Directors seem to have thought even that number more than sufficient; a despatch arrived in Calcutta about that period, giving orders that when a Miss Campbell, who had left for Calcutta without a pass, landed there, she should be forthwith sent back to England; and in another case three ladies, who had applied to the Court for a license to go to Calcutta, were distinctly refused, on the ground that there were ladies enough in the place. Further there were few instruments for ladies to play on; artists were not then skilled in adapting them to the climate; pianos in hot weather with open doors soon cracked and warped; or met the fate of an organ which in 1751, was sent out for the Calcutta Church, but on being opened it fell to pieces, all the wood-work having been eaten up by white ants. Europeans however went to nautches, which were then popular. As for dinner parties or *soirees*, what was the comfort of being crowded in a place of smoking dishes without punkahs, for punkahs were not then known.

There were no carriage drives; no course with a view of the muddy Hooghly's stream and a change of dust. What was the use of carriages without European carriage-builders or repairers? Natives could not then repair carriages. Even now, after a century has passed away, not a single good Native carriage-builder has set up in Calcutta—the fact deserves enquiry as revealing a very unsatisfactory state of things among this native working class. Even had there been European coach-builders, what springs could have stood roads

* As late as 1811, Sir J. Mackintosh writes from Bombay:—"We are now seven months from the date of the last London news."

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knee-deep in mud, with lepers, naked fakcers, Brahmini bulls, camels, elephants, &c., besetting the thoroughfares, for as late as Daniel's time, 1780, elephants and camels were allowed to traverse the streets of Calcutta, as is shewn in his pictures which give us admirable sketches of the olden time, particularly of Calcutta. Men riding in carriages seemed from the jolting to be affected with St. Vitus, dance, while taking an airing was represented as taking a dusting or jolting. Before the battle of Plassey the Governor and senior member of Council only used a carriage.

Riding was dangerous beyond the bounds* of Calcutta, which were infested with wild animals, the boar and the tiger, (pig-sticking was however a favorite amusement,) while the fierce Mahratta, like the Italian Brigand, hung around, watching for his prey. He often carried men off, tied to the tail of his horse.

How heavily did the day pass and how wearisome! A few hours sufficed for business, from 9 to 12 in an ordinary way; the hukah and a hasty breakfast, brought men to the middle of the day. The dinner hour was about 2 o'clock; after dinner, and the smoking from a highly ornamented silver hukah which had a special servant for it, the invariable siesta followed, when all, both ladies and gentlemen, undressed and went to bed. Undressing was necessary, for there were no punkhas and no glass windows, only ones made from twisted cane. Two hours of sleep (all Calcutta from 3 to 5 being as still as the grave) and people were up again, some to fishing or walking in the Park, now Dalhousie Square; (Tank Square, with its grove on the east side, was the Belgravia or Hyde Park of that day;) some had an occasional pig-sticking match or tiger hunt in the jungle of Chowringhi plain; some took the air in a palki; a favorite recreation, however, was boating in a handsome budgerow with a band of music in attendance. Various gentlemen kept sailing boats, and the exercise the jungly land denied them was afforded by the water; there were few ships to interrupt their course; and many a pleasant sailing excursion was made between Thannah fort, near the Botanic Gardens, and the Dutch Settlement of Baranagur. Returning home, tea and cards filled up

* The bounds of Calcutta in 1757 were, to the south, the Creek which ran from the site of the Bank of Bengal and Chandpal Ghat across Chowringhi Road to the Salt Water Lake; to the east, the Lal Bazar and Chitpore Road; the Barabazar to the north; and the river to the west; all beyond was called the Continent, probably because with Creek Row, the river and Mahratta Ditch, Calcutta formed an island. When purchased as a Zemindary in 1698, it was only $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles square. Calcutta was then known as a Settlement; it was subsequently its inhabitants got the sobriquet of Ditchers—when?

the time until 10 o'clock, the supper hour. There was one good practice, they paid visits in the evening, when men were not imprisoned in black coats, for white jackets were the rule which continued even beyond the Marquis of Wellesley's time; visits were short, and half a dozen could be made in one evening—except on theatre night, for Calcutta had its theatre, which was situated to the north east end of the Writer's Buildings. The Church stood at the west end.

Late parties could be easily kept up, as the Company's servants had little to do, besides providing the annual investment, and, except in trade which they carried on on their own account, the rest was *vive la bagatelle*. Stavrinus, a Dutch traveller, in 1769, writes:—"The Company's servants devote a part of the morning to attending upon their business; they spend the remainder of their time either in revels or sleep." He himself was entertained by the Governor of Bengal at a dinner party at 1 o'clock in the day. Even as late as Lord Cornwallis' time public dinners were given at 3, then a ball at 8, and supper at 12.

How dull the conversation must have been without mails, news 9 months old, except when it came by Bussorah. Doubtless it turned on the interlopers, the adventurers, the Nawab's Agents, the Mahrattas, the *Gomastas*, our dangerous neighbours the Dutch and French, High Church and Low Church, the Papists and hurricanes, and the last importation of young ladies on spec. This dull state was relieved occasionally by the irritation of prickly heat, and of musquito bites, when people covered their legs with paste-board to save themselves from the stings. Sir J. Shore writes in 1775:—"Dancing, riding, hunting, and shooting are now our employments"; copying work was left to keranis, and the European was practically often merely an expensive instrument for signing his name.

Gambling was in vogue with a zeal equalling that of a Russian nobleman's penchant; the Marquis Cornwallis gave that and other evils a deadly blow. Immense sums were won and lost at Billiards.

Horse-racing, attended by the wealth and fashion of Calcutta, was popular, but the first ground was in the Chowringhi paddy fields; subsequently at Akra farm, or *báruá kháná*, below Garden Reach.

Duelling, arising often out of quarrels regarding ladies of sooty complexion, occasionally gave a little excitement. The last Cyclone has levelled the famous duelling tree, which, according to

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popular tradition was on the Chowringhee plain, where Hastings and Francis fought. Francis, who ought to know, places it near Belvidere.

Drinking helped to pass away the time, the practice of drinking mulled wine early in the morning was common in the Bombay Presidency; in Calcutta we believe it was arrack-punch, which was then what pegs are now; men would finish a chest of claret at a sitting; subsequently the taste for claret and madeira went out, and one person would drink a dozen of beer in the course of the day. Hence we need not wonder that it was said of some of the residents, their lives were not worth two monsoons,—a short life and a merry one.

Boating was a favorite amusement; bands of music were taken in fine budgerows, and excursion parties were made as far as Chandernagore or Chinsura, where fancy-balls used occasionally to be given by the French and Dutch.

Subscription balls were kept up; we find that in 1781 the Stewards of a Subscription Assembly refused to pass a charge of 1,997 Rs. for the entertainment of 200 persons.

Let us now take a ramble through the Calcutta of 1750. Suppose some one had undertaken a morning walk a century ago from the site of our President's house in Ballygunge to Calcutta, it would have been a most perilous enterprise, a heavy mist from the woods hanging over the country, dense as that now to be seen in the interior of the Sunderbunds, along a narrow footpath approaching very close to the lair of the tiger and leopard. The pedestrian would pass over the ground where some of the Nawab's troops were encamped when he came to attack Calcutta in 1756, by a path leading to the site of the Martiniere, but there was no crossing as the Mahratta Ditch, dug in 1742 by the inhabitants of Calcutta at their own expense, to keep off the Cossacks of that day, the Mahrattas,* went round Calcutta from the site of the Martiniere to Bag Bazar and barred the passage. This ditch, at first deep and broad, subsequently became a fetid and putrid pit, the receptacle of dead cats and dogs, until the Marquis of Wellesley had it filled up and the present

* The Mahratta empire originated in a movement of the Hindus to throw off the Mogul yoke. When the Bengal Nawabs could not remit their revenue to Delhi, they allowed the Mahrattas to collect by force the *Chaut* or fourth part. Bhaskar Pandit, in consequence, at the head of 80,000 horse invaded Bengal, aided by the Rajas of Birbhūm and Bisenpur offended at their treatment by Ali Verdy Khan, hence it was quite time to fortify Calcutta. In 1743, the Mahrattas held Birbhūm and all the country west of the Hugly from Balasore to Thannah's Fort, Calcutta.

Circular Road made on its site.* Amid great difficulties the way is threaded in slush under an avenue of trees as far as Boitakhana, where the pedestrian could rest for a while under the shade of that broad tree which afforded shelter to the Patriarch of Calcutta—Job Charnock, where like a genuine Qui Hye he is said to have smoked his pipe, and, struck with the rural beauty of the scene, selected Calcutta as the seat of the English in Bengal.† This tree was cut down in 1799 to make the present Circular Road; it was the rendezvous of native merchants from the east, where they met to go from Calcutta or to start for the town, the neighbouring jungle being infested with dakaites. The question has been often asked, why was Calcutta not placed on the right bank of the Hooghly, which the French, Danes, and Dutch found to be more healthy. The main reasons we believe to have been: The left bank had deeper water, the weavers who supplied the Company with piece goods lived chiefly there, and it was not so exposed to the raids of the Mahrattas as the Howrah side.

We next pass down Bow-Bazar, then solitary; the Boitakhana Church and Madrassa were among its first buildings, but not until about 1780. *Lal* Bazar is arrived at. Why was it called *Lal* or red? Tank Square is called Laldigi, was it from the Old Church which was called *Lal* Girja, because it was built of bricks which were not covered with a layer of white-wash, but appeared flashing red. *Lal* Bazar was then rather a fashionable place; the Apollo Tavern, the Wilson's of that day, was in it, so was the Harmonicon Hotel, and doubtless, the sailors of Calcutta frequented the spot, known even in those days for their drunken broils, but they were

* In 1799 this road was made; it is thus described in a newspaper in 1802: "In the Circular Road the young and the sprightly, in the fragrance of morning wafted in the chariot of health, enjoy the gales of recreation."

† As to the reason for settling in Calcutta, we give the following account from what is now a very rare book, Gladwin's Bengal: "The English factory at Hugly having sunk with a noise into the river in the middle of the day while the English were at dinner; a few lives were lost and the rest escaped with difficulty, but their merchandise and property of every description entirely perished; hence Governor Charnock looked out for another place, he chose another one near it, erected a factory and fortified it; but the native merchants complained that their women were overlooked from the English houses, some of which were two stories high. The natives repaired to Murshidabad to complain, and orders came to prohibit finishing the Factory; the workmen hearing this refused to work; on this, Charnock setting fire to all the houses on this side the river embarked in a ship, the Foujdar sent orders to the Thannadar at Mukwah Thannah (near Calcutta) to seize the ship; he ran an iron chain across the river, provided some time before, to impede the incursions of the pirates of Arrakan and the Mugs who used to infest the river, but the chain was broken by the English. The Ships having provided Alungir's Camp with corn in a time of scarcity, the Mogul became favorable to Charnock, and permitted him to erect the Calcutta Factory."

not numerous, as the greater part had to remain with the ships which only came up to Diamond Harbour. The next spot is the Tyburn of Calcutta the crossing of Lal Bazar, at which stood the Great Jail where, down to the beginning of this century, executions used to take place. A case is on record of a man having been hung there in 1802 for stealing a watch. This Jail was not a strong one, as we have an account, a century ago, of a body of French prisoners making their escape from it. The road to the south leads by Cossitolla, (now strangely metamorphosed into Bentinck Street) so called from the *kassais* or butchers, who made it their head quarters; in that day, no single joint of meat could be had in Calcutta, the entire animal had to be bought, and the tables groaned under hecatombs of mutton or beef, while the shoemaker would be in attendance on the butcher to get the skin tanned, and provide the material for a pair of shoes—which were then, as now, very *kutcha* affairs.

The east side of Cossitolla was jungly; you cross Creek Row, which ran from the river near the site of the Bank of Bengal down to the north side of Dhurumtola into the Salt Water Lakes, which were then close to Calcutta, wafting their pestiferous vapours, nearly as bad as those which *may* come when the drainage scheme shall be completed. There was no Dhurumtola then; even down to 1780 there were only straw huts in it. You pass along the Chowringhee road, surrounded with dense jungle on both sides. Chowringhee then was out of town and in the woods; the chief use of the Chowringhee road was in leading to the shrine of Kalighat, which was the temple of Calcutta, and probably gave its name to the city. The temple of Kalighat stood for centuries, when the Ganges itself, some miles wide, laved its walls, when human blood streamed on its altars, and when Thugs, before proceeding on their murderous expeditions, made their devoirs to Kali. There is, south of the Jail, a small temple of Siva which is several centuries old; the river Ganges, then a mighty stream, once flowed up to its steps.

We return now to Lal Bazar, and proceed north along the Chitpur road leading to the famous temple of Chiteswari. On the west side of the road was the then fashionable part of Calcutta, occupied by English, Armenians, Portuguese, extending over what are now the China and Bara Bazars down to the site of the Mint. Here the Armenian millionaires lived, who, acting differently from the English, did not intermeddle in country politics, but devoted themselves entirely to trade, and realised large sums.

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Sobha Bazar was then a jungle, though when Nabakissen, Clive's Munshi, settled there after the battle of Plassey, it rose rapidly in buildings and population. Mention is made of it in 1780 as frequented by sailors, and of a great fire having occurred there, when Jack was very active in rescuing native's property from the flames.

Places like Sobha Bazar, Pathureaghata, now so densely peopled, were little known before the battle of Plassey which raised Calcutta from a Settlement to a City, and helped to make it a City of Palaces in front,—but of pigstyes in the rear. Raja Radhakant Deb's, the Thakur family, and various others had to leave Gobindpur when Fort William was built on its site. They settled in Pathureaghata, and Sobha Bazar. We pass a very old Hindu temple in the Chitpur road, built about 1730 by Gobindram Mittre, famous for its high cupola; we come then to an opening that led to Dum-Dum, getting into note in those days, as we find Civilians used to go to Baraset for change of air. Lord Clive had the first house there. We next arrive at Perrin's Point near Perrin's Gardens, once a place of recreation for Civil Servants, pass close to the Mahratta Ditch, which extended from the river to Panchkuti; near it were the celebrated gardens of those days, Gobindo Mittre's and Omichand's, both Bengali millionaires, and very clever men of business. The road led on to Chitpur, to the Nawab's gardens and terminated at Baranagar, a Dutch Settlement, gay and crowded in those days, when Dutch fleets rode in front, and Dutch *fraus* sported themselves in all the colors of the rainbow.

The following is a sketch given of Calcutta in 1717 :—"Calcutta in A. D. 1717, was then a village appertaining to the district of Nuddea, the houses of which were scattered in clusters of ten or twelve each, and the inhabitants chiefly husbandmen. A forest existed to the south of Chundpaul Ghat, which was afterwards removed by degrees. Between Khidderpore and the forest were two villages, whose inhabitants were invited to settle in Calcutta by the ancient family of the Seths, who were at that time merchants of great note, and very instrumental in bringing Calcutta into the form of a town. Fort William and the Esplanade are the site where the forest and the two villages above mentioned stood. In 1717 there was a straggling village, consisting of small houses, surrounded by puddles of water, where now stand the elegant houses of Chowringhee; and though Calcutta may at this period be described as extending to Chitpur bridge, the intervening space consisted of ground covered with jungle."

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Let us now take another survey of Calcutta from the roof of the Governor's House, a fine building south of the Old Fort; the President's House and Grounds stretched from the site of the Metcalfe Hall to Tank Square. Due East of us is Tank Square, called the Park, the tank in which seems to have been coeval with Calcutta, though it must have been cleared out to build in it a flight of steps to the bottom, which is 60 feet from the top of its banks. On the north-western side of Tank-Square stood the church, erected in 1715, chiefly through the contributions of sea-faring men, and merchants; the steeple fell down in the earthquake of 1737, when a hurricane took place that rolled the Ganges many feet over its bed, much higher than in 1865. This church was pulled down by the Mahomedans in 1756. It was the custom of the Governor to walk to this church, one reason for which was the Court informing him, in 1728, that if he wanted a chaise and pair he must pay for them himself. To the north of it was the Armenian church, erected at the expense of an Armenian merchant in 1724, which was plundered, but not pulled down in 1756, the Armenians standing well with the native powers on account of their abstinence from politics. East of that was the Old Court House erected by Mr. Bouchier * in 1726 for accommodating the Mayor and Aldermen as a Sessions house; subsequently rooms were added to it which made it a kind of Town Hall. Calcutta then had a Municipality, the Mayor was elected by the Government every December, but it had nothing to do with drains; however "as early as 1749, the Government ordered the drains to be re-surveyed to make the settlement sweet and wholesome."

We shall finish our ramble with the river. What a gloomy scene the river below Chandpal Ghat presented! Opposite were the dreary jungly shores of Howra tenanted chiefly by wild animals. A line of mud banks, reeking with malaria, corpses, in all stages of decomposition, floating up and down the stream by the dozen, jungle lining the shore, the abode of the snake and the alligator. Where Chandpal Ghat now rises were to be seen the Sati fires, the *ughori* eating dead men's flesh, and women carrying away, as holy, the water in which a Brahmin's feet had been washed. In another quarter a Brahmin might have been seen sitting Dharna.

Now as to a question of our day—Sanitation. The sanitary condition of the English in Calcutta was in one respect better than now; the Europeans lived in garden houses close to the river, and enjoyed its refreshing health-bearing breezes, while there was no

* A rich merchant, who subsequently became Governor of Bombay. He gave it to Government on condition they paid 4,000 rupees annually to support a charity school.

dense native population behind. All the Europeans grouped as near as they could under the sheltering protection of the fort, in case of Mahratta or Mogul invasion, so that the river easily carried off the drainage of Calcutta. There was no epidemic cholera then to decimate the people, though there was an endemic cholera called *le mort de chien*; but, on the other hand, Calcutta was surrounded by deadly undrained swamps reeking with malaria, the abode of the alligator, wild boar and tiger, the Sunderbunds being within a couple of miles at the east. It is not long since an old gentleman, Mr. Blacquiere, died, who shot wild fowl in the swamps near Tank Square. Even as late as the days of Warren Hastings, when he sought the sheltering shades of Belvidere, the Chowringhee plain was so jungly and swampy that he had sometimes to proceed by water to Shurman's Bridge* at Kidderpore, up the Gobindpur Creek which subsequently became Tolly's Nulla, but was then part of the old bed of the Ganges, which, washing the steps of the old temple south of the Great Jail, proceeded down by Kalighat, wafting malaria and fever in its channel.

No wonder malaria was rife. There were few fresh vegetables, no potatoes were grown, and people were imprudent. The dead bodies, not only of beasts, but of human beings, were to be seen at times lying in the streets, in a putrid state, under a blazing sun. In 1780 it is reported the Surgeon of an Indiaman expired in the street after eating a hearty dinner of beef, the thermometer being at 98°.

But though exempt from cholera, the pestilence that smiteth in darkness, it may be inferred from the jungle around, that Calcutta was a second Cayenne or Batavia; a putrid fever desolated the land, which covered the body with blotches of a livid colour, causing death in a few hours. Even when I came to the country, 28 years ago, it seemed to have been an understood thing that every new arrival must have his seasoning fever.†

The earliest notice we have of the sanitary state of Calcutta, the New Orleans of that day, is in the travels of Captain Hamilton,

* Shurman, an Armenian, was sent in 1715 on an embassy to the King of Delhi.

† Calcutta is thus described in an old poem by Atkinson:

"Embowering jungle and noxious fen,
 "Fatal to many a bold aspiring wight;
 "On every side tall trees shut out the sight,
 "And like the upas noisome vapors shed;
 "Day blazed with heat intense and dusky night
 "Brought damps excessive, and a feverish bed;
 "The revellers at eve were in the morning dead."

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about 1690, who describes an hospital into which many patients went, but few came out alive to give an account of their treatment,—dead dogs tell no tales. On an average about one-third of the crew of a ship perished from disease arising from exposure and arrack. One good indicator of the mortality was the immense sums of money that undertakers made; the rainy season was their harvest time, when, in some years, only one-fourth of the European population survived, and when a large dinner party used to be given on the 15th of October, for the survivors to congratulate each other on their being alive. Hamilton mentions that in 1700 there were 1,200 English in Calcutta, but the following January 460 were buried.* Calcutta had two Doctors, on the salaries of £25 a year each, but then they, like others, had a percentage on various articles, not excepting their share in the Madeira. As affecting the sanitary condition, there was not much to be said for the Doctors of that day, though there were some first rate men. A squib in a Calcutta paper in 1780 thus describes them :—

But consider the cause sure, t'will give one the grip man,
To see dubbed a Doctor, a special good Midshipman,
Who handles your pulse, as he'd handle a rope,
And conceives your complaint just as clear as the Pope,
Some Doctors in India would make Plato smile,
If you fracture your skull, they pronounce it the bile,
And with terrific Phiz, and a stare most sagacious,
Give a horse ball of Jalap and pills saponaceous.

In 1805, Lord Valentia writes of the improved salubrity of Calcutta, which he attributes to the filling up of tanks, the clearing away of jungle, better constructed houses, and more temperance.

In 1793, Dr. Leskard opened baths at 37 China Bazar, price one rupee a bath; they did not pay. As regards the want of swimming and vapor baths, Calcutta is as bad as Rome itself: though Rome has not the three hundred stenchies of Calcutta.

It is not surprising that Calcutta had a bad reputation in England, on account of its liver-decayed old Indian, with his parchment face—Indian Nawabs as they were called. But was not a certain amount of the ill-health of Calcutta owing to the irregular lives of Europeans? The common class used to drink the new arrack and then walk in the streets under a blazing sun—many met their deaths there.

* The proportion may be correct of deaths to residents, but we rather doubt whether there were 1,200 *Europeans* unless Portuguese and Armenians were included under that head; in 1756 there were only 70 houses in Calcutta belonging to the English, though Holwell calculated there were 400,000 people in 1750 in Calcutta.

Though stagnation of mind is unfavorable to health and though Calcutta had little news, it had its panics then, not from an enemy distant like the Sikhs in the Punjab, or the mutineers in the North-West, but from an enemy much nearer home,—the French. At that period the belief was firmly rooted in Englishmen's minds, that the French were natural enemies; that a Frenchman should only be met at the point of the sword. This foolish and anti-Christian feeling followed both parties to India, and as the Dutch and Portuguese fought until the latter were driven out, so was it with the French and English: the English knew that the Nawab loved neither, but he did not wish for the expulsion of the French, wishing to keep them as a check on the English. The French had then a powerful fleet at sea, one broadside from which, if it had come up the river, would have laid Fort William, with its honey-combed guns and short supply of powder, in ruins, while at Chandernagore, the French had a fort much stronger than Fort William, manned by men greater in number and better equipped than the English, the latter attending so little to measures of defence as to have some of the embrasures of Fort William stuffed with cotton bags. We may conceive the state of alarm then, when any day might see a French fleet in the river to sweep the English out of Bengal, when French cruisers infested the mouth of the Hooghly, and Pilot Schooners were captured by them in Balasore Roads.

Not only the French, but also the Mahrattas were the source of alarm. As late as 1780, there was great excitement in Calcutta in consequence of 40,000 Mahrattas being at Cuttaek; happily fluxes and fever rapidly reduced their numbers, but they came to the neighbourhood of Howrah. Mention is made of a Mrs. Bower, who died about 1780, who had by industry accumulated wealth, but she was so apprehensive of Calcutta being again taken, that in her last illness she used to start up in her bed, calling out to her servant that the French and Mahrattas were breaking into her house to carry away her money. She had escaped when the Fort was taken in 1756 having hid herself in a warehouse, and fled at night by a boat. No wonder she thought of the cruelties of the Mahrattas, who did not scruple to cut off the hands, noses, and ears of those they took prisoners and have been known even to cut off the breasts of women.

Not only was alarm from the French*; the Mugs were in the Sunderbunds devastating and plundering, and they came close

* The East Indians were subsequently a subject of serious apprehension to parties, who feared that they might, one day like the American colonists, rebel against the English. Even Lord Valentine, as late as 1803, entertained those fears.

to Calcutta. As early as 1717, they carried off 1,700 men, women and children from the Sunderbunds, and sold them as slaves in Arrakan at the rate of from 20 to 70 Rupees a head. Hence three-fourths of the inhabitants of Arrakan were of Sunderbund origin. In 1760, the neighbourhood of Budge Budge and Akra was infested with slave ships belonging to the Portuguese and Mugs. The alarm continued down to 1770, when a chain was run across the river at Mukwa Thanna fort (near the Botanical Garden) to protect the port of Calcutta against those parties. The Mahrattas were hovering round; they took possession of Thanna fort on the site of which Dr Anderson's house in the Botanical Garden now stands. There are old people in Uttarparah who have heard from their ancestors how the women had to hide themselves in tanks, with *kulsis* over their heads, to escape the Mahratta horse. I have seen old houses in Burdwan built with under-ground cellars to hide their valuables from the Mahratta plunderer. *Bargi hangam* is a well known Bengali proverb, recalling the terror of those days.

Now, as to the important question of the state of *Morals* in Calcutta, it was low among all classes; but the same might have been said of England itself. Enormous fortunes were made by no creditable means, though they were not then adepts in commercial gambling,—there was no joint stockery. The first Engineer of Fort William, Boyer, cheated Government out of 20 lacs, and then entered the service of the Dutch East India Company. Quarrels, as in all colonies, were rife, justifying the remark of Voltaire: "to relate the various dissensions of the Europeans in India would make a larger work than the *Encyclopædia*." As in small communities, gossip abounded and quarrels were the result. Mrs. Fay, about 1770, in her "Letters," describes "ladies' quarrelling on ship-board so as to have left scarcely an entire cap." These disputes were continued on shore, and were naturally shared in by their husbands. Quarrelling gave excitement in dull times; the same still exists occasionally now with passengers round the Cape. There were many quarrels in Council and out of it; the great public quarrel about 1760 was that of Bolst, who published a large quarto volume full of his complaints; he could not, however, have been a great personal sufferer, for he came out to Calcutta in 1759, remained there eight years, and made 9 lacs of Rupees. His aim was to upset the Company's monopoly; had he then succeeded in this object, native improvement, as well as civilisation, would have been thrown back, and India would, as now, be flooded with vagrants and penniless adventurers, lessening British prestige and damaging the Christian name.

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Slavery was in vogue : such advertisements as the following appear in the Newspapers : "To be sold two French Hôrnmen, who dress hairs, shave, and wait at table." "To be sold a fine Caffre boy that understands the business of Butler, Kidmutgar and cooking. Price four hundred Sicca Rupees" "Eloped from the service of his Mistress a slave boy aged twenty years, pretty white or colour of musky. It is requested that after this publication no one will employ him as a writer or in any other capacity." Slavery was an institution of long standing in India; it was greatly encouraged by the Mahomedans; the Dutch were staunch advocates for it, and the Portuguese recruited their ranks chiefly from slave boys whom they carried off in their man-stealing raids in Bengal, but Bengal slaves were treated much better than those in the West Indies or America.

A satirical catechism in *Hickey's Gazette*, published in 1780, seems to hit at the minor morals of the day in Calcutta thus:—

What is commerce?

Gambling.

What is the most cardinal virtue?

Riches.

What's the Amor Patriæ?

Amor Sui.

What is fraud?

Detection.

What is beauty?

Paint.

What is punctuality?

An observance of the appointments of duelling and intriguing.

What is gentility?

Extravagance.

What are public taxes?

Pack saddles.

Who are the people? Nobody.

The papers of that day refer to swarms of French cooks, French doctors, dancing masters, priests, fiddlers, tooth-drawers, friseurs and toad-eaters infesting Calcutta.

Lawyers are referred to as being so poorly off as to be compelled to disband their zenanas. It is a fact that, down to the early part of this century, zenanas were built in almost every European compound, while concubinage was defended in public and in the

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press* Lawyers were not in much odour. The authorities were frequently in collision with them, as they would have everything done agreeable to the statutes; and, like mercantile men, they were under a kind of ban as being out of the service.

A Calcutta paper gives the following epitaph on one.

God works wonders now and then,
Here lies a lawyer and an honest man.

Answered.

This is a mere law quibble, not a wonder,
Here lies a lawyer and his client under.

"The attornies of Calcutta may be said to be to lawyers what apothecaries are to physicians, only that they do not deal in *scruples*."

Lotteries were the order of the day: large houses fetching 1,000 Rs. monthly rent were sold by lottery tickets of 600 Rs. each; also garden houses, a Howrah house is put up to lottery, "situate on the bank of the river where the bore has no effect." The Harmonie house, a celebrated Tavern, was put up to auction by lottery in 1780, and won by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Hyde. A garden house in Entally was raffled in 1781 for 6,000 Rupees, prize tickets 75 Rs. each. Some of the best roads in Calcutta were subsequently made by the sale of lottery tickets.

Luxury, wealth and idleness produced the natural results. There is, however, another side to the shield. Old Calcutta was noted for its princely *hospitality*,—every house was a temple dedicated to *hospitality*"; a guest was a blessing in the stagnant life of the Ditch; rents were cheap; a whole sheep cost but two rupees; hence it is not surprising there were few hotels; one of the first was in 1780 kept by Sir E. Impey's late steward. In the advertisement, it is stated, "turtles dressed, gentlemen boarded and families supplied with pastry." Mr. Rushton at the same time opened for *gentlemen*

* We know not when that phrase was introduced by spinster husband-hunters respecting young civilians "worth £300 a year dead or alive;" but it was practised at an early period last century, and the press teemed with comments on it. India was a marriage mart, and fancy articles auctioned off fetched a very high price.

A satirical poem in 1813, called the "Anglo-Indian," thus describes some of the ladies imported:

Pale faded stuffs, by time grown faint
Will brighten up through art;
A Britain gives their faces paint,
For sale at India's mart.

Marriages must have been expensive affairs, when a chaplain's fee was 16 or 20 Gold Mohurs; in fact, physic, law and divinity in those days yielded a mine of wealth.

a tavern in RADHABAZAR. Few gentlemen now would like to live in Radhabazar !

Calcutta was equally famed for its liberal *subscriptions*—Mrs. Kindersley, in her travels 1760-68, observes : “ There is no part of the world where people part with their money to assist each other so freely as the English in India. ” The Anglo-Indians have ever maintained that character.

With regard to the treatment of Natives by Europeans, though it is said that Job Charnock, the first Governor of Calcutta, used while at dinner to have delinquents flogged that he might satiate himself with their cries, (he had himself been scourged and imprisoned by the Nawab) yet the treatment of natives by the authorities was generally kind and considerate. The Court of Directors was very severe on any parties convicted of treating them badly, though there was a practice enforced in parts of the country, that if a native, when riding, met an European, he was to dismount until the latter had passed ; in Chinsurah, among the Dutch, the natives were obliged not only to do this but to play on their instruments of music when the Governor passed in his palankin through the streets.

An account is given in 1765 in Calcutta of one Radha Tagore, banyan to a solicitor, who, after repeated unsuccessful attempts to get a bill paid by a Member of Council, said the delay would involve heavy law expenses, the Councillor then ordered his peons to seize Tagore, and convey him to the Cutchery, when without any trial he was tied up, severely flogged, and beat on the head with his own slipper “ for his insolence.” The banyan class to which Tagore belonged were very wealthy and very miserly ; they managed the European’s money matters as the Kerani did his writing. Their history, as well as that of gomastahs, forms a curious feature in Indian Society.

The natives saw little of their English masters then except in the way of trade or political negotiation. Among the men whose names crop up is that of Omichand, known after 1747. He left charities in all parts of the world ; his executors remitted to England £175 to the Magdalen, and £175 to the Foundling hospitals, besides £5,000, the interest of which was to be annually applied to those institutions. Is it so ? He also left R. 25,000 towards building a church.

Nundcomar, who was Fauzdar of Hooghly, is too well known to history. Gobardhan Mitter was a famous man in his day, and has given his name to a Ghat.

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Nabakissen came forward in Clive's time. Living in an obscure village, Panchgay, near Diamond Harbour, he supplied the English refugees there with provisions in spite of the prohibition of the Nawab, and he brought them valuable information relating to the Nawab's movements. He set an example of public spirit by presenting to Government the old burying ground and the land adjoining it on which St. John's Church is built, (the old magazine had stood on it;) he spent a large sum of money in constructing a road called *Rajah's jungle*, 32 miles long, from Behala to Culpi; he occasionally gave balls, natches and suppers to the English community.

The Nawab of Chitpore was an important personage; he had a fine palace and magnificent gardens near Chitpore, and frequently gave grand parties to the English.

Jaggat Sett is said to have been worth ten crores; the Setts were worth millions; they were the bankers of those days, both to the English and the Nawab, but they soon declined. Two of them met a melancholy end, having been drowned near Monghyr by order of Kasim Ali Khan; the only remnants of the family now are pensioners on the bounty of Government.

The Rajah of Burdwan had great power. It was the insurrection in his country that led to the erection of the Old Fort in 1696; he, in a quarrel with the English about 1755, stopped all their trade in Bengal. The annual produce of his estate amounted probably to 80 lacs.

Young Bengal made his appearance in 1780 in the person of one Raja Ramlochun, who made a visit to an eminent attorney, equipped in boots, buckskin breeches, hunting frock and jockey cap. The Nawab Sadaat Ali came to Calcutta, and is said to have purchased an admiral's uniform, two canonicals, and a pair of wigs. A skit in a newspaper about 1780 says, "the poor oppressed natives here are already providing themselves with bear-skin breeches instead of buckskin; they are, however, prejudiced against the wigs." Another states, "the Juti-wallahs and makers of native shoes in Calcutta are about to petition the Supreme Council against the luxury of the Bengali banyans and Sircars, who keep palkees, phaetons and buggies by which shoes, that formerly lasted only from ten to twelve days, last them now as many months."

Feasting Brahmins was common, and lacs upon lacs were spent on it. Much money was spent in processions, which were frequent, and excited great zeal, and at times collisions.

The *Keranchi*, now so despised and nearly extinct, was a fashionable vehicle for native gentlemen; it was an imitation of the old English family coach.

The native houses were nearly all covered with thatch, hence fires were very common, often of an incendiary kind. A cocoanut shell full of fire was covered over with a brick and tied over with a string, two holes being left in the brick that the wind might blow the fire out. About 1780 a fellow was detected at Moorshedabad setting fire to a house by throwing the *ticka* of his *lukah* in the *chuppers*; he was tried, and sentenced to have his left hand and right foot cut off. We find in April 1780, a fire broke out in the Barabazar, which consumed 700 houses; the same month one broke out in the Dhurumtola, which burned every house down between that and the Jaun Bazar; upwards of 20 people were burned to death, with a great number of cattle, sheep and fowls.

Portuguese was the language for servants, and a kind of *lingua franca* in Calcutta; religious services were held in it. Kiernander, the first missionary in Calcutta, baptized in 1769 a Bengali, who is said to have made such proficiency in the Portuguese tongue, that "as a Catechist to the Bengali caste, he was able from the Portuguese to explain the doctrines of Christianity in their own language." Persian was the language of diplomacy and the Courts. In it the English transacted business both with Natives and Armenians. Through his skill in it Nabakissen, from being Clive's Munshi in 1760, rose to great influence and wealth.

Bengali was little known; it was considered the language of fishermen—a poor mongrel dialect unworthy of study. How are times changed! Bolst, so noted in Calcutta quarrels, was one of the first who knew it. Sitting one day as alderman to try a case, he found the complainant profess to translate a document from Bengali. He did it fluently, but Bolst looking over his shoulder, found there was not a word of Bengali, and all the translation was his own invention. In those days many cases like this occurred without there being a Bolst to detect. In 1765, the natives presented a petition to Government to have the English laws translated into Bengali. There were perhaps at that time not a dozen natives in all Calcutta who could understand them in English.

Ramkomal Sen, a native who has evinced considerable taste for antiquarian research, in the valuable preface to his Dictionary, states:—

"The English first visited Bengal about the year 1620. On their arrival at, and first settlement, in Gobindpore in Sootanooty, the natives did not dare

approach them, not being able to understand what they said; business was accordingly transacted by gestures and signs of the body.

"In 1680, the old Fort was erected as a warehouse of the Company, in which many natives of Calcutta were employed. Some years before this, an English man-of-war came up the river and anchored near the Botanic Garden, when the Commanding Officer sent to the *Basikhs*, or *Setts*, then a great family, and employed in supplying piece goods to the English merchants, and requested them to send him a *Dubas* or *Dhobhasia*, a word which in the language of the Coast means a *Sircar*, or one who knows two languages. This class of men had proved themselves very useful to the English at Madras. The *Basikhs*, who were weavers by caste, were known to the English Merchants long before this; for they had an extensive manufacture of Gurrall cloths, which they sold to the Company. They had several *Dhobas*, or washermen in their employ. The *Basikhs* were surprised at the request; and did not comprehend what the English Commander required of them. At length the whole of their family assembled, and held a consultation, as to what was to be done, when after a great deal of discussion one of the wisest men in the family said that he believed the Naval Officer wanted a *Dhoba* to wash their wearing apparel. They proposed therefore to send one of their washermen named ———, but the poor man did not readily consent to go, and his family was much grieved. At last he was prevailed upon to undertake the enterprise, which was then considered as an expedition to the north pole. It was the custom of the Hindoos never to approach a superior with empty hands, but to take something in the shape of a nuzzar or present; a practice which has ever been much in use, particularly among the ship sircars. Such nuzzars consist of plantains, pumpkenusses and sugarcandy. A present like this the *Dhoba* took with him to offer to the Naval Commander. This extraordinarily brave man went in a little boat abreast of the man-of-war, which received him with a salute. He was taken upon deck and received by the officers in a manner quite novel, such as he had never experienced before. After the usual ceremonies, the man was discharged with bags of gold and other precious articles, and afterwards continued one of the principal native servants of the Company for many years.

"The *Dhoba* by frequent intercourse with the English learned their language, in about the same perfection as the *Lalbazar* bearers, who are frequently to be seen surrounding the sailors when they land. He may be considered the first English scholar among the natives of Calcutta.

"In 1774 the Supreme Court was established here, and from this period a knowledge of the English language appeared to be desirable and necessary. In tracing the progress made, it appears that a Brahmin named *Ramram Misra* was the first who made any considerable progress in the English language, but it is not known how he learnt it, or by whom he was taught. He himself taught several Baboos and amongst them *Ramnarain Misra*, a clerk to an attorney of the Supreme Court, who was considered to be a scholar and a great lawyer into the bargain, for he could draw up petitions and knew the forms and practice of the pernicious system of law which has ruined almost every family of note in Calcutta who were subject to its jurisdiction. By it he made his fortune, there not being his equal at the time. He afterwards kept a school, in which he taught a number of Hindoo youth, and received from them a monthly fee of from Rs. 4 to 16 each. Before his time, however, there was another individual named *Anandiram Doss*, who knew a still greater number of English words than *Ramnarain*. This man had a vocabulary or collection of words which was considered a treasure of English knowledge, and a number

of young Hindoos used to attend daily upon him for hours and to wait his pleasure and convenience to get some scraps from his book. This pious philanthropist used to give out five or six words every day for their study."

How are the mighty fallen! Nearly allied in race and feeling to the natives are the Portuguese. The first European conquerors in India, how degenerate at the time when the English had erected their fort in Calcutta in 1680! Portuguese prestige had given way to Dutch and French. Hooghly, with its fort, was their only possession left, and the descendants of Albuquerque resorted to piracy. They had desolated the Sunderbunds, and carried on the slave trade with a high hand; they have left few traces in last century, though their language was commonly spoken, and was the medium of intercourse with servants. The words *caste* and *compound* are the few relics left of the Portuguese.

The Portuguese were employed by the English as Artillerymen previous to 1751, and called *topas*, from *top* a gun. They are described as "a black degenerate offspring of the ancient Portuguese, not to be depended on, not one in ten of whom was fit to be a soldier." Lord Valentia in 1805, referring to the profusion of dishes on the dinner tables, complains "they were to the no small satisfaction of birds and beasts of prey, for the lower orders of the Portuguese, to whom alone they would be serviceable, cannot consume the whole."

A glance now at a few classes of Society.

Young Civilians had to rough it; they had not then their Fort-William College, where champagne was drunk *à la discretion*, and when racing and gambling were the occupations. As the palankin last century was the vehicle of honor, there was an order of the Court of Directors about 1757, complaining of the luxurious habits of their junior servants, and, as an instance, that they went to office in a palankin. Its use was consequently prohibited, and only allowed subsequently as a great favor to go to office in, in the hot weather and rains. The palankin was arched, and the Dutch Governor at Chinsurah used to sit in a chair in his, as did some in Calcutta. We find that in 1767, two hundred ryots fell prostrate before the Governor of Calcutta's palki, to present a petition to be allowed to make salt.

The *Griff*, or new arrival, was a constant subject of ridicule last century in the Calcutta press, particularly the king's officers, who were thorough griffs as well as old griffs.

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The *old Indian* came in for his share; the man who had forgotten Europe, and sat down for life engrossed with his curries and zenanas.

Tailors made then as now large profits; one that came out in 1763, after ten years' residence, gave his friends a dinner served on plate, and shortly after retired to Europe with a fortune of two lacs of rupees; milliners were still more fortunate, to the dismay of husbands, who were observed to turn pale as ashes on the bare mention of their wives being seen to enter milliner's shops. Four master tailors advertise in 1780, that as they have to pay the merchants in sicca rupees so they must be paid in the same.

Confectioners and watchmakers were at an early period in Calcutta, so were pawn-brokers and auctioneers. The auction shops of Calcutta were famous rendezvous for killing time. Freemasons were established in Calcutta in 1728. In 1732, the Provincial Grand Master sent from his Lodge at Bengal, for the use of the Grand Lodge of England, a chest of the best arrack. In 1755, Roger Drake was elected Provincial Grand Master, but it is to be hoped that on hearing of his cowardly conduct in Calcutta, they deposed him.

The *Armenians* came to India, some by the Persian Gulph, others by Khorasan, Candahar, and Kabul to Delhi. They were among the earliest settlers, coming gradually from Guzerat and Surat to Benares and Behar. They settled in Chinsurah soon after the Dutch settlement of 1625. On the foundation of Calcutta, 1690, the Armenians, in common with the Portuguese, accepted the invitation of the Governor Charnock, to settle there, and flourished, so that in 1757 they received as compensation for their losses seven lacs of rupees; they were pioneers in the Central Asia trade, which has yet a great future before it.

The *Greeks*, who are now merchant princes, came to Calcutta about 1750. Their church was erected in consequence of a vow that Argyrea, a Greek Merchant made, when overtaken by a violent gale,—that if preserved, he would found a Greek Church in Calcutta. Warren Hastings headed the subscription to it with Rs. 2,000.

The *Dutch* were very severe towards natives, the same in Bengal as in Batavia. It is told of the Dutch fiscal at Chinsurah, that on finding any fault with his banyan, he used to fine him Rs. 20 or 30, and if he did not pay the money at once, he was tied up and whipped until it was paid.

The Dutch ladies at Chinsurah are represented as fond of parties and dancing; lolling on a sofa in the morning, sleeping in the after-noon, and up half the night. They figured often in the Fancy Balls given at Chinsurah, which used to be attended by the English from Calcutta, and by the French from Chandernagore, in their palankins.

Let us next take a view of the houses. From an early period, as soon as the English could live securely away from their Fort, they began to build houses in the centre of spacious gardens; ground was cheap, and domestic seclusion was pleasant. Chowringhee was then out of town in the woods, and the first move to build garden houses was in that direction; which spread gradually as the names of streets in Chowringhee indicate. Sir W. Jones lived as far down as Garden Reach, and used to walk every day to the Supreme Court. Sir R. Chambers, the Oriental Scholar, took up his quarters at Bhowanipore, where he was serenaded at night by the tigers' howl. General Dickinson lived out at Dakhinessur. The Dum-Dum^a and Baraset roads are referred to in 1747 and in 1757; when the Governor of Calcutta used occasionally to spend a few days at Baraset. Some were fond, even before that period, of living out of town. Job Charnock, as early as 1690, had a country bungalow at Barrackpore; his name is perpetuated in the term Chanak applied by natives to Barrackpore.

When Lord Teignmouth arrived at Calcutta in 1769, not more than three houses were furnished with venetians or glass windows; solid shutters or rattans like those used for the bottom of chairs were in vogue. The houses were generally of one story, though raised with steps to them; the doors and windows were small to keep out the heat; there were few verandahs, they had arched windows instead; the furniture was scant as it was dear, and it was thought to harbor snakes and vermin. The houses were approached by a flight of steps with great projecting portions, or surrounded by colonnades or arcades.

In 1780, we find there were garden houses in Balligunge, Russapagla, Baitakhanah, Alipore, opposite Thannah Fort, at Dakhinessur beyond Baranagar, Mirzapore, and at Sukhsaugor near Hooghly. Mr. Stofts had a plantation, where he used to receive Warren Hastings. We have an account of Warren Hastings on his return with his lady receiving a salute of 21 guns from the Dutch fort at Chinsurah. Hastings had a bungalow at Birkul below Kedgerce, where he

occasionally entertained his friends, and enjoyed the sea breezes. Baraset was the scene of festive parties about 1780.

Excursions were occasionally made to Fulta, which then had a fine hotel. The Dutch ships remained there. River trips were made to Chandernagore and to Bandel, called the Montpellier of India, noted for its gaiety and debauchery; to Baranagore, a gay place, the Dutch halfway house between Fulta and Chinsurah. Gurretti, the French Versailles, attracted many by its gardens, in which 120 carriages have been on the occasion of gay parties. Belvidere, in 1770, was occupied by Governor Cartier, who used to give parties there, his friends riding to the place, as there was no carriage road.

As to the mental food of Calcutta, there was a public *Library* in the old Fort as early as 1770; new books were supplied once a year. A Mr. Andrew, who had a circulating library, complains in 1780 of the loss he sustained owing to "gentlemen going away, and in their hurry not recollecting their being subscribers to the library, or having any books belonging thereto." In those days books only came once a year from England; printing charges were 500 per cent. higher than now: we have seen a book of 142 pp. 12mo. printed in Calcutta 1803, and sold to non-subscribers at Rs. 24 a copy.

Hickey's Gazette started in 1780 as an "antibilious specific," but it grew so scurrilous that, on November 14th, 1780, appeared an order of Government prohibiting its circulation through the channel of the General Post Office on account of its lately having been found to contain several improper paragraphs tending to vilify private characters, and to disturb the peace of the settlement. Hickey employed 20 hurkarras to distribute his paper, and stated he would persist in his opposition to Government, though he should have to compose ballads and sell them through the streets of Calcutta as Homer did. His career ended in a jail, after long battling it out. The Government soon after started a *Gazette*; there was another called the *Monitorial Gazette*. Mr. Kiernander, a Missionary, in 1780, had a printing press.

As to education, there were few native schools except on the Gurumahashay system. Mr. Hodges, about 1780, advertises a Government school near the Armenian Church for teaching reading, writing and needle work. Another advertises "a boy's boarding school beyond Chitpore Bridge, opposite the avenue leading to the Nawab's garden, reading, writing and arithmetic taught Rs. 50 monthly, at the master's table, at a separate one Rs. 30, he does not intend to

take more than 14 boys unless he gets an assistant." In 1781, Mr. Griffith has a boarding school in his garden house near the Baitokhanah, where "young gentlemen are genteelly boarded, tenderly treated and expeditiously taught," but the moral tone of these schools was generally very low.

We have reached the limits we assigned to this article, which merely *glances* at some of the leading points regarding Calcutta. There are various other branches of the subject that afford ample scope, such as the Jews of Calcutta, (is it true they had to yield the palm in cleverness and acuteness in business matters to the Bengali?)—the Greeks—the East Indians—the Moguls, their numbers and social position last century—the Mussulmans, their condition last century contrasted with this,—the Parsees—the Sikhs—the Free Masons—the Chinese—the Adventurer or Interloper.

I now conclude with proposing some topics which, as supplemental to the paper, I hope may elicit answers for our Association from our Native friends.

In a conversation I had with the late Professor Wilson, 20 years ago, he urged on me to get something done towards preserving the traditions and reminiscences of old native families in Calcutta; little has been done towards this.*

The origin of the names of streets. In the present American rage for modernizing names it is important to preserve this. The names of a variety of individuals and circumstances are embalmed in these; thus Govindram Mitre's Ghat recalls the name and history of the millionaire of last century,—Cossitollah, the butchers of last century.

Pundits, Kathaks, Gurus, Kabirajes, Yogis, Witches, their social position, emoluments, knowledge, how different from the present time.

The police, dakaity and criminal classes—the life of a dakaity.

The habit of drinking spirits—its rise and progress.

Bara, China and Dhuramtola bazars, their rise and progress.

Anecdotes illustrative of Jalras, Salis, Slavery, Banyans, Caste, Shraddhas, Pujas, the Charak human sacrifices, Servants,—were

* I hail with pleasure the appearance of three recent works on this subject, a brief account of the Tagore family—the life of Ramdulal Dey the Bengali Millionaire, and Sketch of Raja Radhakant Deva.

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they better treated or better paid than now?—The life of a Khan-samah. *Shroffs, Banyans, Mahajans*, their past position.

The Bengali language and literature, anecdotes illustrative of.

The Mahomedans, their social position last century.

THE PRESIDENT expressed his great regret that the lateness of the hour had prevented Mr. Long from reading more than a fraction of his paper, and rendered it quite impossible for him, the President, to invite discussion. He thought that the thanks of the Association were due to Mr. Long for bringing this topic under its consideration. Although Calcutta was young, as the age of cities is reckoned, still it had witnessed numerous historical events of vast importance; and its own development was but the index of the rise and progress of the now mighty empire of India. Side by side with this had gone on social changes, which could not fail to command the interest of all native residents of this Province. Surely there must be material in the family archives of Hindu and Mahomedan gentlemen, which would prove most valuable to the historian and most interesting to the public if it could be brought to light. And the stirring incidents of a time, not long past, might receive elucidation and description from persons, scarcely removed from the position of eye witnesses of what they could relate. He urged upon the members of the Association to follow out the suggestions of Mr. Long and bring in to the common store all the scattered elements of tradition and observation which lay within their reach.

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- No. XXIX.—Progress Report of the Forests of the Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces, 1858 to 1860.
- XXX.—Report on the Bustar and Kharondec Dependencies of the Raepore District.
- XXXV.—Report on the Affairs of Khelat from 1857 to 1860, &c.
- LIII.—Report on the Revenue Settlement of Nursingpore District, Central Provinces.
- LV.—Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Dumoh District, Jubbulpore Division, Central Provinces, effected by A. M. Russell, Esq.
- LXI.—Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Saugor District, Jubbulpore Division, Central Provinces, effected by Lieut. Col. J. N. Maclean, 1867.
- LXII.—Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Bhundara District, Central Provinces, effected by A. J. Lawrence, Esq., C. S.—1868.

SELECTIONS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

- No. VI.—Report on the Tin and other Mineral productions of the Tenasserim Provinces.
- XI.—Report on the Political States, S. W. Frontier Agency; Revenue Administration of Assam and the Wild Tribes bordering the South Frontier of Chittagong.
- XIII.—Notes on the Manufacture of Salt in the Tumlook Agency; Report on the Coal Mines of Lakadong, in the Jynteah Hills; Memorandum of the Results of an Examination of the Gold Dust and Gold from Shy-gwar.
- XIV.—Papers relating to the establishment of the Presidency College of Bengal, 1854.
- XVII.—Report on Darjeeling by W. B. Jackson, Esq., C. S.
- XVIII.—Correspondence relating to the Suppression of Dacoity in Bengal.

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- No. XIX.—Papers relating to the proposed Canal between Ooltadangah and Dhappa; Improvement of the Soonderbun Channels; Opening of a communication with the sea by the river and a direct water communication between the Ganges and Calcutta.
- XX.—Papers relating to the South-West Frontier, comprising reports on Purulia, or Manbhoom, Chota Nagpore, sub-divisions of Kornda, Hazareebaugh, Shumbulpore, and South West Frontier Agency, by H. Ricketts, Esq., C. S.
- XXI.—Correspondence relating to the Suppression of Dacoity in Bengal, 1855.
- XXIII.—Papers relating to some frontier tribes on the N. E. Border of Assam; Topographical Report on the Political Districts of Raigurh, Sarinagurh, Sonapore and Sumbulpore, by Mr. J. P. Shortt.
- XXIV.—Correspondence relating to the Ferry Funds in the Lower Provinces.
- XXV.—Report on the Teak Plantations of Bengal, by Dr. H. Falconer.
- XXVI.—Reports on the Suppression of Dacoity in Bengal for 1855-56.
- XXIX.—Report on the rivers of Bengal, by Captain W. S. Sherwill; Papers of 1856-57-58 on the Damoodah embankments, &c.
- XXX.—Reports on the Districts of Pooree and Balasore, by H. Ricketts, Esq.
- XXXI.—Reports relating to the Suppression of Dacoity in Bengal for 1856-57 to 1858.
- XXXII.—Returns relating to Publications in the Bengalee Language in 1857.
- XXXIII.—Papers relating to Indigo Cultivation in Bengal, in three parts.
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- XXXVI.—Papers relating to Irrigation in Bengal and the Maghassani Hills, as a Sanitarium.
- XXXVII.—Papers relating to Tea Cultivation in Assam.
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- XXXIX.—Papers relating to the disturbances in the Cossyah and Jynteah Hills in two Parts.

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- VI.—Correspondence relative to Proposals for Organising Permanent Corps of Coolies for employment on Road Works; General Report of the Road Department:

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XXXVII.—Correspondence on the Scale of Passenger Fares and Goods Tariff for the Madras Railway.

XLIV.—Report of the Railway Department for 1856.

L.—Report on the Agricultural Exhibitions in the Provinces in the year 1857.

LI.—Report on Vaccination for 1857.

LII.—Revised rules respecting Applications for grants-in-aid of schools unconnected with Government.

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• LIIIa.—Report of the Railway Department for 1857.

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LVI.—Annual Report of the Madras Medical College for 1857-58.

• LVIII.—Annual Report of the Madras Medical College for 1858-59.

LIX.—Administration Report of the Madras Public Works for 1857-58.

LXI.—Administration Report of the Madras Public Works for 1858-59.

LXIII.—Report of the Director of Public Instruction for 1858-59.

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XXIX.—Correspondence regarding the Concealment by the hereditary officers and others of the Revenue Records of the former Government and the Remedial Measures in progress.

• XXX.—Correspondence exhibiting the nature and use of the Poona Duftur, &c.

XXXV.—Report by the Collector of Kurrachee on the Hilly Region forming the western part of that Collectorate, &c.

XXXVIII.—Correspondence relating to the tenure of the Possessions in the Deccan held by His Highness Jyajee Rao Sindia.

XLV.—Report on the upper portion of the Eastern Narra, and the feasibility of restoring it as a Permanent Stream, &c.

XLVIII.—A short review of Mr. Plowden's Report on the Salt Excise of the Bombay Presidency, &c.

L.—Correspondence relating to Canal Clearances in the Hyderabad Collectorate in 1857-58.

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No. XLV.—Report on the Working of the Government Tea Plantations in Dherah Dhoon and Kumayon during the year 1865-66, &c.

CIV.—Selected Minutes by the Hon'ble M. Elphinstone in the Military Department for 1820-27.

Report on the diet of Prisoners in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency.

Report on the New Police in Bengal, by C. F. Carnac.

Report of the Bengal Police for 1864, by C. F. Carnac.

Report of the Bengal Police for 1865, by Major Pughe.

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Report on the Police of Calcutta and its suburbs for 1866.

Report of the Court of Small Causes of Calcutta, 1866-67.

Report (final) on the Police Establishment of the Lower Provinces, by Colonel Bruce.

Report on the Police Establishment of Chota Nagpore, by Colonel Bruce.

Report on the Committee on Prison Discipline, 1838.

Rules for the Better Management of Public Jails.

Moorshedabad Murder Case.

Rules by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal for the Superintendence and Management of Jails in Lower Provinces.

Judicial Statistics of the Provinces subject to the Government of Bengal.

Rules for the Control and Management of the Bhowanipore Asylum.

Female Infanticide in the Doab.

The Damathat or Laws of Menoo.

The Mahomedan Law of Sale.

The Magistrate's and Collector's Manual.

Sutherland's Bengal Regulations.

The Acts of the Legislative Council of India from 1833 to 1861, 3 Volumes, by G. S. Fagan.

The Acts of the Legislative Council of India from 1833 to 1861 repealed and expired by G. S. Fagan.

Report of the High Court, North-Western Provinces, on administration of Criminal Justice during 1866.

Report of the High Court, North-Western Provinces, on the administration of Civil Justice for 1866.

Report on the Administration of Police for 1866.

Report on the Administration of Police for 1867.

Report on the Administration of Act XXXI of 1861 in North-Western Provinces for 1866.

Report on the Condition and Management of Jails, North-Western Provinces, for 1866.

Report of the Full Bench Rulings by the High Court, North-Western Provinces, from June to December 1866.

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Report of the Full Bench Rulings by the High Court, North-Western Provinces, from January to June 1867.

Report of the High Court, North-Western Provinces, Vol. I. Nos. 1 to 5. Circular Orders of the Nizamat Adawlut, North-Western Provinces.

Indian Infanticide, by J. C. Browne.

Notes on the Laws of Bengal, by Anandaram Dhakial Phookan
Administration of Justice in India, by W. G. Morley.

Moore's Investigation and Report regarding the Female Infanticide in the Benares Division.

Extracts relating to Hindu Widow Marriage Acts.

Moore's Indian Appeal Cases, Vol. 21.

Report on Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency, 1856-57.

Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency, 1857-58.

Report (last) of the Commissioners of National Education for the Colony of Victoria.

Sir Frederick Halliday's Minute on Public Instruction.

Report on the Progress of Education, North-Western Provinces, for 1866-67.

Report of the Dispensaries, North-Western Provinces, for 1866.

Report of the Transactions of the Native Hospital, 1843

Measures for Prevention of Cholera among the European Troops.

Report on the Charitable Dispensaries of Bengal for 1865.

Report on the Committee on the Drainage of Calcutta, 1857.

Report on the Epidemic and Intermittent Fever, by Dr. E. J. Elliot.

Report on the Vaccine Operation, Agra Division, 1858-59, by a Christian.

Report on Vaccination, 1852.

Report on Vaccination, North-Western Provinces.

Report on the attack of Cholera in the Central Prison at Agra.

Revenue, Meteorological, Statements of North-Western Provinces from 1844 to 1850.

Papers relating to Sanitary Establishments.

Returns from the Commissioner of Cuttack, on the mortality caused by the famine in Orissa.

Analysis of the Mineral Springs and Various Well Waters in the Bombay Presidency, by W. Giraud.

Report on the Indigo Commission appointed under Act XI of 1860.

Report on the Commission appointed by the East India Company to visit the Rivers Danube and Rhone.

Report on the Committee appointed to enquire into the state of the River Hooghly.

Report on the Mahanuddee River, by A. Cotton.

Report (Annual) of the Marine Department and Dock-yard under Bengal Government for 1866 and 1867, by Captain H. Howe.

Report on the Oils of Southern India, by Lieutenant H. P. Hox.

Report by the Juries of the London Exhibition of 1851.

Report by the Juries of the Madras Exhibition of 1855.

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- Report of the Committees of Consignments to the Madras Exhibition of 1857.
- Papers on Doab Canal and Dehra Dhoon Water-courses, by Lieutenant Colonel P. T. Cautley.
- Classified Catalogue of the Raw Produce of the Madras Exhibition of 1859.
- Official and Descriptive Catalogue of Madras Exhibition of 1857.
- Papers regarding the Irrigation of the Agra District.
- Statement showing the roads in the Province of Bengal under the Department of Public Works.
- Facts for Factories, being letters on Practical Subjects suggested by experience in Bombay.
- Trade and Navigation Accounts for 31st October 1866.
- Minute by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal on the Report of the Indigo Commission.
- Tabular Statements of the Commerce and Shipping of Singapore.
- Correspondence on the Patna Industrial Institution.
- Memorandum upon the Paunchontee or the Indian Gutta Tree.
- New Indian Government Paper Currency.
- The cultivation of the Orleans Staple Cotton.
- The English version of the Urdu or Hindustance exposition of the New Indian Paper Currency.
- On the improvement of Bengal Pottery, by W. O'Shaughnessy.
- Hand Book of Cotton Cultivation in the Madras Presidency, by J. Talboys Wheeler.
- Cotton Hand Book in Bengal, by J. G. Medlicot.
- Italian Irrigation, by Baird Smith, 2 Vols.
- New Customs Tariff.
- Notes on the Propagation and Cultivation of the Medicinal Cinchonas.
- Catalogue of Contribution from India to the London Exhibition, 1862.
- Report on the Administration of North Cachar, by W. J. Allan.
- Report on the Administration of Cossyah and Jynteah Hills, by W. J. Allan.
- Report on the Administration of the District of Cachar, by W. J. Allan.
- Report on the Administration of Calcutta Municipality for 1866.
- Report (Geological) on the Kymore Mountains, by D. H. Williams.
- Report (Geological) on the Damoodah Valley.
- Report (Statistical and Geographical) of the 24-Pergunnahs, by Major R. Smyth.
- Report (Statistical and Annual) of Hazareebaugh District, by Captain G. H. Thompson.
- Report on the Settlement of Dehra Dhoon, by A. Ross.
- Report from the Civil Engineers on the more Important Works for 1850.
- Report on the Improvement of Kanawha and incidentally the Ohio River, by C. Eliot.
- Report on the Province of Assam.

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- Papers on Stone and Timber of Gwalior Territories, by Major A. Cuningham.
- The Annals of Indian Administration for March and June 1867.
- Ditto ditto ditto for 1865-66.
- The Indian Official Thesarus, by M. E. Townsend.
- Rules and Formulæ for the competition and solution of Various Hydraulic Problems, by D. Nebille.
- Rules for the future Appropriation of the Surplus Ferry Collection.
- Notes by Major Haly for the guidance of Troops.
- A few words relative to the late Mutiny of the Bengal Army, by Shek Hydul Ali.
- Minute by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal on the Mutinies as they affected the Lower Provinces.
- Correspondence connected with the removal of Mr. W. Tayler from the Commissionership of Patna.
- Correspondence between the Government of India and the Asiatic Society relative to the establishment of a Museum.
- A few words on Studs, by Captain C. D'Oly.
- Slope Tables for the use of Canal Departments, N. W. P.
- Sākantala, by M. Williams.
- Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Parts I to III.
- Index to the above.
- Dictionary of Law Terms in Bengalee, by Revd. J. Robinson.
- Memorandum of the Land Measures of the Madras Presidency.
- Treaties, Engagements, and Sumunds, 5 Vols.
- A Manual of Medical Jurisprudence, by Norman Chevers, M. D.
- The Fibrous Plants of India, by Dr. Royle.
- Instructions to the Registrars of Shipping under the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854.
- Revision of Talook Accounts of the Madras Presidency.
- Maximum and Minimum, by Ram Chundra.
- Differential Calculus, by Ram Chundra.
- Topography and Statistics of Dacca, by Taylor.
- Instructions to Measuring Surveyors.
- Papers relating to the Revision of Village Accounts of the Madras Presidency.
- Illustrations of Himalayan Plants, by J. D. Hooker, M. D.
- Oldham's Geology of Khasia Hills.
- Posthumous Papers bequeathed to the East India Company and printed by order of Government.
- Posthumous Papers bequeathed to the East India Company and printed by Bengal Government, Icones Planterum Asiaticarum, Part III.
- Posthumous Papers bequeathed to the East India Company and printed by Bengal Government, Icones Planterum Asiaticarum, Part IV.

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Posthumous Papers bequeathed to the East India Company, Natule a
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From the Author.

Social Science for India, by Syud Shurfooddeen.

Social Science, being the Journal and Sessional proceedings of the National Association, from Miss Carpenter, 2 copies.

Report of the Association of Friends for the Promotion of Social Improvement, from Baboo Kissory Chand Mittra.

Petition of the British Indian Association to the House of Commons, 1859
Proceedings of the Native Reading and Debating Club, Etawah, from
Baboo Dino Nath Gangoley.

Rules of the Native Reading and Debating Club, Etawah, from Baboo Dino
Nath Gangoley.

The Tenth Annual Report of the Family Literary Club, from Baboo Prosad
Dass Mullick.

Adal-Ahal-I-Farang, from Nawab Nubbe Bux Khan.

On Prison Discipline and Statistics in Lower Bengal, by F. J. Mouat, M. D.

Interest Tables from W. W. Beveridge

Suggestions on Prison Discipline, from Miss Carpenter.

David Waldie's address on the objects of the Society and the means for
carrying them out, from the Secretary, Baranagore Social Improvement
Society.

Address on the Treatment of Criminals in the Punjab, by Major G. Hutchinson.

Report of the Benevolent Institution for 1866.

Cholera and its Symptoms, from S. G. Chuckerbutty, M. D.

Fourier's Works, from G. Poole.

Selections from the *Government Gazette*, 1784-85-86-87 and 88, by Hon'ble
W. S. Seton-Karr.

The indigenous drugs of India, from Baboo Kanny Lall Dey.

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Report on the Administration of the Punjab for 1866-67	1 copy.
Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for 1866-67	1 "
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BENGAL SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

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GENERAL OF INDIA.

HIS HONOR THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.
THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.
THE MAHARAJA MAHTAP CHAND BAHADOOR OF BURDWAN.

•

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THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE PHEAR.

Vice-Presidents.

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THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE DWARKANATH MITTRA.

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BABU PEARY CHAND MITTRA.

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taries.*

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 S. G. CHUCKERBUTTY, M.D.
 J. EWART, M.D.
 J. FAWCUS, M.D.
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 A. J. PAYNE, M.D.
 THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARIES OF
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 BABU KANYE LAL DEY, *Secretary*?

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IV.—ECONOMY AND TRADE.

C. H. CAMPBELL, Esq., *Chairman*.
 J. G. BOWERMAN, Esq.
 BABU KHETTER MOHUN CHAT-
 TERJEA.
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 „ PROSAD DASS MULLICK.
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 MANOCKJEE RUSTOMJEE, Esq.
 BABU MOORALI DHUR SEN.
 THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARIES OF
 THE ASSOCIATION.
 W. M. SOUTTAR, Esq.
 JAMES WILSON, Esq.

RULES.

OBJECT.

I. The object of the Association is to promote the development of Social Science in the Presidency of Bengal.

MEMBERSHIP.

II. Any person who pays an annual subscription of Twelve Rupees, or a life subscription of One Hundred Rupees, shall be a member of the Association.

III. Every member shall have the right of attending and voting at the annual, quarterly, and special meetings of the Association, of being eligible to any of its offices, and of receiving a copy of its Transactions.

IV. The annual subscription shall be payable in advance on the first day of January in each year.

V. Any member whose annual subscription shall not be paid before the end of the year for which it is due, shall be liable to have his name struck off the list of members by the Council. When a member of the Association proceeds on a temporary visit to England, he shall not be considered thereby to have resigned his membership, unless he communicates his intention to do so in writing; but if absent for more than six months, he shall not be called upon to pay a subscription for any year during which he may be so absent.

VI. Any member desirous of withdrawing from the Association must communicate his wish to the Secretaries in writing, but he will be liable for the subscription of the year in which such communication is received.

OFFICERS AND GOVERNMENT.

VII. The Association shall have a President, two Vice-Presidents, and two Honorary Secretaries, who shall also be Treasurers.

VIII. The Association shall be governed by a Council, consisting of fifteen ordinary members, besides the above office-bearers. The Council may fill up vacancies in its own body as they occur during the year.

IX. All office-bearers and ordinary members of Council shall be elected at the annual meeting, and shall hold office till the annual meeting next ensuing; they shall be eligible for re-election. (This rule shall apply to all Officers elected by the Council during the year).

X. The Council shall ordinarily meet once a quarter, and when specially summoned together by the President of the Association, or at the requisition of any five members of the Council.

DEPARTMENTS AND SECTIONS.

XI. The Association shall be divided into four departments: the *first*, for *Jurisprudence and Law*; the *second*, for *Education*; the *third*, for *Health*; and the *fourth*, for *Economy and Trade*.

XII. The Council shall divide itself into sections corresponding to the above departments. The President and Secretaries shall be *ex officio* members of every section. Each section may appoint its own Chairman and Secretary, who, if not already members of the Council under Rule 9, shall have the right of taking part in its deliberations and of voting at its meetings.

XIII. The work of a section shall consist in collecting, classifying, and arranging the papers and information relating to its own department. For this purpose it may associate with itself other members of the Association.

SUB-COMMITTEES.

XIV. The Council may also form other Sub-Committees of its body for special purposes, and such Sub-Committees shall also have the power of adding to their number other members of the Association. The President and Secretaries are *ex officio* members of all Sub-Committees.

MEETINGS.

XV. The meetings of the Association shall be annual, quarterly, and special.

XVI. The annual and quarterly meetings of the Association shall be held in Calcutta. The former shall be convened by the Council in January of each year, and the latter in the months of January, March, July, and November.

XVII. Special meetings of the Association may be convened by the Council at such time and place and for such purpose as they shall think fit.

XVIII. At the annual meeting of the Association, the President, or one of the Vice-Presidents, shall deliver an address, and the general and sectional reports for the past year shall be read.

XIX. The quarterly meetings of the Association shall be held for the reading and discussion of papers merely.

SECRETARIAT.

XX. The Honorary Secretaries shall, by mutual agreement, divide the duties of their office between them, reporting such arrangement to the Council.

ACCOUNTS.

XXI. The accounts of the Association shall be audited by two members of the Association, not being members of Council, who shall be appointed at the annual meeting.

XXII. The funds of the Association shall be lodged in the Bank of Bengal, and cheques shall be drawn only upon the signature of the President (or one of the Vice-Presidents) and one of the Secretaries.

BRANCH ASSOCIATIONS.

XXIII. The Association shall correspond with, and affiliate to itself, Branch Associations established out of Calcutta.

XXIV. As a condition of such affiliation, Branch Associations shall pay to the funds of the Parent Association a sum of six Rupees per annum for each one of their members, in return for which such members shall be entitled to a copy of its Transactions, and to the privilege of attending its meetings in Calcutta or elsewhere.

BYE-LAWS FOR THE CARRYING OUT OF RULES

XII. AND XIII.

1. The Chairman of each Section shall preside at all meetings of the Section, whether for the reading and discussion of papers, or for the transaction of ordinary business. The Secretary to the Section shall report the proceedings.

2. So far as regards the collection, classification, and arrangement of statistics, and the consideration of communications, each Section shall ordinarily be left to work independently of, and without interference by, the Council. But a report of its operations shall be furnished by each Section to the Council at the close of every year in time for its incorporation with the annual report of the Council.

3. Each Section shall be allowed to incur a contingent expenditure for printing charges, postage, and sundries, not exceeding Rs. 20 per mensem. Proposals to incur a larger expenditure shall be submitted for the previous sanction of the Council.

4. The Transactions of the Association shall continue to be edited as heretofore by the General Secretaries of the Association; but the report of the discussions upon any paper shall be drawn up and furnished to them by the Secretary to the particular Section in which that paper was read.

5. If it is thought desirable to print any paper, either wholly or in part, before the meeting at which it is to be read, in order that copies of the paper may be distributed beforehand, and the discussion upon the subject thereby promoted, the Section shall make an application to the Council, and if the printing be sanctioned, the paper shall be made over to the General Secretaries for that purpose.

REGULATIONS REGARDING PAPERS.

1. With a view to direct the communications of Members and others into the most useful channels, the Council have drawn up certain heads of enquiry in each department. But it is not intended to confine discussion to these particular subjects; papers on other interesting topics which may occur to individuals, will also be accepted by the Council.

2. All papers should be sent to the Honorary Secretaries at the Metcalfe Hall, at least one month before the meeting at which they are to be read. On the first page of every paper should be written the subject, and the name and address of the author.

3. As a rule, all papers shall be submitted by the General Secretaries to the Section which they may concern, upon whose recommendation alone they shall be accepted by the Council, provided that, in special cases in which the President may think it

conducive to the interests of the Society, he may, on the inspection of a paper, exercise his discretion in accepting it without previous submission to the Section.

4. A paper will ordinarily be read by its author, or by some friend nominated by him for the purpose; failing such, it will be read by the Secretary in the particular Department which it concerns.

5. Papers, when read, should be left with the Secretary to the Department, by whom they will be returned to the General Secretary.

6. No paper already published can be read. No paper which has been accepted can be published privately, except by permission of the Council.

7. The Council may print any paper either in whole or in part, or may exclude any paper altogether from the Transactions, as they see fit. Members of the Association will be entitled to twenty spare copies of any papers which they may contribute.

• 8. All papers should be composed in as clear and concise a style as possible. They should be confined, as far as practicable, to the relation of facts and observations bearing upon the question, and should avoid, as far as may be, the enunciation of general principles and of philosophical theories and reflections. It is quite true that the promotion of Social Science demands that deductions should be drawn from ascertained facts, but it is believed that the requisite *data* have not yet been accumulated, and that the Association will, for the present at least, be most beneficially engaged in the collection of Social Statistics.

9. With a view to preserve the object with which general meetings of the Association are held, *viz.*, the discussion of the subjects which may be then introduced, no paper shall be read *in extenso* which will occupy more than a quarter of an hour in the reading, but in the event of the paper being longer, a *precis* or abstract shall be read instead. Such abstract shall be submitted for the approval of the Council, together with the original paper.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1868.

THE last annual meeting of the Association was held on the 29th January, 1868, when an address was delivered by the President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Phear. The quarterly session for the reading and discussion of papers was held on the following day; the sections of *Jurisprudence and Law* and of *Economy and Trade* met in the morning, and those of *Education and Health* in the evening. Meetings were also held on the 31st March and on the 24th July. On these latter occasions they took the form of a *conversazione* at the President's residence at Ballygunge, and the Council cannot refrain from taking the present opportunity to point out how deeply the Association is indebted to its President, not only for the generous hospitality with which he entertained the Association on these occasions, but also for the personal interest he continues to take in the welfare and progress of the Society.

2. At these meetings, fifteen papers in all have been read and discussed during the year. In the section of *Jurisprudence and Law*, certain defects in the jury system of Bengal were pointed out by Babu Troylock-nath Mittra; the benamnee system was treated of by Babu Shama Churn Sircar; the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Norman brought before the Association the claims of discharged convicts upon the charity of the community; and Lieutenant D. J. Stewart introduced a discussion on extent, causes, and remedy of bribery in the Courts of

Justice. In the section of *Education*, Moulvi Abdool Luteef read a valuable paper on Mahomedan education, and Babu Chunder Nath Bose discussed the best practical method of educating Hindu women, and also the present system of education in the University of Calcutta. Dr. Farquhar gave a brief address on the subject of the public health, and Babu Kanyelal Dey treated of the uses and effects of narcotics and stimulants on the human constitution. In the section of *Economy and Trade*, Mr. Wilson treated of social and industrial economy in India; Babu Kissory Chand Mittra read a paper on the festivals of the Hindus; Babu Greesh Chunder Ghose on the occupations of women in Bengal; and the Rev. J. Long read a collection of popular Bengali proverbs, and a paper on social life in Calcutta a century ago. An abstract was also read of the replies which have been received to the enquiries of the Association on the subject of agriculture and the condition of the agricultural classes.

3. All the above papers, together with the address of the President delivered at the annual meeting, have been printed in two numbers of the Society's Transactions, which have been published during the year.

4. There has been an accession of 51 new members during the past year, but at the same time the Council have to record the loss of several, either by death or retirement; so that the Association in this respect stands much in the same position as at this time last year. The actual number of *bonâ fide* members now borne upon the Society's books, inclusive of the Connaghur Branch Association, is 218. In connection with this subject, the Council have to record their acknowledgments to Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee, through whose exertions ten gentlemen at Bombay have become life-members of the Association. The Council trust that other members will

follow his example, and, by inducing their friends to join the Association, will increase at once its area of usefulness and its power to influence for good.

5. The financial position of the Association is satisfactory, so far as there is a considerable balance wherewith to commence the new year, but at the same time a larger subscription list would enable the Council to carry out many projects which, for the present, they are obliged to defer for want of the necessary funds. The subscriptions for the past year aggregated Rs. 3,524, of which sum Rs. 1,996 were collected. A sum of Rs. 344 was also collected on account of the previous year, making a total of Rs. 2,340. The sale of the Transactions yielded Rs. 980-6, and some other miscellaneous items swelled the receipts to Rs. 3,390. The total charges for the year have amounted to Rs. 2,227, and there is now a balance in hand of Rs. 1,665. The assets, after writing off Rs. 900 as irrecoverable, amount to Rs. 1,168 against liabilities, which are placed at Rs. 611-12 only.

6. The Library of the Association has received large accessions during the year, chiefly through the courtesy of the various Governments, which the Council take this opportunity to acknowledge. A list of presentations is attached to each number of the Transactions.

7. At the request of the Council, his Excellency the Viceroy, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and the Lord Bishop of Calcutta accepted the office of Patrons of the Association; the Council have since invited the Lieutenant-Governor of the North Western Provinces (who previously occupied a seat upon the Council) and also the Maharaja of Burdwan to accept the same office.

8. It is with considerable satisfaction that the Council have learnt that Miss Carpenter, who may be said to have founded this Association, has lately returned

to Bombay with the view of superintending a normal school in that city or elsewhere for the instruction of native female teachers. The Council feel that the practical and philanthropic spirit by which that lady is influenced, still continues to be an example for the imitation of members of this Association ; and without pledging themselves to agreement with Miss Carpenter's views on all subjects, the Council sincerely wish her success in her present undertaking, and will always be prepared to second her exertions therein in any way which may lie within their power.

9. One of the Secretaries, Mr. Beverley, having been absent for six months in England during the year, the Council appointed Mr. W. M. Souttar to take his place. Mr. Beverley has since resumed his office, and the cordial thanks of the Council are now due to Mr. Souttar for the valuable assistance he rendered in conducting the business of the Association, while in charge. There has also been a change in the subordinate staff, Babu Nilmoney Dey having been appointed Assistant Secretary about the middle of the year.

10. The Association is still inconvenienced for want of suitable office accommodation, which its funds do not allow of its providing at present. It is hoped that when the Dalhousie Institute is completed, some arrangements may be made with the Council of that institution to allow this Association the use of a room in that building.

11. In order to meet the case of those members of the Association, who are compelled on account of ill-health or for other reasons to visit England, the Council consider it desirable that some rule should be laid down as to the liability of such members to the payment of their subscription while absent. They would, therefore, recommend that the following should be added to Rule V. of the Association :—

“When a member of the Association proceeds on a temporary visit to England, he shall not be considered thereby to have resigned his membership, unless he communicates his intention to do so to the Secretaries in writing ; but if he shall be absent for more than six months, he shall not be called upon to pay a subscription for any year during which he may be so absent.”

The annual meeting, at which the above Report was read, was held at the Town Hall on the 7th January 1869. The address which was delivered on that occasion by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Phear, the President of the Association, will be found in the following pages. The rest of the papers which are now published were read at the quarterly session, which lasted for four consecutive evenings, commencing on the 19th January. The first two meetings were held at the Town Hall, when the attendance was tolerable ; the third was held at the Theatre of the Medical College, and on the last evening, the President held a *conversazione* at his residence at Ballygunge, when Dr. Mouat delivered to a crowded audience an Address on *Crime, Criminals and Prison Discipline in Bengal*.

Since the commencement of the new year, a Branch of the Association has been formed in Behar, and the Association has received a fresh accession of Parsee members through the exertions of Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee.

The late Viceroy, Sir John Lawrence, who was a Patron of the Association, has resigned his high office and left India. His successor, the Earl of Mayo, has graciously accepted the vacant office of Patron.

II. BEVERLEY.

PEARYCHAND MITTRA.

Abstract Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the year 1868.

	Rs.	As.	P.		Rs.	As.	P.
To Balance in hand on the 1st January, 1868. ...	491	6	9	By Meeting charges	...	...	139 5 6
SUBSCRIPTION ACCOUNT.				" Transaction Account	...	...	1,290 4 0
Subscriptions realized for 1867 ... 344 0 0				" Establishment charges...	...	...	567 9 6
Ditto written off as bad debt 420 0 0				" Printing and Advertisements...	...	...	111 4 0
Ditto realized for 1868 ... 1,996 0 0				" Postage Account	...	...	69 13 0
Ditto written off as bad debt 480 0 0				" Stationery and petty charges	...	...	25 1 4
Ditto realized for 1869 ... 12 0 0				" Profit and Loss...	...	...	900 0 0
	3,252	0	0	" Library Account	...	...	24 5 3
To Transaction Account	980	6	0	" Balance in hand...	...	21 9 3	3,127 10 6
" Postage Account	19	9	6	" Ditto in the Bank of Bengal...	1,644	2 6	1,665 11 9
" Library Account	50	0	0				
Total Rupees	4,793	6	3	Total Rupees ... ..	...	...	4,793 6 3
ASSETS.				LIABILITIES.			
Balance of Subscriptions for 1867... 120 0 0				By Bill for Printing the "Trans-			
" " 1868... 1,048 0 0				actions," Vol. II., Part 2 ...	611	12 0	
Total Rupees ... 1,168 0 0							

BENGAL SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

ADDRESS

BY THE

HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE PHIEAR,

PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.

[Delivered on the 7th January, 1869.]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

• THE Annual Report of the Council gives you in few words a statement of the work which has been done by the Association during the past year. It seems to me satisfactory in its character, and to indicate that our infant Society is earnest in its labours. Of course, it is but little of the ground in each section that has yet been touched. Very numerous social questions of the highest moment remain still unapproached, and I continue to think that I shall best discharge my duty as your President by pointing out some of these to your notice, rather than by attempting to discuss any one topic in an elaborate essay. Perhaps I ought to add that I am also greatly induced to take this course by the consciousness of my inability, from want of leisure and other causes, to produce any formal dissertation, which should be worthy of your attention.

There is one province within the ambit of the Jurisprudence and Law section which we cannot with propriety enter. We may usefully busy ourselves in the investigation and ascertainment of the objects proper for legislative interference, but we must leave the composition and structure of legislative enactments to the legislature itself. Does it, however, occur to us, in passing, to reflect how serious a matter this framing of Acts and Regulations is? To take an instance, the law affecting contractual relations and the enjoyment of property, developed as it should be by the application of a few axiomatic principles to the special data of the country, bears the character of a science; and the statute book should accordingly be a scientific work. Accurate

definitions, logical arrangement, and precision of language should be the essential features of the written law, and just so far as it is wanting in these will it be imperfect and ineffective, perhaps mischievous. Certainly, unscientific legislation swells the files of our law courts. In England, where the statutes are the creation of an unwieldy representative body, and where vested interests have so loud a voice, it is vain to look for any near approach to scientific completeness. Accordingly, it is not surprising that Acts of Parliament are often somewhat rude productions. But in British India the case should be very different. With a field such as the authors of the Code Napoleon might envy, with an intelligence unfettered by self-interest, we ought to give the people of India a code which should serve for ages as a model to the whole of the civilized world. We are not altogether insensible of the obligation in this respect which lies upon us as the dominant power. For some years past, fragments of a proposed code have, from time to time, been sent out to the local legislature for its acceptance. Some of you may know what sad specimens of composition the later efforts of this kind have been. One at least was scarcely better than a confused assemblage of notes,—valuable material no doubt for the draughtsman, but still only notes of what the law should be, when written. Devoid of arrangement, defective in substance, and conspicuous for contemptuous disregard of accuracy in language, it must have cost our learned and accomplished Legal Member of Council a severe mental pang to place his name on the back of such a Bill. The truth is, that the English legislature is afraid to deal with this matter in the only way which could lead to a successful result. It is obvious, I think, that no code worthy of the name can be drafted and put together, except under the direction and control of a master-mind. The task will never, by the nature of the case, be creditably performed until it is entrusted to the charge of some one or two men, acting together, chosen for eminent qualifications, ready to devote their whole energy to the work, and willing to let reputation abide the result. Their labour should be carried on in this country, amid the population whose law they are evolving, after careful study of the social characteristics of the people, and subject to occasional review by a competent body of English lawyers. How very different is the process which has been actually adopted! A considerable number of English gentlemen are commissioned to frame, in London, a law for India, which no unhallowed hand, on this side of the ocean, shall afterwards presume to touch or to amend in any material particular. Their qualifications for the duty are that they have all

attained high distinction in England, and are there occupying positions connected with the administration of law and government, which properly require their whole time and attention. They have but little leisure for meeting together, and no community of design when they do so. Is it to be wondered that, under circumstances like these, the productions which come forth from their hands are unworthy of the men and inadequate to the purpose? I like to think that they themselves are at last aware of their own weakness; for I learn from the *Gazette* that they have signified to the Government of this country their inability to proceed in any definite time with the codification of the criminal law, and have left our Legislative Council once more to amend that law, as best it can, by adding a seventh amending Act to the six which already cumber the statute book.

The transition from law to its administration is so natural and immediate, that I cannot well, at this point, avoid calling your attention to certain infirmities of our judicial system, which seem to me to work mischief. You will bear in mind that the function of a court of justice is, *first*, to ascertain the facts which are in contest between the litigant parties; and *second*, to give effect to such legal rights of these parties relative to each other as spring out of the facts before the court. The general form of the judicial machinery, established in Bengal for effecting this purpose, is triple: *1st*, the court of first instance, before which witnesses give their testimony *virâ voce*, and the documents relied upon by the parties are produced; *2nd*, the court of appeal which has the power of reviewing the judgment of the first court in all particulars both of fact and law, solely upon the materials furnished by the record, *viz.*, the written version of what the witnesses said in the first court, and the various documents there treated as evidence; *3rd*, the court of special appeal which can correct the judgment of both the lower courts in matters of law only,—this also solely upon consideration of the record. It must, I think, be plain to any one who has had any experience in eliciting facts from evidence, that that court which has enjoyed the advantage of seeing and hearing the living witnesses, can alone arrive at the real state of the case with any reasonable amount of approximation. On paper the testimony of one witness generally appears as good as that of another, and it is seldom that any true test of comparative trustworthiness can be found in the record which the first court sends up to those above it. It is simply impossible by means of a written deposition to represent all that is conveyed by the words and demeanour of a witness under interrogation. It must be added, that no real cross-examination is

practised elsewhere than in the High Court, and the witness is not always made to distinguish between knowledge which he has gained by immediate perception and that acquired by hearsay. The consequence is that it is in the highest degree hazardous for the appeal court to differ from the first court in its view of the facts deducible from the evidence. It may, no doubt, have good reason, from what it sees on the record, to consider the conclusions of the first court unsatisfactory, but rarely does it happen that it can safely substitute for them other conclusions of its own. In 99 cases out of 100 the only possible remedy for misapprehension of fact by the court of first instance is a new trial. It follows logically that, instead of an appeal in matters of fact, the party aggrieved should have the right of applying to the superior court, either for a re-trial in that court or for an order directing the lower court to re-try the suit. I think, moreover, that as our local appeal courts are at present constituted, an appeal to them from the Moonsiff's court, even on points of law, is productive of more evil than good. Indeed, it may be well doubted whether questions of law should not always be carried at once to the court which has authority to lay down the law for the whole presidency, instead of being obliged to pass thereto through an inferior tribunal of limited geographical jurisdiction. But, however this may be, I cannot conceal the opinion that the local appeal courts in this province, whether presided over by European or native gentlemen, are not now well qualified to correct the law of the lower courts, because I cannot help seeing that these judges very generally betray want of education for the performance of the peculiar duties and functions of a superior court.

It is much too late now to suppose that integrity and good intentions alone are qualifications enough for the judicial office, even in this country. Justice is never really an affair of intuition, although, in rude stages of civilization, a certain rough sense of right and wrong may lead an honest man to make awards, which, practically speaking, suffice as approximations thereto. But in these provinces of British India the rights of individuals (to their knowledge) depend upon an elaborate system of law and equity, and can only be vindicated, when infringed or menaced, by an appeal to courts which take action after the English system, *viz.*, found their decisions upon the evidence placed before them by the instrumentality and in the presence of the opposing parties. In order that this process may prove effectual without undue waste of time, a procedure of some technicality must be followed by skilled persons acting in the interests of the respective parties. I take

it to be beyond contest, that judicial machinery of this sort cannot, as a general rule, be managed and worked with complete success by one who has not been educated to it, as to a profession, by special training. At least, the court which is to control ought to be a greater master of its business than the court which is to be controlled. This I hardly think to be now the case. On the contrary, I suspect that there are districts in Bengal where the risk of harm would be less, if the courts of appeal made it an invariable rule to affirm the judgment of the court below, than if they exercised their own discretion in dealing with the matter brought before them. By the nature of the case, facts cannot be so well ascertained in the court of appeal as in the court of first instance, and by reason of weakness in the superior tribunal the former is certainly not better qualified to administer correct law than the latter. I know that the courts of regular appeal (as those courts are termed which entertain appeals on both fact and law) owe their existence to want of confidence on the part of the ruling power, in the determinations of the inferior courts, and a dread of the dangers involved in sending a case back for new trial. If time served me, I could show, I think, that those dangers are almost entirely imaginary. A second investigation, if properly conducted, is invariably, for reasons which are patent, more effective than the first, and gives peculiar opportunity for detecting false or inaccurate testimony. The practice, which at present obtains, of the appeal court itself calling for such further evidence as it thinks necessary, or remanding the case in order that additional evidence may be taken in the court below, affords more opening for fraud and one-sidedness than an entirely new trial, and at the same time contains greatly less safeguard against it. The conclusion seems to me irresistible, that in this country an appeal on facts is an unmitigated evil, not capable of being converted into good by any contrivance. If the finding of fact come to by the court of first instance is bad or imperfect, the court of appeal cannot mend it, and the worse the mode in which the case has been dealt with and the evidence taken below, the more completely impotent in the matter is the court above. It follows that every possible effort should be made to improve the courts of original jurisdiction; and if this is done effectively, the intermediate courts of appeal may well be dispensed with. What is wanted for this purpose ought to be easy to provide. Excellent material for judges is ready at hand. As far as I can form an opinion, the Bengali has a natural aptitude for the ordinary work of litigation, and he very quickly apprehends the mode of procedure, and the principles of dealing with evidence, which are

necessary to the success of the English system of trial. I will not now pursue this topic further, except so far as to reiterate emphatically that the conduct of a trial, and the taking and the sifting of evidence, are the corner-stone of all administration of justice, and these alone, to say nothing of knowledge of law and equity, are essentially matter of professional training and instruction. Until this fact is recognized and acted upon, I have no hope that the judicial service of India, whether constituted of European or native gentlemen, will ever be better than a makeshift. The foregoing remarks have been made with direct reference to civil litigation, but, whatever be their force, they apply with even greater effect to criminal tribunals.

I have before invited the special attention of native gentlemen to prison discipline and the punishment of criminals, but I am sorry to be obliged to say that as yet I have seen no symptom of a response. It can be perceived at a glance that there is much which is imperfect, if not false, in our present prison system. Keeping before our minds the double object which is to be sought in the treatment of convicts, namely, punishment adequate to deter, and reformation, we cannot well avoid entertaining a doubt whether either branch is secured. Well-fed, sleeping at night *en masse* in comfortable dormitories, occupied somewhat leisurely during the day, still in the society of each other, with industrial labour of no great rigour, it is conceivable that the inmates of our prisons have no serious discontent with the life which they lead. It is most important to learn how the criminal classes of this country view imprisonment in our jails, what is really the deterrent effect of the sentences passed by our criminal courts, and whether a conviction works social degradation to any considerable extent. This species of punishment, if not unknown under native rule, was inflicted but rarely. Information bearing on these points can only be gathered by gentlemen of this country, and I sincerely trust that ere long some of them will be induced to undertake the task. Without it the administration of justice by our criminal courts must, in a considerable degree, be matter of chance. It may, however, even in the absence of further inquiry, be safely affirmed that the mingling together of prisoners night and day is antagonistic to either purpose of imprisonment. Nothing is so well calculated, as is this practice, to alleviate the disagreeable incidents of incarceration. It is also not only a preventive of reform, but actually the most effective means of affording instruction in wickedness. These considerations have a weight which cannot be neglected under the social conditions of Europe, and I think that they are even weightier

here where the people exhibit a gregariousness almost without parallel, and are singularly amenable to the influence of class opinion. I believe that to Bengalis, the sleeping together at night robs imprisonment of half its terrors, and that solitary confinement, if it could be effected, during the hours of rest, would increase the punishment tenfold. If complete separation is as yet impossible, there are besides reasons, peculiar to this country, why promiscuous intermixture of prisoners should be avoided. Offences which to the European's eye appear to have a very dark complexion, are often attributable to motives which the society of the offenders considers not only not culpable, but even praiseworthy. However necessary severe punishment may be in these cases for the purpose of repressing disorder, or rooting out inveterate evil practices, it is mistaken policy, not to say absolute cruelty, to associate the prisoners falling under them with others suffering like sentences for crimes of depravity. And classification, to be effectual, must be carried far beyond anything that I have yet seen.

In making the foregoing remarks, I do not desire to express concurrence in the censure which has been passed by some persons in England upon the Executive Government of this country, relative to treatment of prisoners. Indeed, I feel myself bound to say that I think Miss Carpenter and other members of the English Social Science Association have in this matter erred very seriously from mistake of facts. The Government certainly cannot in fairness (so far as my experience enables me to speak) be charged with neglecting the physical welfare of the convict; and it seems to me Mr. A. Howell's excellent minute,* lately published, serves completely to clear away imputations of this sort. I complain, however, that what has been done, although attributable to the best intention, has not been directed to the cardinal points of the problem, and I see no probability of any satisfactory conclusions being arrived at until the feelings and opinions of those classes, which our criminal courts seek to influence, are gauged with some reasonable amount of approximation.

Before I pass out of the limits of our first section, I wish also to bring the subject of police under the notice of our native members. They are specially interested in the efficiency of that body, and can, if any one, furnish the clue to its present unpopularity and defects. It may almost be laid down as an axiom, that the efficiency of the police in detecting and preventing crime

* Note on Jails and Jail Discipline in India, 1867-1868. By A. P. Howell, Esq., Under-Secretary to the Government of India.

depends directly upon the estimation in which they are held by the people. For success, they must be viewed as public *servants*. If they are looked upon as *masters*, all their effective power vanishes, and they become simply a military force, very valueless for the performance of a true constable's duties. I suspect that the police of these provinces partake too much of the military, and too little of the civil, character; that they stand aloof from the people, and work rather against them than for them; that they are equal to exaction and petty tyranny, but have little tact in unravelling the circumstances of crime. The Bengal policeman has apparently but one proceeding for all cases; he makes a guess at the probable culprit, seizes the man, and then endeavours, by fair means or foul, to make him disclose all he knows of the matter in question. If his first effort fail, he repeats it, and in the end often succeeds by this means in reaching the real offenders. The proportion of cases, relative to the whole, in which the confession of the prisoner (detailed by the police notwithstanding the Criminal Procedure Code) forms the substance of the evidence against him, would be perfectly incredible to an English magistrate.* If the foregoing representation be nearly faithful to the reality, it certainly exhibits a state of things which is eminently unsatisfactory, and it behoves every good citizen to do anything which lies in his power towards showing where the fault lies. The matter is the more important, because it too often happens that the magistrates, both native and European, allow themselves to be governed in the exercise of their judicial discretion by the opinion of the superior police officers, who, in professional language, have had charge of the case. Not long ago, it appeared in the case of a criminal appeal, brought before the High Court, that the sessions judge had in the court below, at the close of the trial, called as a witness the chief European police officer of the district, to detail the mode in which he had caused the matter to be investigated. This gentleman was unable, of his own personal knowledge, to add a single material fact to the case, but he was good enough to inform the court that after all the inquiries which he had made, he was of opinion that the witnesses for the prosecution were trustworthy persons, and the story made out by them might be relied upon. The judge, in summing up, or in supporting his own judgment (I forget which), referred to the opinion thus expressed by this officer as being entitled to great weight, on account of his experience and the careful attention which he had paid to the case! This is, no doubt, an extreme instance, and not easy (I hope) to be paralleled, but I fear that it is significant of a general tendency on the part of magistrates

in the Mofussil to, in effect, delegate much of their judicial functions to the police superintendent.

Gentlemen, I had hoped to be able, on this occasion, to congratulate you in the fact that the Government of Bengal had established a normal school for females, or at least had put the Bethune School on such a footing as would once more give it a chance of carrying out the admirable intentions of its founder. A fortunate accident some months ago gave that Government a free opportunity for remodelling the constitution of this school, and the munificence of the Supreme Government about the same time furnished it with ample funds for the special purpose of creating and maintaining a female normal school. It cannot, I think, be doubted by unprejudiced men that the non-education of women, and their almost total want of mental culture, is the one great blot upon the civilization of this country. This alone distinguishes it from all the civilizations worthy of the name, oriental or occidental, by a reproach which all well-wishers should hasten to wipe away. It constitutes, too, a source of national weakness which every statesman must be anxious to remove. I am not in the possession of State secrets, and can only guess at the reason of the delay; I have, too, been informed, since I entered this room this evening, that the delay is not to endure much longer. My imagination does not, however, supply me with a cause which is sufficient to account for that which has occurred. I admit that I am bound to believe there is a good one available, though undisclosed. I must nevertheless venture to express a hope that timid and overprudent counsels are not holding back the Government from doing that which, even if it bears the character of an experiment, is still an experiment which ought to be tried, for it can do no harm, and may do good beyond all calculation. To wait until the measure is asked for by any influential section of the community is to postpone it *sine die*. It belongs especially to the uneducated to hug their chains of ignorance and prejudice. And he is a poor friend to the victims who stands by, refusing to make any attempt at releasing them, until they seek for their own enfranchisement.

On the occasion when I last had the honour of addressing you, I dwelt somewhat upon the circumstances which surround the cultivator of the soil in Lower Bengal. I propose now to call your attention for a few moments to the means and position of the zemindar, and I feel sure that the vast importance to the community of a right economy, in regard to the tenure and cultivation of land, will, in your estimation, be ample excuse for my thus bringing this subject a second time prominently before the Association.

As a rule, the cultivation of land produces a *larger* net profit than is sufficient to afford remunerative return, both for the *capital* employed in the cultivation and for the skill and time of the cultivator. Whoever gets this excess, clearly by the definition, gets it for nothing—*viz.*, it has cost him no expenditure of capital, time, or skill. It may, therefore, well be termed the *beneficial* interest, as opposed to the cultivator's interest. Generally, this beneficial interest separates itself from the cultivator's interest, and it is not difficult to see why this should be so. Persons who have the power by any title to control the occupation and tilling of the soil, being in the position of monopolists, will seldom trouble themselves with the drudgery and anxiety attendant upon the actual process of cultivation. At the same time, others are commonly to be found, who, from necessity or choice, are willing to apply such capital and skill as they possess to this pursuit, in consideration of being allowed to retain a portion only of the whole profits. The practice of sub-letting, which obtains so conspicuously in this country, from the zemindar down to the holder of the smallest *jote*, shows how narrow a margin of gratuitous income is motive power sufficient to sever the beneficial from the cultivator's interest, and to place the two in different hands. I need hardly say that whenever the beneficial interest is enjoyed by any other than the cultivator himself, it goes under the designation of rent. Now, it is obviously to the advantage of the people generally that as much as possible of this, so to speak, spare profit or rent, should be devoted—*firstly*, to the enlargement of the husbandman's capacity to supply the consumer's demands; and *secondly*, to public purposes. One mode of effecting this is illustrated by the case of a government which, in the exercise of its paramount power, takes the rent to itself and applies it to the prosecution of works of permanent improvement, such as works of irrigation and drainage, to facilitating transport, and to the maintenance of schools and other institutions calculated to promote the advance of civilization. Another finds an example in the land system of England, where the landlord is urged by motives which have their root in the absolute ownership of the soil, and in the competition for tenants there prevailing, to use all known means for increasing the productive qualities, and for otherwise enhancing the permanent value of his property. This system at the same time develops, throughout the length and breadth of the land, a wealthy class, active for the good of local populations, and powerful, by its independence, social influence, and intelligence, in moulding the destinies of the country. It is not surprising, apart from any comparison

of these or other modes of disposing of the rent of the soil, that the authors of the Permanent Settlement—themselves Englishmen of rank—should have desired to elaborate in Bengal a system which should exhibit the best features of the English model. They thought (the wish probably being in this case, as in so many others, the father to the thought) they saw around them already in existence the essential materials for the structure which they wanted to raise, and they forthwith built an edifice, which the experience of more than seventy years has proved to have been nothing more than a castle in the air. After a most able and laborious investigation, Lord Cornwallis and his advisers arrived at the conclusion that, under the Mahomedan government, the zemindars had, by virtue of their tenure, an hereditary property in the soil, and the right of disposing of it. In the opinion of Mr. Shore, it was the proper policy of the English rulers to “improve this property by regulations limiting the demands of Government to a precise amount, and by such provisions as would leave to its subjects a competence, which due care and economy might convert into affluence.” The course thus recommended by Mr. Shore was pursued, and the various enactments, which constitute the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, were the result. It cannot be doubted that the legislature of that day fancied they had thus consolidated the foundations of a system which should convert the zemindar into a landlord of the English type, and make of the ryots a flourishing and contented tenantry. How signal has been the failure in this respect, I need not say. I wish, however, to point out reasons which rendered it almost impossible, as I conceive, that the measures of 1793 should lead to the realization of the anticipations which their framers had formed of them.

Whatever of excellence resides in the English system of land tenure is traceable, I think, to two potent springs of human action. The first is, that residence in a particular spot of land, accompanied by the sense of immediate proprietary power over the soil, gives rise to very strong feelings of attachment to the locality, and to an active desire for promoting local welfare; the second is, that that which is the subject of property is best managed for the interests of society by permitting the proprietor to deal with it unfettered, in the way which appears to him most advantageous for himself. Now, the Regulations of 1793 leave the very smallest opening for the play of principles such as these. It is true that the legislature at that time somewhat ostentatiously declared the property in the soil to be vested absolutely in the landowners, and gave them free power to transfer such rights

as they possessed. But it also busied itself minutely to protect the actual occupants of the land and all middlemen from the interference of the zemindar. I do not intend now to discuss the policy of the enactments which were then made, or to enquire into the extent of change, if any, which they effected. I desire only to point to the results, as regards the zemindar, which remain in their train. On the one hand, the proprietor's name is brought upon the books of the Government, his property is encumbered with a fixed rent charge, and if he makes default in the punctual discharge of this liability, all his proprietary rights are irrecoverably sold away from him without his consent. On the other hand, unless he be exceptionally situated, middlemen, *mokururee* tenures, and rights of occupancy effectually bar him from direct action, relative to possession of, and dealings with, the land itself. How different is this from the perfect freedom of the English landlord, and how impossible it is to reason in the one case by analogy from the other. In truth, the property in the soil, which the Bengal zemindar enjoys, is not that of the landowner in England; and it was from want of perceiving the distinction that the authors of the Permanent Settlement formed expectations which could never be realized.

If, however, I correctly apprehend the nature of the territorial rights which were conceded to the zemindars by the Mahomedan government, a parallel to them may be found even in England by going back to the feudal times. It seems to me that there is a strong similarity between the material incidents of a benefice and those of a zemindary tenure. Vassals correspond very aptly with dependent talookdars, and I am afraid that a comparison of villains and cultivating ryots would hardly redound to the advantage of the latter. Dominion, not property, appears to be the cardinal principle of both these systems of landholding. If this be so, if the vital forces of the one be essentially the same as those of the other, then we should look for the like development in Bengal to that which took place in Europe. Ownership of the land, in its modern English sense, would be unknown. The soil, and the man who tills it, would be, as it were, but one subject, noticed only so far as it was the necessary substance of the otherwise immaterial tenure or fief. Zemindary proprietorship would manifest itself by the exercise of personal power, as that of a superior over a subordinate, not by the reciprocal performance of contractual duties, such as those lying between a lessor and lessee; by the exaction of rights and privileges adverse to the occupant of the soil, not by the recognition of that occupant as the proprietor's *locum tenens*; by sub-infeudation

of the tenure as distinguished from leasing of the land. And I ask all native gentlemen who hear me, whether this is not precisely the development which has, in fact, occurred. Indeed, it seems to me that the change of allodial into feudal tenures, which is supposed to have taken place in Europe during the so-called middle ages, finds a singular parallel in the growth of the quasi-tenure termed a *zimma* in certain districts of Bengal. So slight is the link afforded by community of interest between the so-called landlord and tenant in this country, so operative in proprietors are motives of dominion and exaction, that the *howladar* is often driven to purchase from the strongest man in the district protection against oppression, and thus to attach himself to a third person, as a client to a patron, by a tie which is independent of his tenure. This is the *zimma*, and it seems to me aptly to illustrate the activity of feudal forces in the land system of India.

I need not now stay to explain how the English feudal system eventually disappeared. The legislation of a representative Parliament was instrumental to its dissolution. It was not, however, until the feudal system had been put an end to, and every element of its vitality extinguished, it was not until the land itself (as distinguished from the tenure) had become the object of the capitalist's demand, that the English system of real property assumed features which a social economist could hold worthy to be repeated elsewhere. But in this country nothing has yet been done to effect a like change. The Permanent Settlement, if it assured the zemindar of rights which were hitherto unascertained or uncertain, also tied his hands relative to the Government on the one side, and the terre-tenant on the other. And subsequent legislation has only more completely shut him out from all *khas* enjoyment of the soil. The Hindu law of inheritance, and the immemorial habit of living in family coparcenary, add another force, energetically tending in the same direction. Is it to be wondered that out of elements such as these, amid a people so little matter-of-fact as the Bengalis, a system of reticulated tenure and of middlemen has sprung up, the contemplation of which is fairly bewildering?

(Mr. Phear, at this point, explained a diagram illustrative of the land tenure in Bengal, of which copies were distributed among the audience).*

Let us look for a moment at the consequences of these data. The rent of the land, the spare profit as I have called it, is

* See page 23.

distributed between three parties, namely, the Government, the zemindar, *viz.*, the complex organization whom I have just described, and the ryot. The Government gets a fixed amount of it, the zemindar obtains a proportion of the remainder, which is very large, and which is every day becoming larger by reason of a general use of the processes of enhancement, and the ryot's share is small indeed. I have, on a former occasion, explained what becomes of the little which falls to the lot of the ryot; it does not stay with him; it immediately passes on to the mahajun. The Government portion, commonly termed land revenue, is employed solely for the public purposes, and is no doubt, on the whole, advantageously consumed. But it is markworthy that scarcely any of it comes back to the land, or is in any way laid out with direct reference to local interests. Of the rent which goes to the zemindar, some little, no doubt, is immediately applied to the benefit of the cultivating class; but, speaking as on an average, throughout the presidency, and putting on one side special instances, it is not extravagant to say that this little is ludicrously inadequate to the requirements of the case. I do not join with those who blame, in strong words, the behaviour of the zemindar towards the tillers of the soil. On the contrary, I believe that body, as a whole, to be animated with a real desire to do their duty towards their dependents. It is too much the habit of us Englishmen to judge them from an English point of view. We expect them to act as if their position, relative to the land and its occupants, corresponded with that of the English landlord. We forget, or are unaware, that the real character of the nexus is feudal, not proprietary, and we overlook the amount of aid and support which all retainers and dependents claim as of right under the zemindar's family roof. Indeed, if I am not mistaken in the views which I have expressed, it is unreasonable to suppose that the Bengali zemindar should do materially more than he now does for the improvement of the land and the benefit of the ryots' condition. By the nature of the case, the holders of the tenures which are the higher in the scale are the wealthy men, as compared with those who stand lower. Generally speaking, it is they, and not the small-men next the soil, who can be said to have command of capital disposable for promoting the advance of agriculture. But why should they devote it to such a purpose, when a host of middle-men will effectually intercept all resulting profits? Why should a zemindar make roads, construct bunds, dig tanks, build homesteads, endow schools, &c., when a putnedar, at a rent which is fixed for ever, stands between him and the entire subject

of his tenure? Again, if we look closely at the owner of any particular tenure, we see that he is not an individual, but a body of coparceners. If these are all living joint in estate, the *karta* may sometimes have enterprise and influence enough to spend some of the family funds in the improvement of the property. But if, as commonly happens, any of the partners collect their shares separately, united action becomes out of the question, and it may be safely assumed that none will singly make an outlay of which a fraction only of the beneficial result will accrue to himself. For causes such as these, I take it as certain that not more than an insignificant portion of the zemindar's rent will ever, under the existing state of things, be turned into agricultural capital, or be devoted to purposes beneficial to the cultivating community. It is, I am afraid, almost as certain that but little of it gets applied to any other kind of productive employment. The extent to which it is sub-divided among the different sharers and tenure-holders necessarily is adverse to any such application. There are instances, no doubt, where a joint family, drawing rent from land, and also carrying on a trading or manufacturing concern, converts the rents into working capital. And, again, shopkeepers and artificers may be found who use, in aid of their business, the little income which they derive from shares in some sub-tenure. But I apprehend that these cases are exceptions, and that, as far as the general body of society are concerned, the zemindar's rent is consumed unproductively.

The third part of the rent, that which belongs to the ryot and is appropriated by the mahajun, is in an entirely different situation. Very much of it, if not all, goes directly to the cultivation of the soil. The very calling of the mahajun leads him to devote as much as possible of his profit to the limited purpose of supplying the cultivator with the bare necessities of life, and furnishing him with the means of producing a crop. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that the mahajun will do no more than this. His motives are those of a creditor, not those of a landowner. It would be folly in him to waste money on the permanent improvement of another person's property. He has no interest in bringing about the enlightenment of the ryot, or in bettering his condition. He cannot, and therefore will not, look beyond that margin of the year's produce which remains after the claims of the Government and the zemindar have been satisfied.

If the foregoing analysis is substantially faithful, it follows that the present land system of Bengal is entirely unsuited to the civilization of the day. If it be (as in some sense it must be) a natural growth, it belongs to an era which is gone by. Its results

are mischievous to society ; it is repressive of agricultural development ; it keeps the masses of the people in a state of ignorance and poverty, and affords them no hope of rising from their degradation ; last, not least, it turns the greater portion of the profits of the soil into a channel which is unproductive of good to the community. I say this advisedly, because it appears to me that the great body of those who, from the zemindar downwards through the sub-holders, are maintained out of the rents of landed tenures, form an inactive class, and do not discharge any important social function. In England, the landed proprietor has a direct interest in the condition of his land, considered as a means of agricultural production, and in the general well-being of the district wherein it is situated. He is impelled by the strongest motives of self-advantage to expend money in effecting permanent improvements. He contributes largely to local schools, and to all projects for the benefit of recreation of the local population. He pays the rates, out of which the poor, the roads, gaols, work-houses, and all other country and parochial institutions are maintained. And the landed gentry, spread as they are over the length and breadth of the country, highly educated, living a life of refinement and taste, and fostering by their daily needs the development of art, present, in every, the smallest, hamlet, an element of strength and civilization which the nation could ill-afford to lose. The zemindar and their sub-holders afford no sort of a parallel to this. Individual exceptions there, no doubt, are of a brilliant character, but I do not hesitate to venture the opinion that, under the system which I have endeavoured to describe, the recipients of the land rent will never, as a class, discharge duties towards the general community at all commensurate with the profits of the soil which they absorb. In other words, they must always continue to be an encumbrance, a burden upon society at large. They hinder instead of promoting the prosperity of the cultivating class ; they operate as a drag upon the progress of agriculture, and they consume unprofitably produce which social economy demands should be devoted to purposes of reproduction. I will also add that by the very nature of the ingredients which go to form the class, its social influence is conservative of prejudice, and actively adverse to the upward progress of civilization. My conclusion is that it must be transmuted into material of some more worthy form. I have no hope for the agricultural welfare of Bengal until the absolute ownership of the soil, and power of disposition over it, shall have come to reside in the hands of individuals, instead of (so to speak) in corporations of great structural complexity. I do not now stay to inquire whether it is best

for society that the owner should be the cultivator himself, or a landlord. Neither do I propose to suggest the machinery by which the change might practically be brought about, without undue disturbance of vested interests. In a generation which has witnessed the commutation of tithe into a rent charge, the working of Encumbered Estates Courts, and the compulsory enfranchisement of copyholds, such a task as this will hardly appear insuperable. I desire merely to make prominent the social necessity, which I conceive to exist, that all sub-tenures and middlemen should be swept away, and all coparcenary, which is not partnership in active agricultural enterprise, should disappear.

I need not remind the members of this Association that even in India there are other systems of land tenure with which that of Bengal can be compared. In the Bombay Presidency the Government, by the temporary settlements which it periodically effects, practically takes to itself the whole of the rent. This, I think, is apparent from the various reports made by the settling officers of the course pursued by them. In the case of the late settlement of Indapoor Talooka, I gather from Colonel Francis' green book that the transaction of settlement was precisely that which takes place on the letting of a farm by an English landlord, only that the parts of the negotiators were inverted. It was Colonel Francis on the part of Government, and not a would-be tenant, who went into each field, looked at the quality of the soil, inquired into the facilities for irrigating and manuring, asked about the nearest markets, the roads thereto, and so on, and finally decided how much the cultivator could afford to pay as rent, so as to reserve to himself just so much of the produce as would cover the cost of cultivation and return him a reasonable profit, having regard to his social requirements and the capital employed by him. I will not say that the gallant Colonel is happy in his exposition of the principle which governed him in making his ultimate assessment. But I think this much is clear, namely, that the process adopted by him led to his giving the Government substantially the entire rent of the land.

It appears to me, having regard to the interests of the whole community, that this disposition of the rent is infinitely superior to that which obtains in Bengal. It all goes to public purposes, and a considerable portion of it is devoted to land improvement, and to promoting the welfare of the agricultural classes. In other words, the spare profit of the soil is expended in a way which is economically advantageous to the country. No part of it is wasted in maintaining an inactive, and, comparatively speaking, ineffective

class in society, and every tax-payer experiences relief, commensurate with the extent to which it is applied, in discharging the burdens of the state.

I may here remark that it is far from uncommon to hear the land revenue spoken of as a tax. But assuredly this estimate of its character is erroneous. As well might the tithe rent charge in England (to which, indeed, it bears a very close similitude,) be considered a tax. The revenue is no more a tax when received by the Government than it would be if left in the hands of a private landlord, or than the share of one coparcener in a zemindary is a tax upon that of another. It is not derived from, nor does the levying of it disturb, any fund which constitutes the proper return to the expenditure of labour, capital, or skill. It is simply property which no doubt some one would convert to his own use if the Government ceased to take it. And supposing that it was already vested in private hands, at the time when the supreme power originally appropriated it, the act of appropriation would have been in itself a wrong, of which the justification would depend upon the attendant circumstances. But the Government tithe to this species of property in India is now beyond impeachment, and I am only concerned to point out that the collection of the Government share of the rent is not equivalent to the levying of a tax, nor is it accompanied by the like mischief.

A right view of this matter is essential to making a proper comparison of the fiscal burdens which are borne by the different provinces of this empire. It is also important in regard to the adjustment of taxation between different classes of society, and as a guide to the selection of new modes by which the public income may be increased. The zemindar is not entitled to claim credit to himself for paying, in the shape of Government revenue, so much tax, and to ask that this should be taken into account in estimating the extent of his contribution to the state. On the other hand, he is entirely right in urging, that simply to increase the jumma which he pays in respect of his zemindary, would be to take from him property which was granted or released to him by the terms of the Permanent Settlement, a proceeding which would resemble confiscation rather than taxation. If an impost is made without some reasonable regard to the means of the payer, it cannot, properly speaking, be reckoned a tax. Now, a very little consideration suffices to show that the *jumma* which is paid by the zemindar, affords no just measure of the means derived by him from his zemindary. His profits, as we have seen, consist of that portion of the rent which remains to him after he has given the Government its share, and I need hardly

say that the one part bears no fixed proportion to the other. Inequalities of assessment, not at all insignificant, prevail in this presidency. But even neglecting these, we see besides, to take an instance, that a zemindar, who holds any considerable portion of his land *khas*, or has it occupied by ryots under tenures other than *mokururee*, is able to realize much higher rent for it than one whose zemindary is let out in *putnee*.

While, however, the zemindar is justified in protesting vehemently against any increase being made to his *jumma*, he cannot, with the same good cause, resist any fair proposal to tax him according to his means, neither can he justly complain if the State call upon him to contribute for special ends out of the income which he derives from land. There are local objects almost without number, such as the making and maintaining of roads, bunds, channels of navigation and drainage, sanitary works, schools, &c., to which the rent of land should be primarily applied. The zemindar (I use this term as typical of the entire class of rent receivers, whether holders of superior or subordinate tenures) does not voluntarily contribute towards them. The public interests, therefore, require that he should be obliged to do so; in other words, that for these purposes the rent receiver should be taxed upon the income which he derives from land, *viz.*, upon the difference between the collection which he makes and the money which he pays to his immediate superior, be that superior the Government or a private proprietor. It does not fall within the scope of this address to discuss how, practically, a tax of this kind could be best assessed and levied. My present end will be gained if I have succeeded in rightly analyzing the land system of this presidency, and indicating the zemindar's peculiar position and responsibility relative to the cultivator on the one hand and the community on the other.

Before we proceed to the purely business part of this evening's work, I think I ought to say a few words relative to misapprehensions which appear to be current as to the character and objects of this Association. It is thrown out as a reproach to us that we talk too much, and do not act. As well might you bid a newspaper editor to govern himself by the precept *acta non verba*! There are persons who have thought it worth while to tell us that we are idle: that we shall never effect any good until we practise instead of preaching: that the only force which influences men's conduct is the stimulus afforded by the balance in the ledger-book, and, accordingly, if we have faith in our own precepts and desire others to accept them, we must start a farm,

establish schools, manage a prison, work out a sanitation scheme—in short, publicly make experiment of our own Utopia, and by demonstration of success persuade the rest of the world to follow our example. It is not easy to imagine that language such as this can have been used with serious intention, and I will not assume that any one has ever taken this Association to be a joint-stock company, organized for the purpose of carrying into effect philanthropic schemes of reform. But that it should have been uttered to us at all, does, I think, argue a misconception of our objects, such as calls for some slight reiteration of them from me. The members of our body do not profess to be united by any community of opinion: their only tie is the common pursuit and investigation of a most important branch of human knowledge, namely, knowledge of the facts and relations which constitute man's life in society. I have before, in this place, attempted to show that these are natural phenomena subordinate to law, in like manner as is all the rest of God's creation, so far as it is open to our cognizance. The right and wrong of social arrangements are not mere matters of convention, but are consequences following on the operation of natural forces. They are not to be reached by any *a priori* reasoning, nor can he who runs read them: they can only be discovered by patient observation and research. We have combined to help and inform each other in the prosecution of this study. We give to the public the results of our individual inquiries. We desire to educate ourselves, and those who will accept the materials we collect, in the great truths of human life. And if education in any form is valuable to men in society, assuredly that which we desire to promote must be eminently so! And here in India, where the ignorance of the multitude is so profound, prejudice so wide-spread, and the influence of social opinion so nearly insuperable to the individual—there is even greater need than elsewhere for association in labour, of which the avowed aim is reform and improvement. But there are some who appear to consider that already all is known which need be known in these matters, and that it only remains to act. This is an egregious mistake, indeed! In Europe even but little has yet been learned, and in this country, the problems which an archaic social organization presents are almost completely untouched. A field of exploration lies before us, which is superlatively fascinating by its novelty and richness. If, however, it were true that the circle of our knowledge had re-entered on its course, how is action to result? Not, generally, by the exercise of a compelling power from

without, but by the silent working of unperceived motives in the minds of men. Civilization depends on the culture of the individual and on the public opinion to the influence of which he is subjected. We endeavour to affect both these elements, and I am sanguine enough to think that our efforts are not in vain. I am convinced that the publication of our discussions and transactions has brought home to many a man in this presidency valuable information, previously unknown to him; that it has already made more persons still familiar with views of social subjects, to which they were before strangers; and that it will gradually prepare the way to most wholesome, though insensible, changes of social opinion. We now number upwards of 200 *bond fide* members, and we receive the support of the principal personages in this empire. The very presence of a body thus constituted, actively working in your midst, can scarcely fail to be a leaven tending to modify the intimate texture of your society. Emboldened by the progress which we have so far made, I again urge such of the native gentlemen of this province as still stand aloof to join our ranks. There must be very few men of intelligence among them who are not aware that Bengal cannot at the present time claim to stand in the front rank of civilized countries. Are they content that this should be so? Are they willing to let the future of their people depend upon the efforts of an alien race? Do they need to be nerved to patriotism by the words and exhortation of a foreigner? I hear much indeed of anxiety to bear a part in the government of the country, and of earnest pleading of the right to fill high office. But where are the signs of any active interest in, or acquaintance with, subjects of national importance? What indications of desire to work in behalf of humanity? Let those who really have an honourable ambition to serve the commonwealth, show what qualifications they possess—what stuff they are made of. Let us see that they are animated with a spirit which leads them to be earnest in aim, patient in inquiry, and sound in judgment. But perhaps the rising generation of this presidency can only be fired to exertion by the incentive of a *talab*. I will hope better things of them. With an intellect which should enable him to laugh at all obstacles to investigation, with a subtleness of perception which should make discrimination easy, and with an unrivalled power of acquirement, the Bengali ought to be ashamed to leave the great questions of his country's welfare in the hands of his English fellow-subjects. Can he not free himself from the spell of indolence and indifference, which centuries of servitude have cast around him? Will he

not step forward, and grapple manfully with the problems of the day? He could look to succeed where a stranger to the people and mere sojourner in the land should fear to tread. He has the destinies of his children and his children's children in his hands—will a Hindu be insensible to the gravity of the trust?

NOTE.

In the annexed diagram the horizontal black lines are drawn to represent geographical areas. That which is numbered (1) represents the area of a given zemindary assessed at a certain jumma in the books of the Government. This zemindary is supposed to belong to several persons in the following manner :— One piece of it, equivalent to 2 annas $17\frac{1}{2}$ gundas (the whole being estimated at 16 annas), is the sole property of one person A. This is marked off on the right. Another piece equivalent to 5as. 15gs. is the sole property of B ; and the remaining piece of 7as. $7\frac{1}{2}$ gs. is the joint property of C, D, E, F & G. But although this piece of the zemindary belongs to five persons jointly, they have not equal interests in it. C is entitled to a share of the rents and profits of this piece in the proportion of $7\frac{1}{2}$ as. to 7as. $7\frac{1}{2}$ gs. ; similarly, D is entitled to 3as. ; E to 10gs. ; F to 2as. 8gs., and G to 1as. 2gs. Also C and D each separately collects his share of the rents of the whole area which belongs jointly to the five persons ; while E, F and G collect their shares together in one sum. Further, any one of the five may, at any time, require that out of the piece of the zemindary, which belongs to them jointly, a portion may be allotted to him solely in lieu of his joint share.

Each of the shareholders in the zemindary may grant to a third person the whole of his share, or a portion of it in the form of a tenure which is either temporary or permanent. Thus, in the case exhibited by the diagram, it is supposed that out of A's share of 2as. $17\frac{1}{2}$ gs., an area equal to 2as. has been granted in putnee (a permanent tenure) by A, or his predecessors in title, and that this putnee has come to belong to four persons H, I, J & K, a specified portion falling to H's share, another specified portion to I's share, and the remainder to J and K jointly. So, in like manner, H (or his predecessors in title) is supposed to have granted in durputnee the portion of land belonging to him under the putnee grant, and L, M and N are the joint owners of this durputnee tenure. Again, the whole of the land owned by the durputnee, is supposed to have been granted in seeputnee by its owner. Similarly one of the owners of this seeputnee has granted a howala of the portion which belongs to him. And so on, until the chain of subinfeudation ends with the ryot, who actually tills the ground.

What the diagram represents as having happened with regard to a portion of A's share of the zemindary, may also be the state of facts relative to any other portion of the zemindary, or of any portion of any tenure, the designation of each sub-tenure depending generally upon that of the tenure out of which it is granted.

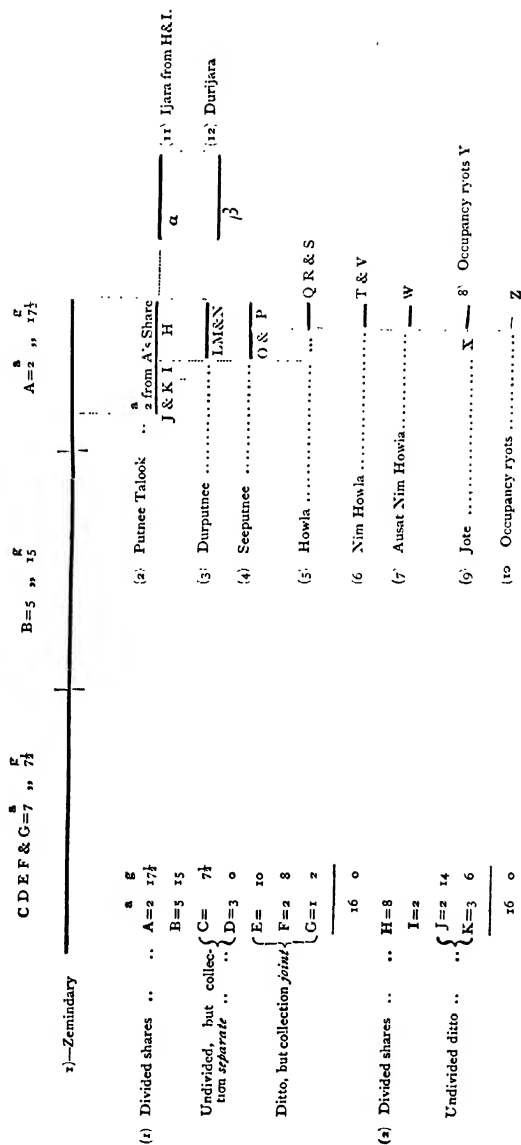
In addition to the line of tenures, one under the other, there may be a collateral set of farming leases. The owner of any tenure, or several owners of tenures, or of portions of tenures jointly, may farm out their rents by an ijara lease, and the farmer may again by a durijara lease grant away the right of collection which he thus gets. The lines (11) and (12) in the diagram indicate a process of this kind.

It ought to be remarked that the term putnee is not the common designation of talooks in those districts where the howla prevails. Other names, however, where these are respectively absent, take their place ; and there is no substantial misrepresentation in coupling them together. On the other hand, by doing so, the advantage is gained of showing at once two groups of technical terms of graduation.

The diagram does not profess to give any other than the simple forms of dependent grants. Many others might have been added. In some parts of the presidency, upwards of twenty different kinds are known to exist.

DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATIVE OF LAND TENURE IN BENGAL.

24



JURISPRUDENCE AND LAW.

ADDRESS on *Crime, Criminals, and Prison Discipline in Bengal.*

By F. J. MOUAT, M.D., *Inspector-General of Prisons in Lower Bengal.*

[Delivered on the 22nd January, 1869.]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I AM afraid that when I promised to give you an Address on Crime, Criminals, and Prison Discipline in Bengal, I made a rash promise, because the topic is not one particularly well suited to a mixed audience, and because it is so great in extent, so complicated in its relations, and so difficult to discuss within reasonable limits, as to render it impossible to do more than scratch the surface of the subject in the time assigned to a paper in any single evening. Above and beyond is, however, my own inability to do justice to it. The more I study and consider the matter, the more difficult do I find it; and although the whole of my official life has for some years been devoted to a careful consideration of all that has been said and written regarding the proper means of dealing with crime in its penal relations, and to the application of sound principles to the management of the prisons under my care, the more do I feel that the difficult problems of punishment and reformation have not yet been solved.*

Our monitors in the public press, and writers of official notes on jail discipline, seem to feel no such difficulty, and lay down the law with a positive dogmatism that is very foreign to the feelings of those who presume that they have a more intimate acquaintance with that which is the daily labour of their lives, and who are, in consequence, weak enough to consider that their opinions are entitled to more weight in the determination of the greatest and most difficult social problem of the age in which we live.

The first branch of the subject, that of crime, I must dismiss very briefly, as its consideration would involve the mention of matters that could not be properly spoken of in the fair and bright assemblage by which I am surrounded.

I will content myself with mentioning that, although the decalogue and the criminal code are well and completely represented in

* An eminent continental writer on the question has said, that the reform of prisons is a difficult, serious, and complicated work, and that it will tax the whole of the moral forces of society to realize it fully.

the prisons under my charge, I believe that no forty millions of people in the world have a smaller proportion of heinous offenders, calculated on the population, than has Lower Bengal, and that the criminals themselves, as a rule, contrast favorably with those of countries far more advanced in civilization. I do not speak of the general morality of the people from whom the bulk of the heinous offenders are furnished, because the standards of morals in different parts of Lower Bengal can scarcely be compared with each other, and there is no common ground of comparison between them and the general morality of Christian countries.

Morals are, of necessity, based upon religion; and in all such matters, the different races inhabiting different parts of India differ from each other more than do the people of the several countries of the continent of Europe. Moreover, the information that we at present possess on the subject is not sufficiently detailed or exact to admit of an analytical examination, even if it were desirable on the present occasion to enter upon it.

The second branch of my subject does not present the same difficulties. I shall, therefore, say a few words regarding it. The incessant demands on my time made by my public duties, and my locomotive habits, have prevented my preparing anything special for this meeting. I trust, therefore, you will receive and pardon what I wrote for another audience, as it is probably known to few, if to any, now present.

In estimating the probable effects of any plan of prison discipline and penal restraint, it is necessary to take into account the character of the criminal classes to whom they are applied. In Europe this is casier, and less complicated than it is in India. Some writers on the subject have gone the length of declaring that the natives of India are destitute of all moral feeling, because perjury, forgery, official corruption, and the whole category of offences against public justice are rife among them, and are not regarded with the same feelings of aversion as they are in most Christian countries. Upon this the Prison Discipline Committee of 1836 justly remarked, that "in looking back on the time that is past, we think that we see enough to account for the low tone of feeling which prevails amongst the inhabitants of India, without resorting to the extreme supposition of a general and hopeless depravity in moral sentiments amongst so considerable a portion of the human race."

That the commission of crime generally is not deemed to be so disgraceful by natives of India as it is by the majority of Englishmen, is undoubted; and it may fairly be attributed to ages of misgovernment and oppression, to the facility of commission, and difficulty of detection, of many of the most common offences, to the system of entire castes who inherit a criminal career and pursue it as others do a lawful calling, and to the existence of persons bound together by no hereditary tie, whose profession is the commission of the most appalling crimes. The thugs and professional poisoners are the worst examples of the latter; the dacoits, or gang robbers, the best. Even these people had, and have, codes of morality of their own, and in most matters, not directly

connected with their calling, are probably not much worse than the bulk of the community among whom they reside. As a rule, it may, I think, be safely asserted, that "an Indian criminal is probably a better man than any other criminal of the same sort."*

Again, the prevailing crimes of different parts of India differ nearly as much as their soil and climate and the national character of their inhabitants.

Heinous offences, since its annexation, are said to be comparatively uncommon in the Punjab; thuggee to be extinct; and gang robbery nearly unknown. Riots and affrays are not numerous, and when they happen, usually arise from passion and impulse, seldom from premeditation and revenge. Murder is the most common of the heinous crimes, not for purposes of spoliation, but from the uncontrolled impulse of a people peculiarly sensitive to injury, and ready to revenge it. The same may be said of the Rajpoots, and of many of the higher castes and classes in Oudh, and even of some classes of the population as low down as the province of Behar. Among all these people, woman is usually a *teterrima causa* of crime—jealousy, and the rage consequent on it, ending too often in the murder of the weaker party. In Lower Bengal wife murder is probably as frequent, but from no chivalrous impulse.

Cattle theft, again, is an endemic crime in all the pastoral districts of India which afford facilities for its commission, and consequently present difficulties in its detection. In the Punjab it assumes the dignity of an honourable calling, in proof of which an eminent authority on the subject has recorded that boys are taught to earn their first turban by the theft of a buffalo or a cow. In that province, under the vigorous rule of the Lawrences and Sir Robert Montgomery, it has been the subject of special legislation, and a combination of fine, flogging, and imprisonment are said to be rapidly reducing it.

The bulk of the criminal population of most parts of India consists, however, of burglars and thieves, and the cause of this is easily determined. Houses are extremely insecure, there being usually but a mud or a mat wall to oppose the entrance of a robber. Money is scarcely ever invested—probably never by the bulk of the community—and the wealth of the majority is kept in the form of coin or gold and silver ornaments, for the melting of which the crucible of the receiver of stolen goods is always ready. The temptation to steal, from the facility of concealment and ease of execution, is consequently irresistible to the idle and dissipated, who abound in most Indian communities, and are nowhere more numerous than in Lower Bengal.

From the natural timidity of the inhabitants, their inability and unwillingness to defend themselves or their property, and the temptation afforded by the isolated position of the houses of many of the wealthy landholders, gang robbery is a frequent and successful crime in many parts of the Lower Provinces. It is seldom or never committed by natives of Bengal, or by the inhabitants of the district in which it occurs. The dacoits are almost always strangers from Oudh, Behar, and even from more distant provinces. Before its annexation, Oudh was undoubtedly the chief source of supply of this bold, determined, and lawless class of criminals. Whether resisted by the armed retainers of those whom they attacked and despoiled, or no resistance was offered, they were cruel, and destroyed without hesitation any who crossed their path, or whom they believed to be capable of identifying them: hence murder, mutilation, and arson are the general accompaniments of their raids. They are well organized, conduct their plans with much dexterity, and disperse so rapidly after the accomplishment of their plans, that few know at the time whence they came and whither they have gone. The reports of Sir Wm. Sleeman, and of the various officers who succeeded him in the Dacoity Depart-

*Report of the Prison Discipline Committee of 1836, p. 97.

ment, are full of interest, and contain incidents of romance, compared with which the Turpins, Jack Sheppards, and other heroes of the English highways are very vulgar ruffians. Sometimes they travelled as the suit land escort of a princess or rajah on a pilgrimage to holy shrines, and spared no expense in barbaric splendour suitable to their supposed mission. At other times they represented merchants, or sepoy on furlough to their homes, or any other characters likely to conceal their purpose and disarm the suspicions of the authorities through whose districts they passed. They obtained accurate information of all treasure likely to be sent from one part of the country to the other, and of all valuable property accessible to sudden attack, and their plans were carefully concerted often for months before their execution.

The river robbers of Eastern Bengal, who may fairly be regarded as fresh-water pirates, are also numerous, a source of much mischief to river traffic, and difficult to apprehend and convict. The inhabitants of many parts of the eastern districts dread them greatly.

The class of professional poisoners is also numerous, and I believe usually travel as fakirs or religious mendicants. When I was chemical examiner to the Government, numerous packages of poisons carried by these persons were sent to me for examination, and I generally found them to contain aconite, stramonium, white arsenic, corrosive sublimate, lal chittra, and similar substances, with the criminal uses of which they are well acquainted.

As a rule, in Bengal, the majority of persons convicted of misdemeanours are agriculturists or landed proprietors; and most of those convicted of burglary, theft, and the higher offences, are usually tradesmen, mechanics, domestic servants, or people of low caste, such as Gwallas, Domes, Dosads, &c.

To enter further into this subject would not only exceed the limits of space and time allotted to me, but be foreign to the immediate object of my paper. My sketch, superficial as I admit it to be, is intended to show how extremely difficult it is to devise any scheme of prison discipline that will adapt the punishment to the crime and the criminal, and thereby tend to repress crime by measures calculated to counteract the causes in which it originates.

This subject has been so frequently discussed in Europe, without any practical result, that I am unwilling to enlarge upon it, beyond reiterating my conviction that the difficulties of dealing successfully with crime by penal and reformatory measures in India are much greater than they are at home, and that they require to be studied with more care and attention than have heretofore been bestowed upon them. Among the best means of throwing light upon the subject is, undoubtedly, the collection of accurate and extended judicial statistics.

My statistics for the five years 1860-64, inclusive, show that the chief classes from which the criminal population of Lower Bengal is recruited are agricultural labourers, coolies, domestic servants, petty landholders, and small shopkeepers.

From the tillers of the soil, the number of the inmates of the prisons under my charge is very great, being in—

		Committals.
1860	27,578 out of	52,068
1861	28,692 „	49,667
1862	31,501 „	58,135
1863	31,999 „	59,563
1864	34,027 „	63,360

or very nearly half the whole prison population. This is somewhat higher than the average mentioned in M. Duchatel's report of 1844, as the result of a quarter of a century of observation in France. As a rule, the agricultural

population of Bengal are absolutely ignorant, and the amount of crime among them depends very much on the nature of the crops. Again, when the harvests are ripe for reaping, thefts are most numerous; and in years of scarcity, crime of all kinds, against person as well as against property, is most abundant.

The class of day labourers rank next to the field workers in numbers, ignorance, and crime. Their numbers were in—

1860	7,312
1861	6,422
1862	8,648
1863	7,346
1864	10,505

or a fraction more than 14 per cent. of the whole number committed to prison. Their crimes, and the causes of their crimes, are very much the same as those of the agriculturists, with whom they are very closely allied in circumstances and position. They also, as a body, are ignorant of instruction in any form.

Next to, but not very much below, the day labourers are the domestic servants, of whom the numbers in the years mentioned were as follows:—

1860	5,434
1861	5,310
1862	6,261
1863	6,435
1864	5,243

From this class come the greatest number of regular petty thieves; crimes against the person being comparatively rare among them.

Immediately following the domestic servants, but at a considerable distance, are a class of small shopkeepers, called modies, whose occupation is to sell food—grain, pulses spices, and condiments. Their numbers were, in—

1860	1,054
1861	1,426
1862	1,405
1863	1,393
1864	1,835

Their crimes are likewise chiefly theft, fraudulent weights, cheating, falsification of food, &c.

The petty landholders furnish a little more than 1 per cent. of the criminal population, and among them crimes against the person are more frequent than crimes against property. Boundary disputes, with cattle trespass and theft of crops, are frequent among them.

The handicraft class, corresponding to our mechanics, are usually in better circumstances, better educated, and, in consequence, less criminal than the three first-named classes.

Among the curiosities of the criminal records of the five years, which are the basis of my paper, are a poet, a songster, an astrologer, an indigo planter, a ship captain, an engineer, two tea planters, a solicitor, and a prince.

Vagrants and light characters add very little to the criminal population—the priests in gaol being more numerous than the two together. Of the last-named, there were, in—

1860	177
1861	172
1862	240
1863	254
1864	170

These men are for the most part dissolute, idle, and, although not entirely ignorant, are not possessed of much education. My records do not show, nor are there any documents in existence in the judicial department to exhibit, the connection between density of population and crime.

Of the classes who live by crime, such as thugs, dacoits or gang robbers, and professional poisoners, the first-named have very nearly disappeared, if they are not quite extinguished, by the operation of the special agency employed to hunt them down.

I regret to be unable to show what proportion the committals of each class has been to the class itself, or what is the relation of committals to the whole population, either as regards town or country area, or density of population, sex, age, or occupation. The reason of this I have already stated.

The two most prominent points of interest in the tables (appended to this Address) are the apparent increase in the number of committals, and the very large proportion of acquittals.

In 1836, the area of the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency was estimated to be 174,854 square miles, peopled by 38,817,874 persons, or in the proportion of 222 to each square mile. In that year, 65,626 persons were committed to gaol, of whom 33,984 were convicted. The ratio of offenders to population was 1 in 591, and of convictions 1 in 1,142 souls.*

Colonel Sykes, in his paper on Criminal Justice in India, published in the Transactions of this Society† for May, 1843, estimates the population at 39,957,561, or, in round numbers, forty millions of souls. In 1837, the same authority states the number of convictions to have been 38,902, or 1 in every 1,028 persons. In 1840 the convictions were 42,785, or 1 to 935 souls. These include police cases.

In my tables, which exclude all petty police cases and include all *bond fide* committals to prison, the numbers are—

	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.
Committals	48,626	58,135	59,536	63,360
Convictions	27,064	30,424	30,842	30,311
Acquittals	14,311	18,914	19,338	22,360

I am not quite sure of the absolute accuracy of my return of committals, as I have reason to believe that some of the individuals have appeared twice in the returns, when transferred from the sub-division to the district gaols. These cases, if they occur, are, however, few in number, and will not materially affect the results. The return of convictions and acquittals is liable to no such error.

Assuming Colonel Sykes' estimate of the population of Bengal to be sufficiently near for all practical purposes, the proportion of convictions to population has considerably diminished of late years.

All these calculations, however, in the absence of a correct census, are such mere guesses at the truth, that little real value can be attached to them. For example, in "The Statesman's Year Book" for 1866, the area of Bengal is

* Speed's "Criminal Statistics of Bengal," a work of very doubtful authority.

† The Statistical Society of London.

assumed to be 280,200 square miles, and the population to amount to 41,498,608 souls. I do not know whence these figures are obtained, but I am quite certain that the population of the Lower Provinces is over-estimated, and that it has not increased in the last few years, in consequence of the ravages of a very destructive form of fever and of the number of coolies who have emigrated in the same time. The famine in Orissa has also contributed to the decrease of population.

The acquittals were numerous, having been—

1861	14,311
1862	18,919
1863	19,338
1864	22,360

These figures have little value in themselves, in the absence of the police and judicial statistics, by which alone they can be properly explained. The detection and proof of crime in India are, at all times, extremely difficult. Much is due to the sympathy of large classes of the population with criminals, a cause which, in more civilised countries, is attended with a similar result. The ties of caste and brotherhood in such cases are rarely broken, and never voluntarily. Again, false swearing is a marketable commodity; any amount of it can be purchased at reasonable rates by the unscrupulous, for any purpose whatever. Few persons of the lower castes can be got to give testimony against a Brahmin, to screen whom is considered a laudable and a moral act. The influence of landholders over their dependents is all-powerful, and is seldom enlisted on the side of truth and justice; probably never, when they are themselves concerned in the matter in hand, as too frequently happens in boundary disputes and agrarian crimes generally.

The effects of climate in speedily destroying identity, aided by birds and beasts of prey, and the rapid running rivers into which hundreds of bodies are thrown without any criminal intent, also add to the difficulty in numberless cases, and render it more than probable that a large number of crimes against the person are either never detected or cannot be brought home to the perpetrators. The corruption of the police, although last, is assuredly not least in the category of difficulty, as I have had some personal opportunities of knowing.

I am, however, one of those who consider that, in the matter of truth and honesty, the Bengalis are neither better nor worse than many nations boasting of a higher civilisation and a purer faith, and that they, in no degree, merit the wholesale condemnation with which they are generally visited by those who write and talk much, and really know very little of them. Some of the wild tribes—Kols and Sonthals—although little better than savages, are remarkably truthful; and education has, in other parts of the Lower Provinces, done so much to improve the morals and manners of those brought within its influence, that a few years will, I am firmly convinced, produce a marked difference in the character of the people, of which the immediate effect will be the diminution of crime, and the more easy administration of justice.

I have in my hand a number of statistical tables carefully compiled from my records, and illustrating many points connected with the prisons of Bengal, upon which I am unable to enter to-night. I will make them over to your Secretary for publication, if they are deemed of sufficient interest, for I wish you to know

what grounds I have for my statements. I distrust all reports which do not give the data on which their conclusions are based. They are mere romances, and ought not even to be accepted as contributions to contemporaneous history.

Regarding the particular classes from which criminals are recruited in Bengal, I have much that is interesting in my possession which I have not yet had time to condense and abstract.

The following information, for example, is furnished by a single district:—

THE DOMES are the petty thieves—as a rule, basket weaving and pilfering seeming to require some common quality. The Dome steals a handful of sweetmeats when no one is looking; he robs little girls of their ornaments and toys; he knocks money out of the hands of children and runs off with it. Sometimes he takes part in burglaries and such offences where more courage is required, but he is a petty thief by rights.

THE GWALLA, as a rule, confines himself to stealing cattle. This is a natural consequence of the temptations to which his profession subjects him. His caste is respectable. Cattle thefts are the most common of the offences against property in the district of Gya.

THE DOSAD is a thief and a robber essentially. He is a chowkeedar generally. In former ages the Dosads were nothing but robbers. The villagers would pay one of their number to protect them against the rest; the custom was handed down, and the village chowkeedar is always a Dosad in these parts. His position makes him the most mischievous ill-doer in the district. He knows where a rich villager keeps his money, and he gets other chowkeedars or regular thieves to steal it by burglary or dacoity. He knows all the weaknesses of the thana, and enjoys the confidence of his ilākadār, for whom he gets up false cases against refractory tenants, and gives false evidence in civil and criminal cases, and aids with the imperial prestige of his government badge at the division of crops and lining of boundaries. He abets the Gwallas in stealing cattle, and takes money from the owner to recover them, and gets up nearly all the dacoities that occur. So long as the chowkeedary law remains in its present anomalous state, where the landholder appoints the chowkeedar, and not the district magistrate, so long will these Dosad chowkeedars remain what they are—an invaluable means to the ilākadār of turning Act X. and the Penal Code to his own account—and an unmitigated curse to the villagers of the district. If, as alleged, the jails about the country are stocked with the wrong men, these Dosad chowkeedars may be fairly assumed to be the root of the evil.

THE RAJWARS are a jungle people by rights, and belong properly to the territories of certain zemindars whose estates hug the great jungles to the south of the district, or are comprised in them. They work as coolies for the ryots of these estates, and the zemindar assigns them occasionally small patches of jungle land for themselves. They find employment for some months of the year, but during the idle months their necessities drive them into the plains, where they turn robbers and dacoits and burglars. There can be little doubt that the zemindar's servants and petty landholders connive at their depredations, while there can be no doubt that they are abetted by the chowkeedars. Like the Indians of the prairies, they are a restless people—and their numbers are not on the increase, I believe, as the jungle lands are growing absorbed from year to year.

THE BHUNYAS, again, are a jungle race. They have settled down generally as ryot coolies in the plains, accommodating themselves wisely to circumstances—and they flourish at their peaceful occupation. Many of them, however, lurk about the jungles that sheath the Trunk Road, as it were, in its downward course. They join with the Gwallas of those parts, and rob travellers on the different roads. Otherwise, the Bhunya is generally a burglar and a thief, when the opportunity offers itself, though, unlike the Rujwar, he is not in the habit so much of seeking his opportunities.

These then are the classes of men in the district, whom their want of caste and the extraordinary temptations of their position render peculiarly liable to crime.

Occasionally the district is visited by professionals from other districts—from Goruckpore—mostly NUTS or gipsies, who are petty thieves, CHAINS or cut-purses,—men who carry small knives, sharp as razors, in their mouths, and frequent the bazars, where, with wonderful instinct, they feel out the nooks on a ryot's person, where he has tucked the corner of his *kamarband* in which his money is tied up, and then with a neatness still more wonderful, the Cheyne snicks off the bit of cloth with his knife and disappears with the rupees.

Then there are the SINDHYAS and BERRYAS, professional burglars, who mine into a *zenana*, coming up through the floor like a stage ghost, and with less noise. They will file off and open the bangles and nose-rings and earrings of the sleeping women without awaking them, and then disappear as they came. These people are only known by common report. Naturally they select the houses of rich people for their operations—and such people would rather die than have a police search in their houses,—so that cases of the kind never come to the thana. The ordinary burglar—the Dosad or Bhunya—posts his confederate sentinels, and then picks a hole in the mud wall of a house with his *sindhurry*. When the hole is sufficiently large to push a boy through, or to get through himself, he carefully inserts a *ghurra* or a stick through the hole. If the *ghurra* is not immediately smashed by a blow from the inside—for it sometimes happens that the inmate is alarmed, and stands on guard near the hole inside with a big stick or a sword, waiting for the burglar's head to appear—he sees that the coast is safe, and proceeds to effect an entrance. But all this is very clumsy compared with the admirable devices of the professional, who has artful machinery to suit all exigencies, and will cut a hole into a tent, and step over the sleeping watch dog without alarming the animal. He carries a sharp knife, works naked, and oils his body, so that he is never taken.

The other crimes committed in the district are those merely that are incidental to human nature, restrained by caste, in a bucolic and agricultural population. But it is evident that, as caste influence is on the decline, the tendency to crime is on the increase. The deep-sighted wisdom that appealed to a native's vanity not to commit crime, instead of appealing to his conscience, in a country where the executive must always be comparatively weak, left each caste incapable of committing certain crimes, so that a native's pride of caste or *izzat* was at stake if he committed them. But all that is changed now, or being changed, and as the caste of the native is disappearing, he is not being provided the more with a conscience.

As a result of my two years' experience in this district, I note very strongly the increasing tendency to *indiscriminate* crime in all classes, so that we may confidently await the time when a reasonably high pitch of civilisation will be reached, and a Rajpoot will have as much right to commit *indiscriminate* crime as any casteless Bhunya or Rujwar, while he will always have an equal inclination, *ceteris paribus*.

The next point for consideration is that of the education of prisoners. I had prepared a short note on the subject, which I have mislaid, but which I will place in the hands of your Secretary for publication, as I am anxious that my views on so important a branch of prison administration should not be misunderstood. I may tell you briefly that I do not believe in any scheme of education as reformatory that is not based on Christianity; that I do not consider mere instruction to be education; and that I concur with M. Cousin, that the first step in prison reform is the education of the great mass of the people who contribute the bulk of the prison population. More than half a million of individuals have been admitted to the prisons of Bengal since I have had charge of them, who were entirely and absolutely ignorant of instruction in any form. The connexion between education and crime has not been fairly established even in civilized countries, but the general conclusion that ignorance and crime are intimate associates is, I think, universally acknowledged, and I believe it to be true of the great province with which I am best acquainted in India.

When I reject education as the main instrument of reformation in jails, you may fairly ask on what I do rely.

My views on the subject of education and industrial training are contained in my published reports, to which I have little to add, and from which I have nothing to withdraw.

They are as follow:—

Education.—Although it does not appear on the face of their record, the Gaol Committee of 1864 evidently attached no importance to the education of Indian convicts, as an instrument of reformation.

“Education,” they said, “may be a reward or a punishment, according to the character of the convict to whom it is accorded. To the sullen, the stupid, and the idle, it must be a real infliction; while to the quick and intelligent, it might be a mitigation of the tedium of confinement. It has been found an important aid to discipline, by employing the time after the conclusion of labour, which is otherwise occupied in idle conversation; and it is a means of completing the plan of never leaving the convict to himself, which is, to the unreclaimed class, one of the most punitive elements in a strict system.”

The recommendations of the committee were:—

1. That education may be used as a means of prison discipline, but should on no account lead to any relaxation of the sentence. It will be found a useful employment of that portion of the prisoner's time which is not occupied in labour. Nothing further should be aimed at than elementary instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the keeping of village accounts.

2. That well-behaved convicts who are sufficiently educated might be employed as class instructors, but such instruction must never be allowed to count as an exemption from labour.

The views of the Indian Prison Committee of 1836, upon the subject of the education of prisoners, were somewhat singular. They were of opinion that to educate the criminals of India would involve a very heavy expense

for the least deserving body of men in the country, and that to devote any part of the sum assigned for the instruction of the people to teaching the worst class of the community, the class who would be least likely to turn their instruction to good account and who were the class least deserving of public favour, was a proposition which they were unable to approve. They further argued that "there is no man whom it would cost more to instruct than a criminal prisoner; there is none who would sooner forget instruction. And it would surely be an unjust thing to let the children of an honest man, too poor himself to send them to school, want instruction, and to spend the money that might educate them in trying to teach a man whose only peculiarity is his dishonesty. Besides, any instruction continuous enough to be effectual is quite inconsistent with any plan founded, as our plan is founded, on the principle of making a gaol a place to which its inmates will have every possible inducement not to return; and any instruction effectual enough to benefit the criminal on his release is inconsistent with another principle on which our plan is founded, namely, the making a gaol a place to which those who have never been in it, should have every inducement not to go."

"If," continue the committee, "in any country, a small minority only are educated, and if by far the greater number of offenders belong to that minority, money spent on educating such offenders may, in such a country, not be thrown away; although it may be questionable, even there, whether it would not have been more advantageously spent in educating the same people before they had offended. But, under the circumstances of India, money so spent would at best be thrown away; wherever it would tell at all, it would act as a direct premium on vice."

Both committees, further disapproved of all attempts to make proselyte in gaols, but recommended the provision of better religious instruction for Christian prisoners.

In the last five years, from 1860-64 inclusive, of the prisoners committed to gaol in Bengal, 92 per cent. were absolutely ignorant, 6·75 per cent. could read and write, and the remainder were fairly educated for their position in life.

The amount and extent of influence of education upon the diminution of crime has not yet been fairly established even in civilized countries. In France, two-fifths of the persons accused of crime are from its most ignorant—the agricultural—population, but that population represents more than two-fifths of the whole body of the people. After the cultivators, in the same country, the most numerous recruits of the criminal classes are those who work up the products of the soil, who represent a fourth of the whole number of criminals.

The proportion of those accused of crime against the person from the educated classes is 416 in 1,000, against 408 in 1,000 cultivators of the soil. The two classes who are least frequently accused of crimes against the person are traders (170 in 1,000) and persons without any fixed calling (the *gens sans aveu* of the French code, the *bad livelihood* class of the Indian Penal Code), 240 in 1,000.

Eleven-twentieths of all the persons tried in the criminal courts of France, from 1826 to 1856 inclusive, were entirely ignorant. This was the mean of twenty-five years of observation, but each quinquennial period isolated, exhibited changes shewing the progress of education in France. Of 1,000 individuals accused of crimes against the person, an average of 535 could neither read nor write; of the same class 562 per 1,000 were accused of crimes against property. The diminution in the proportional number of the uneducated was more marked in regard to crimes against person than in relation to crimes against property. The cause of this appeared to be that, from 1846 to 1850, those

accused of theft were less numerous than from 1826 to 1830, while the number of forgers had sensibly increased. The latter are all more or less instructed. Many among the former are entirely ignorant.

Monsieur Boudin, from whose valuable work on statistical geography the above details are borrowed, exclaims :—" On s'étonne souvent de voir le crime augmenter avec l'instruction. Mais qu'est ce donc que l'instruction sans l'éducation, sinon une arme de plus pour le mal. Sans religion, la morale a-t-elle seulement une raison d'être.

Quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam
Præmia si tollas,"*

Upon the subject of religious instruction in Indian gaols, my opinions have undergone no change since 1862, and without such instruction I am satisfied that education as an instrument of moral reformation is utterly inefficacious. As an agent, and a powerful agent of discipline, I am disposed to concur in the view of the matter taken by the Indian Prison Discipline Committee of 1864.

Industrial Training.—Ever since the prisons of the Lower Provinces were placed under my charge in 1855, I have endeavoured to make them schools of industry, and to render them self-supporting. Careful study of the writings of Beccaria, Bentham, and other eminent jurists on the subject of crime, and some little knowledge of the people of Bengal, led me to the following conclusions :—

1st.—That idleness is the chief cause of by far the greater part of the constant war upon property waged by the habitually criminal classes.

2nd.—That ignorance is the inseparable companion of idleness and its great ally, crime.

3rd.—That ignorance, superstition, and a low standard of morality, combined with ethnological conditions imperfectly known, because little studied, are the exciting causes of by far the greater number of crimes against the person in the circle of my superintendence.

Except in the case of thugs, and probably of professional poisoners, the habitually criminal classes are those who prey upon property without acts of personal violence. As a rule, they only commit acts of personal violence when disturbed or resisted in their proceedings, or when likely to be identified and brought to the bar of justice by those to whom they are known.

Those engaged in affrays attended with homicide, murder from jealousy, revenge and other uncontrolled passions, and all criminals guilty of such like crimes, form a very small proportion of the inmates of prisons in Lower Bengal.

Ninety per cent. of the inhabitants of prisons belong to the classes who will not work ; who seek the means of gratifying their evil passions—for they are universally dissipated and depraved—by theft and fraud in their infinite ramifications ; and to whom continuous labour in any form is utterly distasteful. The corrective of this state appeared to me to be compulsory industry, and the

* M. V. Cousin declares that the education of the people is the necessary foundation of every good system of reformation of criminals.

"I admire," says he, "with pain the inconsequent zeal of those philanthropists who bestow so much pains on prisons and neglect schools. They allow crime to be formed and vicious habits to take root, in the absence of all cultivation and of all education in infancy. When crime is formed, when it is robust and vigorous, they attempt to measure themselves with it, and either try to stamp it out by fear and punishment, or deal with it by milder means. They are surprised, after much expenditure of intellect and money, that all that is useless ; that it is a counter sense. Correction is, no doubt, of great importance, but prevention is of far greater efficacy." He goes on to prove his position, and ends by exclaiming, "I approve then with all my heart, and I bless schools of correction, but I consider them almost condemned to remain unfruitful so long as they are not based upon schools for the masses, universally distributed, followed compulsorily, and in which instruction is but one of the instruments of education."

experience which I have since acquired convinces me that my supposition was correct.

I soon ascertained that maintenance of the strictest discipline is consistent with the conversion of jails into schools of industry, and that, if the labour of prisoners were properly and judiciously directed, they would not only repay the whole cost of their maintenance, but acquire a knowledge of handicrafts that would enable them to earn an honest livelihood on release, so far as caste prejudices would admit of their commencing a new career.

Until a higher standard of morality can be inculcated in jails than can be communicated by mere secular instruction, I do not anticipate any great results in the way of reformation from what is incorrectly termed the education of prisoners in Bengal. The teaching of handicrafts and the formation of habits of industry, supplemented by a humane and judicious system of rewards and punishments, seem to me to constitute, in such circumstances, the best and soundest measures of reformation. On them I have accordingly chiefly relied.

In the absence of a sound system of judicial statistics, it is difficult to test our progress by actual facts and figures; but it has been remarked in the Alipore Jail, that from an average of some eighteen hundred prisoners constantly present in that prison, very few of the good steady workmen have ever returned, and it is known that many have gained an honest livelihood, on release, from skill in handicrafts acquired in the jail.

It has been supposed that in the prisons under my charge, punishment has been too much subordinated to reformation, and that both have been sacrificed to profit from the labour of the prisoners.

I regard punishment and reformation as standing very much in the same relation to each other as curative and preventive measures in medicine. The former, in reality, acts only, as pain does, on the individual: the latter may influence whole communities. This view is in strict accordance with the legislation of the last few years on the subject of prisons and prisoners in all civilized countries, and, in my humble judgment, is the correct view. The infliction of mere physical pain and personal suffering has long since been abandoned in the taming of animals, and is still less applicable to the treatment of the moral disorders which render prisons a necessity of civilization.

Of two descriptions of work which act equally in producing physical exhaustion, that which results in a marketable commodity is, I am convinced, of far more use as an instrument of reclamation than that which is an entire waste of physical power.

If calculated in the manner known to physiologists, for example, gunny-weaving, press work, and other remunerative *hard* labour will be found at the end of a long day's work to have caused as much muscular wear and tear as the treadmill and the crank. The dogged resistance to authority, and the resentment produced by all the aimless descriptions of labour, are altogether destructive of the feelings and influences that lead to reformation.

Such measures have failed everywhere, and are now being abandoned by universal consent—exactly as, and for the same reasons that have caused the punishment of death to be no longer inflicted for crimes that fall short of murder.

I should view with the deepest regret any return in the prisons of Lower Bengal to the system of terror and dreary monotony that prevailed in the management of the jails thirty years ago. They would certainly reproduce the tragedy enacted at Alipore in 1835, which so forcibly directed the attention of Lord Macaulay to the question of Prison Discipline in India.

Subjoined is the detailed expression of my views on the subject of Prison Manufactures, and on jails as Schools of Industry.

It is taken from my Annual Report for 1864-65.

The time of which the advent in India was doubted by the Prison Discipline Committee of 1836, has arrived. Human labour has become so costly as to necessitate the introduction of machinery. The introduction of the means of economizing labour in jails has become very urgent. The most profitable handicraft in the jails of Bengal is the weaving of gunny—the spinning of the thread for which is too light for prisoners sentenced to hard labour. Gunny-weaving itself is very hard work, and is admirably adapted for use in jails. The labouring convicts of the Alipore jail during the past year were kept at considerable intervals in compulsory idleness from the deficient supply of yarn, and the caprices of the interested spinners of jute. To remedy this undesirable state of matters and to render the jail independent of the market, without introducing light labour that has no punitive element, I have suggested the introduction of steam machinery for the spinning of jute yarn, in order that all prisoners sentenced to rigorous imprisonment may never be without the hard labour which the jail is bound by law to provide for them.

The true principles that should regulate jail industry do not appear to be well understood, even by many prison officers of experience. The first condition is undoubtedly that it should be hard work, suited for sentences of rigorous imprisonment. The next, that it should be some form of handicraft easily learnt by the ignorant agricultural population of the country. The last, that it should be profitable, and thus assist in repaying to the State the cost of maintenance of the convict, and from an unproductive consumer convert him into a profitable self-supporter.

Upon this subject I stated in a paper written for the Statistical Society of London three years since:—

It is now, I believe, generally admitted by those best entitled to entertain and express an opinion on the subject, that the discipline of labour is greater when productive than when unproductive. The conversion of a hardened heinous offender, who is usually an unproductive consumer, into a productive self-supporter, is no mean result already attained, and is the repayment of a part of the debt to society incurred by every offender against the laws.

There is a very transparent fallacy involved in the argument, that to teach a criminal an honest trade, and to restore him to society a skilled workman, is to make the prison the artizan's stepping stone to fortune, and to render the honest labourer anxious to graduate in the same productive school of industry.

The advantage is remote and uncertain. The penalties involved in compulsory separation from society in strictly regulated task work, in a rigid denial of all the little indulgences that sweeten labour and render life agreeable, the dreary monotony of the same walls and the same work year after year, the entire absence of all control over their own acts, the sameness of the diet, without change or variety, however superior it may be in quality to the homely fare of the honest labourer, the early rest and early rising in unchanging succession, are immediate, positive, and palpable evils, easily imagined and readily realized. There is, then, a heavy balance against every well-regulated prison with the smallest pretensions to strictness of discipline as a desirable school of industry for a poor, ignorant, unskilled, but honest labourer.

Dr. Wiché, the Inspector-General of Prisons at Bombay, in reporting the result of his visits to some of the principal prisons in the other Presidencies of India, states that the Bengal system of jail discipline, as practised at Alipore, is that of converting a jail into an easy-going school of industry, in which discipline and reformation are entirely sacrificed to profit, and that

it is perhaps scarcely possible to conceive a system more indulgent, less tentative in respect of moral reformation, and better calculated to promote the comfort of the convicts. The premiss that Alipore has been converted into a successful school of industry is correct,—the conclusion that discipline is thereby, of necessity, sacrificed is, I am convinced, utterly erroneous. When the Alipore Jail first came under my supervision, it had already a considerable reputation for the number and excellence of its handicrafts. All sorts of fancy articles were manufactured there, and in many of them a considerable and very creditable amount of skill had been attained. A careful scrutiny of the matter, however, soon convinced me that few of the handicrafts referred to afforded really hard labour, and that none of them were sufficiently remunerative. I set to work to discover the handicraft that afforded the largest amount of hard labour, was most easily taught and learnt, and yielded the largest amount of profit to the State. The result of the exhibition of prison manufactures held in the Town Hall of Calcutta in 1856, proved that the weaving of gunny best fulfilled all those conditions. It is acquired in a few weeks, it exercises every muscle in the body, and there is an unlimited sale at remunerative rates for the produce. Each convict, when fairly skilled, which in ordinary circumstances is attained in a month or six weeks, weaves twenty yards of gunny cloth for bags in an ordinary working day. Each yard of such cloth requires an average of 365 threads for weft, necessitating 7,300 pulls of the beam for the 20 yards. Direct experiment has shown that each pull is equal in the amount of physical exertion on the part of the weaver to lifting a weight of eight pounds one foot from the ground. The daily labour of each weaver is thus equal to lifting a weight of rather more than 21 tons one foot from the earth.

Had Dr. Wiehé continued his investigation a step further, and seen the gunny weavers after they were locked up at night, with every particle of mischief thoroughly worked out of them, and only too glad to stretch their weary limbs on the ground, he would have formed a more accurate estimate of the penal value of gunny-weaving.

In the Hooghly Jail, where the bulk of the convicts are likewise employed in gunny-weaving, all singing and talking in the wards at night has entirely ceased. The stillness of silence and sleep prevail—the prisoners are too thoroughly tired even for the gossip which is so dear to every Bengali in his normal state.

I have abandoned as useless and hopeless all attempts at “moral reformation,” which I regard as a delusion—the thing itself having little real existence in Christian countries and none whatever in any part of India. It was admitted freely and candidly by many prison officers with whom I spoke in Europe, and the published returns show that no really efficient system of reformation has yet been devised. By the exemplary and patient labour of prison Chaplains at home, with the aid of Christian teaching, a few criminals have been permanently reclaimed and withdrawn from a continued course of crime; but on the great body of habitual criminals, little, if any, impression has been produced. The criminals of the part of India with which I am familiar are a peculiar class, upon whom it is impossible, in existing circumstances, to bring any of the agencies for “moral reformation” in use in Europe to bear. The only course of reformatory training at all likely to be attended with even partial success, is an industrial training to fit a prisoner for entering on an honest course of life when he is restored to freedom, should he be so disposed, or should the prejudice of caste admit of his adopting a handicraft for his maintenance, which he has been taught in jail, but which is foreign to his own habits and those of his caste generally.

In an official Note which has been communicated to the public press, and thus has become a fair subject of public criticism, the views of Lord Macaulay's committee, commonly known as the Bengal Prison Discipline Committee of 1836, are reproduced for our guidance at the present time, in the matter of prison labour.

The Secretary, and the life and soul of that committee, was Sir J. P. Grant, who stated the views of the question of prison labour then generally entertained both in this country and in Europe, with all the logical force and precision that characterized the writings of one of the most gifted men who ever came to India. The author of the Note is probably not aware that, in accordance with the recommendations of the committee, a treadmill and cranks were introduced in the Calcutta House of Correction, which now forms a part of the Presidency Jail. They failed utterly and absolutely, and were soon set aside as altogether inapplicable to the prisoners of this country. Sir J. P. Grant, in the course of time, became Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and gave his cordial and energetic support to the existing system of labour in the jails under my control.

The world has grown older and wiser in the treatment of many social and economic questions, besides that of prison discipline, since 1836; and it appears to me to be about as reasonable to look to that epoch for our guidance in prison management as it would be to return to the postal arrangements and stage coaches of a bygone age, and to ignore the steam and electrical contrivances of our own time. Treadwheels and cranks, and other appliances to render prison labour irksome, painful, and deterrent, have failed everywhere, after many years of patient and careful trial. The system of repression by terror was carried to its logical results in Norfolk Island, where it succeeded in converting human beings into fiends, and was abandoned as a disgrace to humanity and a reproach to civilization.

I have no doubt that public feeling is undergoing a complete revolution in England on the subject of prison labour and punishment.

In the *Artizan* of November last is an article by a civil engineer, on Mechanism and Prison Labour, in which he states that the treadwheels now used are being applied to productive labour, and that cranks and similar devices are now practically obsolete.

In the Prison Act of 1865, 28 and 29 Vic., c. 126, s. 12, the use of the treadmill was strictly limited in duration, in consequence of its injurious effects. The consequence is great irregularity in the number of men employed throughout the day, and at different times of the day.

The most recent writer on the subject is Mr. R. Arthur Arnold, whose paper I have to-day seen for the first time. He was a Government Inspector of Public Works, and, in the December number of *Fraser's Magazine*, has published an article on prison labour, which is in entire accordance with the system that I have been attempting to work out for some years past. He states his object in writing on the subject to be a reduction of the heavy cost of prisons, and the utilization of the period of sentence of the prisoners.

The following are extracts from his excellent paper; and, so far as my long and varied experience entitles me to express an opinion on the subject, I consider them to be correct, and to be deserving of the most careful consideration:—

“It seems to be a matter of great difficulty to invent prison labour, for in all the English prisons, the labour adopted is of a similar and, in my opinion, equally improper character. The treadmill—which it is high time should be broken up, one specimen only being retained for the British Museum—is still in general use and, indeed, in growing favour. At Cold Bath Fields there is a treadmill constructed to employ 342 convicts, the power being usually devoted to grinding wheat. This is the biggest mill in the kingdom, and there are comparatively few of which the power is so usefully bestowed. The most recent reports from the governors of country and borough gaols, show that a majority of the treadmills at work have no other use than providing hard labour.

“But prisoners may be ignorant, whether the power of their tread is or is not producing flour or lifting water. Degrading and unsuitable as the work is, there appears to be at least a fiction of useful labour about the treadmill which does not exist in the employment of shot drill, with one exception the most wanton waste of human labor that ever entered the mind of a gaoler. Many of the prison yards are arranged for shot drill; and shot drill about to be introduced, occurs in many of the reports from the minor prisons. Thus, hard labour is to be accomplished by making the convicts roll and carry round shot about a yard, the prisoners knowing all the while that their labour is wasted.

“But even the shot drill does not appear to me so wicked an invention as the hard labour machines, of which there are ten in use at the Bedford County Prison, and hundreds throughout the kingdom. Can anything be more demoralising, more devilish, than such a waste of power? Of the inhabitants of gaols, most are there because they neglected to labour, and wished to eat and drink without making payment in work. With such men, the obvious duty of the State is to teach them the honour and the

worthiness of labour; the only justification for holding such men to hard labour, is to give them habits of industry, to enforce work, and, by the compulsion, to create a habit. If it be not this—if work be made hateful and degrading to the man who has wronged the commonwealth by neglecting to labour—how can good results be looked for from our prison system? Is not the State most false to its duty when it thus degrades labour in the eyes of prisoners? Suppose a man of the working class imprisoned and compelled to abuse the strength which has provided his family with food and clothing and many comforts; suppose such a one set to work a hard-labour machine,—would not this be moral prostitution of the most shameful character?

“Or suppose him, with insult to the trained skill of his fingers, employed upon that very common prison labour, picking oakum, at which a man, beginning with bleeding finger ends and broken nails, may earn 3 shillings and 6 pence in a calendar month, during which time he will have picked about a hundredweight, such a man is degraded in his own estimation far more than by his crime or his condemnation. His education, bad as it may have been, has however not left him ignorant of the value of good work: in prison he is taught that his skill cannot be better employed than in working a hard-labour machine or in picking oakum. He is daily trained to idleness by this bad prison system, because, without some encouragement to labour, no man will fully exert his strength. And when he leaves the gaol, it is more than probable that his skill in his own trade is nearly lost, and that the only career which seems open, is one that will quickly return him to the treadmill and the oakum.”

Again, Mr. Arnold says—“The governors of the convict prisons report that few convicts are without, at least, a little knowledge of some trade or work; but even if they are quite destitute of such skill, they can be profitably employed, and a month’s training will make them skilful. In superintending the administration of the Cotton Famine Public Works Act, I had large experience of unskilled labour. No employment could be more strange and uncongenial to prisoners than the trench work of sewerage was to the voluntary hands of the cotton operatives of Lancashire. Yet, after one month’s training, more than 4,000 of such men earned good wages upon the public works, and handled their implements with such an appearance of practice, that many of them were quite the equals of the skilled men, while their health and strength were greatly improved by the change of labour.

“The directors of such large prisons might engage in the production of any commodities which would be most profitable,

but it would be necessary they should abandon the notion that they are restricted to the basest forms of labour. I would almost go so far as to prohibit such employment as stone-breaking, oakum-picking, and mat-making, which degrade most prisoners, and render prison life of no use to the remainder. It is far better that a man should be engaged in abortive efforts to make a pair of shoes, than in picking oakum—an employment which might be retained as a punishment for misconduct in prison.

“In the work of prisoners and the sale of their manufactures it should especially be remembered that the authorities are not encompassed by the difficulties which beset the employment of the poor by boards of guardians. Prisoners have forfeited their claims to wages, such as would be given to working men outside the walls, and if goods of prison manufacture are sold for a third of their cost in labour, valued at the outside rate of wages, the community profits by the reduction of prison expenses, and industry is not deranged; because, if proper severity of treatment is maintained within the prison, the manufacture and sale will not attract free labour.”

That discipline is sacrificed to profit in my jails I emphatically deny. I can show that oil-pressing, gunny-weaving, stone-breaking, carpentry, smiths' work, joinery, the operations connected with printing, and other branches of industry introduced in my jails, are really hard labour, and strictly consistent with the sentence of the law. I also declare that, if they are prohibited, I can find no work of any kind that will enable me to give effect to sentences of rigorous imprisonment.

Another question that is a subject of controversy at the present moment, is that of prison construction in India; and I have been taken to task in the local press and elsewhere for the views which I entertain on the subject.

I have nothing to unsay or retract in what I have said and written regarding it. I still maintain that the separate system is the basis of all prison reform, and in this I am supported by the opinions of the whole civilized world. Of the views of the statesmen and prison reformers of England, no person who possesses any real acquaintance with the matter can doubt. From John Howard to the last committee of the House of Lords, all the authorities of any repute are concurrent. This latter body condemn emphatically the mixed system of sleeping cells and sleeping wards, which has been sanctioned for the central jails of Bengal. I am quite unable to understand how their meaning could possibly have been misunderstood in a passage which I have quoted elsewhere in support of my views. The French are believed to have abandoned the separate system, because a M. Vidal has inveighed strongly against the solitary

imprisonment carried out under the law of 1844; and because the Duke of Persigny, when Minister of the Interior in 1853, issued a circular order to the effect that the *regime absolu* of the separate system had been abandoned in the conversion of the departmental prisons of France. The action of the French Government had no reference to criminal prisons, as the report of M. de Persigny himself, published in 1861, which I hold in my hand, shows. If time permitted, I would put him into the witness box to tell you his own story in his own words. The criminal prisons of France have long since been rendered cellular; but the reform of the smaller local prisons, many of which were in an extremely unsatisfactory state, was delayed by the enormous cost and inapplicability of the separate system to these prisons, which are more than eight hundred in number, regulating the movements annually of some three hundred thousand prisoners. There are, I believe, at the present moment in France more than sixty completely cellular prisons, and about a hundred and sixty which are partially cellular. Even in the conversion of the departmental prisons, provision is made for those prisoners who need isolation. The French have carried the cellular principle farther than any other nation, inasmuch as a large number of the principal towns of France have also cellular prison vans. So much for the French.

The cellular system was adopted by nearly every nation in Europe many years ago. In a report which is on the table, you will find that it has been applied in Holland, Belgium, Austria, Prussia, several of the minor German States, Switzerland, Italy, Russia, and Spain. A cellular prison was commenced by Pope Clement XI. at Rome in 1703. It was visited and described by John Howard. In it the solitary system was introduced by the isolation of prisoners by day as well as by night. It has, however, long ceased to be used as a prison. At Milan a cellular prison was constructed in 1766, six years before the institution of the celebrated prison of Ghent. It contained 120 cells, and replaced the system of galley slavery, abolished at that time by the Milanese Senate. In this prison was first determined the fact that one day of cells was considered by prisoners to be equivalent to two days of associated imprisonment. At that time Beccaria, the author of a classical work on crime, and other great thinkers, exercised considerable influence in the government of the State of Milan.

In America the system was adopted in its integrity immediately after the great war of independence. By America I mean the United States, to which alone the name is applied in ordinary parlance. The system, I believe, originated with William Penn in 1682.

In India, the Prison Discipline Committee of 1836 recommended the cellular system for all penitentiaries, for prisoners under trial, and for the punishment of breaches of jail discipline in district jails. They looked at the question from a purely Asiatic point of view, and among those who considered that solitary confinement for short periods was suitable for natives of India, were the illustrious John Lawrence, then Magistrate of Delhi, the late James Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of Agra, and a great number of distinguished men then engaged in the judicial administration of this great empire.

Have I overstated the question, and exaggerated its importance, in declaring that the adoption of the cellular system has passed from the domain of doubt and discussion, and entered that of accepted fact? M. de Tocqueville mentioned, many years ago, that in the hot controversy which then raged on the subject, he found the opponents of the cellular system to be, without exception, men who were practically unacquainted with it. In his *Polemique Pénitenciaire*, and his well-known defence of the law of 1844, M. Moreau-Christophe, then Inspector-General of the Prisons of France, makes the same statement. I am afraid that their experience is applicable to more recent times, and to more recent writers on this great question. In any case, my conclusions are based on long-continued observation and careful study, and surely I am justified in considering that on such a question

Cuique in sua Arte credendum est.

And now, before I conclude—for I feel that I have abused your indulgence in the length of time which my address has occupied—permit me to say a few words on the history of prison discipline in India.

Mr. Hunter, in his *Classical Annals*, has given a graphic picture of the prison system of Bengal, which was handed over to us by our predecessors in the government of the country. In 1792, the Company took the prison system of the provinces then under the Government in hand; and from that time until it became the subject of public inquiry in 1836, great attention was paid to it. To the kindness of the late Mr. Cheape, of the Civil Service, I was indebted for the perusal of all the circular and other orders issued in Bengal during half a century regarding the treatment and management of prisoners. They had been collected with great care and diligence by him, and an excellent abstract of some of their most important provisions will be found in Beaufort's *Digest of the Criminal Law of India*. They prove that sound and enlightened views were entertained by many members of the old Civil

Service ; that the whole treatment of the question was greatly in advance of the public opinion of England at the time ; and that, in spite of defective construction and the employment of a corrupt subordinate agency, the prisons of India were never in the state of those described by John Howard. All honor then to the grand old service which is rapidly becoming historical, and which still numbers in its ranks sons of whom England may well be proud—men who are leaving their mark upon the history of the stirring age in which we live.

Then came Lord Macaulay's Committee in 1836, which gathered together a large body of information, and systematized the whole subject with remarkable ability. I studied carefully their report, and the voluminous evidence appended to it, and adopted without question their conclusions on a subject with which I was at the time practically unacquainted. I considered with them, that a jail should be made as much a place of terror as possible ; that labour should be tedious and irksome ; that the food supplied should be the scantiest in amount, and the coarsest in quality that could sustain life ; and that as much of pain should be inflicted as could be borne without injury to health or risk to life. I very soon discovered that all this was based on an erroneous knowledge of human nature ; that, if correct in theory, it broke down entirely in practice ; that it contained no humanizing or reformatory element ; and that while it failed to deter from crime without the jails, it led to the murder of magistrates within. Had time permitted, I could give you many examples of the correctness of my statement. I will content myself with one.

Some years since, I had to enforce an order in a jail, which I will not define too closely, as I have no desire to tell tales out of school. An attempt made to introduce the order referred to had, on a preceding occasion, been attended with riot and bloodshed ; it had been abandoned in consequence. I fully expected to meet with the same difficulty, and made every arrangement to overcome it by an armed force which was at my disposal. But, before bringing the matter to an issue, I enquired of the darogah who was the most influential prisoner then in confinement in that prison. I was led to an inner enclosure, and introduced to a prisoner heavily manacled, who had fetters on his wrists and ankles, had a ring round his neck, and chains connecting the whole in one unbroken bond. He had a sullen, dogged look of defiance, and was quite untamed by the restraints placed upon him. He had been a celebrated dacoit, had frequently escaped from custody, had appeared disguised in the courts in which his guards were being tried for his escape, and was considered an utterly unmanageable convict. He was a

fine-looking man, and there was something in his general appearance that led me to believe that an erroneous estimate of his natural character had been formed. After a little conversation with him, in which he told me that he behaved like a wild animal because he was treated as one, I claimed his assistance in the matter in hand. He, on the other hand, claimed some proof of my sincerity in dealing kindly with him and speaking soft words, while he had only been accustomed to hard usage. I sent for the blacksmith and removed the whole of his irons—thirty pounds in weight. The heart of the man was softened at once, and he aided me so effectually, that the end which had proved a difficulty before, was accomplished without the smallest disturbance. Paradoxical as it may appear from his previous history, he was really an honest man, and afterwards, when removed to a distant jail across the Bay of Bengal, proved a most efficient and trustworthy head-warder of a prison.

I can tell you of several similar cases, and of a remarkable conversation which I had with the survivors of the prisoners who murdered Mr. Richardson in the Alipore Jail in 1835, and who attempted to murder the late Mr. Samuells, of the Civil Service, several years subsequently, in the same jail. They were removed from Alipore to Arracan in 1857, to make room for mutineers, and I went with them. I have not arrived at my present conclusions on the subject of prison discipline without careful enquiry and consideration, and if my generalizations are wild and sweeping, they are at least the result of honest conviction and of some experience.

To sum up, then, briefly, my views of jail management and reform in Bengal—

1. I agree with M. Victor Cousin in regarding the education of the masses from which the criminal classes are recruited, as the first step in prison reform.

2. I believe the silent and solitary systems to be altogether inapplicable to Indian prisoners, except for very brief periods in carrying out the sentences of the law, or for the punishment of serious breaches of jail rules.

3. I regard the separate system as essential for the proper punishment of all criminals in Bengal; and I consider it to be as necessary for the maintenance of health and for the prevention of immorality, as it is for the repression of crime and the protection of society.

4. I am satisfied that the discipline of hard and constant labour in reproductive works is of far more efficacy and value in the punishment and reformation of convicts than treadwheels, cranks, and all varieties of aimless, irksome, and useless work; and

I have no doubt whatever that to inculcate habits of industry, and to enable prisoners to earn an honest livelihood on release, instead of continuing to prey upon society by a perseverance in vicious courses, is the right plan to pursue in dealing with the crime of this country.

At all events, all the other systems heretofore tried have failed, and are gradually being abandoned. I merely ask that we should be allowed to work out our plans, until a sufficient time has elapsed to enable them to be tested by a proper system of judicial statistics, to show the exact amount of influence they have exerted in the diminution of crime, and in the consequent protection of society. And have we not the highest of all sanction for persevering in the course which I recommend, for are we not told by our Divine Redeemer that joy should be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons which need no repentance? Montesquieu, in his *Esprit des Lois*, remarks that there are two kinds of corruption: the one when the people do not observe the laws; the other when they are corrupted by the laws—an incurable evil, because it is in the remedy itself. Is not this fairly applicable to the demoralizing influence of the collective system of imprisonment, for “Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump?”

MR. J. B. ROBERTS said he had come prepared to disagree with Dr. Mouat on certain points, but to his surprise he found himself completely disarmed by the excellent address which had been delivered. At the same time he must express his strong disapproval of the cellular system as exemplified in the Calcutta Jail. Dr. Mouat had stated, as a fact, that convicts did not sicken or die in those cells; but he (Mr. Roberts) would not like to see any one of whose reformation he had hopes put into them.

MR. WOODROW thought that the statistics given by Dr. Mouat showed that the criminals were better educated than the rest of the population. Mr. Adams had estimated that only 2 per cent. were able to read in Bengal, whereas 7 per cent. of the jail population were said to be able to read. If so, it would hardly be maintained that education tended to diminish crime.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE would put two questions: *Firstly*, supposing the cellular system to be adopted, were there no difficulties in the way of construction, with special reference to the hot winds of the North-West Provinces? If there were no such objection, and if the system was really as superior as Dr. Mouat had represented, he thought the financial difficulty might be overcome. *Secondly*, he would ask Dr. Mouat to state succinctly what were his methods of reforming criminals.

MR. BEVERLEY pointed out, with reference to Mr. Woodrow's remarks, that he was comparing the state of national education forty years ago with the education of the criminal classes of the present day. Mr. Woodrow had stated, on another occasion, that there were 140,000 students under instruction in the present day, and if this had been going on for the last forty years, it would make an addition of four or five per cent. to the proportion of those who could read in Mr. Adams' time.

MR. A. MACKENZIE agreed with Dr. Monat that the cellular system should be adopted, but pointed out that the chief difficulty lay in the want of funds for the construction of jails on that principle.

BABU PEARYCHAND MITTRA believed that there was an intimate connection between crime and the spread of education. The connection was not so obvious in England, because there was no universal system of popular education; but it might be seen in operation on the Continent. He believed that if popular education were properly promoted, crime would decrease.

MOULVIE ABDUL LUTEEF briefly advocated the reformation of juvenile offenders.

BABU NILMADHUR CHATTERJEE did not attach much weight to the proposal to instruct prisoners in jail. It was only to be expected that they would learn to read and write, and this was not really education.

THE REV. J. LONG enquired what was the opinion of native society regarding our jails. It was perhaps known that in native parlance the jail went by the name of "*our father-in-law's house*." He should also wish to know what proportion of the prison population were really criminals.

THE PRESIDENT eulogised the address as most complete, and pregnant with information. As to the classes from which the criminals are drawn, Dr. Monat's analysis was perhaps not exhaustive, but it was instructive. It was found that in England, as well as in this country, they chiefly came from the agricultural classes. Dacoity was formerly practised by persons as a profession, while they themselves lived among the people upon whom they preyed, and were well known to them. This feature, he thought, had not disappeared. The criminal records disclosed the fact that in village after village it was the case that people were permitted to prey upon their neighbours. The fact was even more remarkable in the case of the river dacoities of Eastern Bengal. The river robbers were known as professional dacoits, and also as being men of influence and distinction in the district. The people were in fact under a sort of terrorism of these robbers. This was doubtless a speciality as compared with any form of crime existing in Europe. He (MR. PHEAR) doubted the truth of the assertion that dacoits were strangers to the locality where they committed their crimes.

In regard to the theory of the infliction of the maximum of personal pain, THE PRESIDENT accorded his acquiescence with Dr. Monat. He thought we had got beyond that era. The real question, however, was,—how far is our present system of prison discipline really a *deterrent* from crime. It was possible to gauge the *reformatory* element, but we knew very little of its deterrent effect. There was special reason to lament this. It was impossible to judge of the effect which a sentence might have on the prisoner. He would ask if anything was really known as to the efficacy of our punishments. He had understood (taking the case of a Brahmin for instance) that the effect depended entirely on the whim of the leading Brahmin to whose party the prisoner belonged, and that such an one might or might not restore the wretched criminal to his former position in society. Our judicial machinery was thus rendered inoperative, if a prisoner could be taken back with an untarnished reputation, and perhaps even with a feeling of martyrdom, merely upon the opinion of a private individual. He trusted that this address would be followed by some statistical information from native gentlemen as to the extent to which a sentence was followed by social degradation.

In reply, DR. MONAT expressed his extreme disapproval of the present cells in the Presidency Jail. He thought that Mr. Woodrow's argument would not

hold good, as besides the fatal objection taken to it by Mr. Beverley, it was well known that Mr. Adams' statistics are totally untrustworthy. With reference to Sir R. Temple's inquiries, he believed that cells could be constructed with proper appliances, so to be healthy even in the North-West. It was, however, a professional question which the present was not the occasion to discuss. In regard to the reformation of criminals, he was not prepared to state, on the spur of the moment, the precise methods that should be followed, but he might say, generally, that the object of imprisonment should be to restore to society a useful instead of a useless member of it. He thought that central jails would be found to be remunerative, so that financial considerations ought not to stand in the way. This was proved by the reports of the United States, where prison labour was farmed out. There was no criminal juvenile population in Bengal. He doubted if there were ten juveniles in all the prisons of the Mofussil, and there were only from 30 to 40 in Calcutta. Reformatories would therefore, for the present, be useless. Mr. Long had stated that the jail was called "our father-in-law's house;" but he believed it was fast becoming a mother-in-law's house in the popular sense. When at Dacca the other day, the jailor complained to him that the prison population had diminished, and that his profits upon prison labour were consequently falling off. He trusted that the jails were not now so inviting as formerly.

Table No. I.

Statement of Criminals convicted in the years 1854 to 1867, showing the nature and length of the sentences passed on them.

YEARS.	CRIMINAL PRISONERS SENTENCED TO RIGOROUS IMPRISONMENT.							CRIMINAL PRISONERS SENTENCED TO SIMPLE IMPRISONMENT.							Sentenced to be executed.	Grand total convicted.
	For life.	For more than 2 years.	For 2 years and above 1 year.	For 1 year and under.	Until security is furnished.	Discharged without security.	Total.	For life.	For more than 2 years.	For 2 years and above 1 year.	For 1 year and under.	Until security is furnished.	Discharged without security.	Total.		
1854-55 { M. ... { F. ... Total ...																
1855-56 { M. ... { F. ... Total ...																
1856-57 { M. ... { F. ... Total ...						No Data.										
1857-58 { M. ... { F. ... Total ...																
1858-59 { M. ... { F. ... Total ...																
1859-60 { M. ... { F. ... Total ...	797 38	4,029 30	2,277 35	9,808 200	256 2	773 10	17,940 375	1 1	50 1	373 17	7,913 148	149 4	27 1	8,513 171	...	26,453 518
1860 { M. ... { F. ... Total ...	835 32	4,050 49	2,312 22	10,098 300	258 ...	783 2	18,315 405	1 3	51 78	390 183	8,061 9,280	153 72	28 35	8,094 9,631	...	26,009 25,839 593
1861 { M. ... { F. ... Total ...	308 32	2,941 49	1,847 22	10,699 300	128 ...	631 2	16,612 405	3 1	79 1	185 2	9,442 139	75 3	35 ...	9,819 189	...	26,431 25,441 563
1862 { M. ... { F. ... Total ...	462 15	2,473 44	1,558 27	11,209 333	573 2	480 1	16,756 422	1 ...	37 ...	184 2	8,281 139	50 ...	88 ...	8,641 139	48 3	25,441 563
1863 { M. ... { F. ... Total ...	477 38	2,617 49	1,586 29	11,542 458	575 6	481 ...	17,177 594	1 ...	37 ...	186 8	8,417 168	50 1	88 2	8,779 183	51 48	26,007 28,085 767
1864 { M. ... { F. ... Total ...	620 38	2,636 49	2,388 29	15,400 458	200 6	365 ...	21,028 594	1 ...	60 ...	226 8	6,152 168	191 1	347 2	6,980 183	48 48	28,085 767
Carried over ...	4600	24304	10264	95,418	2318	4520	147424	12	480	1990	81480	948	1000	68908	206	216539

Table No. I.—Continued.

Statement of Criminals convicted in the years 1854 to 1867, showing the nature and length of the sentences passed on them.

YEARS.	CRIMINAL PRISONERS SENTENCED TO RIGOROUS IMPRISONMENT.							CRIMINAL PRISONERS SENTENCED TO SIMPLE IMPRISONMENT.							Sentenced to be executed.	Grand total convicted.
	For life.	For more than 2 years.	For 2 years and above 1 year.	For 1 year and under.	Until security is furnished.	Discharged without security.	Total.	For life.	For more than 2 years.	For 2 years and above 1 year.	For 1 year and under.	Until security is furnished.	Discharged without security.	Total.		
Brought over . .	4000	24304	16261	95,418	2318	4520	147124	12	480	1990	64480	946	1000	68908	208	216539
1863 { M. . .	589	2,361	2,208	16,734	151	122	22,168	7	23	154	5,141	252	452	6,032	36	28,236
{ F. . .	32	52	33	641	...	...	658	1	7	163	...	...	...	171	2	831
Total ..	621	2,416	2,241	17,275	151	122	22,826	7	24	161	5,307	252	452	6,203	38	29,067
1864 { M. . .	418	2,293	2,582	17,723	185	79	23,280	89	112	3,638	255	240	4,343	1	27,024	
{ F. . .	39	45	46	699	2	2	733	2	1	119	2	...	154	...	857	
Total ...	457	2,338	2,628	18,322	187	81	24,013	91	113	3,757	257	240	4,497	1	28,511	
1865 { M. . .	519	3,225	2,684	21,381	135	...	27,944	24	224	3,777	637	...	4,600	59	32,003	
{ F. . .	66	90	71	736	1	...	954	1	19	257	11	...	291	6	1,251	
Total ...	575	3,315	2,755	22,117	136	...	28,898	25	244	4,034	651	...	4,891	65	33,914	
1866 { M. . .	474	4,057	4,469	25,381	94	...	35,075	15	415	3,978	600	...	5,068	43	40,180	
{ F. . .	45	113	110	1,670	6	...	1,944	...	11	246	1	...	255	7	2,209	
Total ...	519	4,770	4,679	27,051	99	...	37,019	15	426	4,224	601	...	5,326	50	42,394	
1867 { M. . .	437	3,455	2,792	20,132	81	...	26,897	11	20	129	2,879	288	...	3,327	8	30,242
{ F. . .	46	103	85	1,073	2	...	1,039	...	...	8	602	1	...	601	...	1,900
Total ...	483	3,558	2,877	21,205	83	...	28,205	11	20	137	3,471	289	...	3,928	8	32,141
Total con- { M. . .	1814	27974	22751	147709	1795	2448	207294	21	405	1998	51022	2557	1198	57204	243	261741
{ F. . .	340	575	458	6,970	20	16	7,378	...	10	75	2,041	26	3	2,155	22	9,555
Total ...	4054	28549	23212	153679	1815	2463	214672	21	415	2073	53063	2583	1201	59359	265	271296

Table No. II.

Statement showing the number of Prisoners released.

YEARS.	ACQUITTED AFTER TRIAL.				RELEASED ON COMPLETION OF SENTENCE.			RELEASED BEFORE EXPIRY OF SENTENCE.			Grand Total.
	By the Magistrate, Assistant of the district.	By the Sessions Judges.	By the High Court.	Total.	On expiry of sentence.	On satisfaction of decrees, &c.	Total.	Under orders of Govt. & under the Jail Rules for exemplary conduct.	On account of sickness.	Total.	
1854-5	}				No	Data.					
1855-6											
1856-7											
1857-8											
1858-9	12,479	1,893	239	14,611	23,514	1,512	25,026	104	113	307	30,974
1859-60	11,300	1,791	159	13,250	18,988	1,411	20,399	124	289	413	37,011
1860	13,913	2,010	181	16,104	19,442	993	20,435	100	127	227	36,708
1861	12,160	2,345	154	14,659	20,287	1,084	21,371	60	70	130	36,160
1862	10,207	2,351	214	12,772	22,095	1,084	23,179	100	88	188	42,863
1863	17,220	1,860	149	19,229	24,304	2,177	26,481	120	208	328	46,047
1864	20,012	2,152	163	22,327	26,722	1,386	28,108	33	30	63	50,507
1865	24,021	1,703	150	25,874	27,725	2,085	29,810	22	10	32	55,336
1866	35,906	2,617	282	38,805	31,800	2,437	34,237	36	44	80	72,922
1867	21,875	2,279	126	24,280	24,442	2,207	26,649	652	12	664	55,083
Total	186,022	20,980	1,821	208,823	243,319	17,980	261,299	1,507	1,039	2,546	473,268

Table No. III.

Showing the Religion of the Prisoners.

YEARS.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Other Native sects.	Christians.	Total.
1854-5	}				
1855-6					
1856-7					
1857-8					
1858-9	31,913	17,781	1,587	2,293	53,483
1859-60	28,733	20,754	2,319	259	52,065
1860	28,281	18,475	2,777	163	49,696
1861	27,746	20,698	1,220	144	49,808
1862	34,821	21,661	1,426	227	57,135
1863	35,701	22,664	928	237	60,528
1864	39,790	21,271	1,535	704	63,300
1865	44,007	23,519	3,022	1,789	72,337
1866	55,143	34,477	4,729	1,271	95,620
1867	36,071	27,013	2,558	707	66,349
Total	362,545	228,727	22,397	7,873	621,542

Table No. IV.
Statement showing the principal Castes of the Hindus.

Years.	Gwallars.	Kyburtoos.	Brahmins.	Kaists.	Rajpoots.	Bhagdees.	Rajwars.	Ahcers.	Domes.	Chundals.	Donsads.	Podes.	Koornis.	Kuhars.	Tanties.	Chumars.
1854-55 ...	2,530	1,590	2,761	1,730	1,751	1,392	533	.....	860	843	1,610	.....	523	464	357	671
1855-56 ...	2,435	1,766	1,699	1,250	1,224	1,206	942	980	1,075	781	2,169	.....	450	278	242	467
1856-57 ...	3,011	2,370	1,653	1,494	1,347	1,253	879	831	768	724	494	452	412	420	371	347
1857-58 ...	3,062	1,763	2,022	1,916	1,220	1,259	872	896	577	963	729	347	541	318	375	913
1858-59 ...	3,922	1,963	2,622	2,216	1,520	1,659	972	866	841	1,063	969	547	718	515	557	612
1859-60 ...	4,601	1,726	3,137	2,539	917	2,826	694	872	712	1,014	463	210	924	712	465	809
1860 ...	3,466	1,864	3,142	2,309	1,462	2,016	600	1,062	768	1,416	1,142	136	694	531	461	1,140
1861 ...	3,160	2,484	4,216	2,501	1,832	1,179	269	1,253	1,087	1,749	2,250	357	161	617	459	938
1862 ...	4,301	3,105	6,047	5,160	2,275	1,524	749	1,522	1,676	1,223	4,259	415	1,429	659	562	706
1863 ...	3,944	2,271	4,349	3,603	2,335	1,271	187	666	970	1,054	2,435	226	194	521	353	799
Total ...	34,512	20,816	31,647	24,719	15,853	15,645	6,697	8,978	9,331	11,530	16,319	2,050	6,051	5,038	4,231	6,705

Table No. V.

Statement showing the Sects of the Muhammadans.

Years.	Sunnis.	Sheeahs.	Sheikhs.	Ferazees.	Syeds.	Moghuls.	Pathans.
1854-55	}		No	Data.			
1855-56							
1856-57							
1857-58							
1858-59	11,280	126	2,115	...	15	166	322
1859-60	12,672	576	5,254	1,278	321	...	657
1860	10,130	372	6,789	907	30	1	206
1861	9,686	270	9,286	1,019	60	5	152
1862	10,570	311	9,672	898	71	11	125
1863	11,010	291	10,200	909	62	12	180
1864	9,254	748	10,525	603	38	...	103
1865	9,171	378	11,726	1,717	31	...	193
1866	11,640	...	18,635	3,960	36	...	206
1867	9,269	562	14,879	2,716	7	...	180
Total	104,985	3,634	99,111	11,037	671	198	2,124

Table No. VI.

Hospital Statistics.—Sickness Rates.

Years.	Daily average or mean population in jail.	Total number sick.	Number of deaths.	Number discharged cured.	Number remaining under treatment on the 31st December.	Total sickness rate per cent.	Death-rate to sickness per cent.	Ratio per cent. of discharged to number treated.	Death-rate per cent. to mean population in jail.
1854	17,786	29,600	1,253	26,108	710	166	4.08	88.20	7.04
1855	18,527	28,439	1,961	25,716	612	153	5.76	90.42	10.58
1856	18,696	29,810	1,761	25,810	718	159	6.11	86.59	9.41
1857	16,784	31,110	2,052	24,816	684	185	6.81	79.76	12.22
1858	19,481	32,120	2,313	25,612	915	165	8.71	79.73	11.87
1859	18,462	27,016	1,910	23,194	812	146	7.83	85.85	10.50
1860	17,288	28,508	2,339	24,753	917	164	8.55	86.82	13.53
1861	16,388	26,386	1,456	20,327	982	161	5.51	77.03	8.88
1862	17,406	30,519	1,306	23,962	989	175	1.27	78.51	7.50
1863	17,957	31,070	1,711	24,612	1,003	172	5.59	79.21	9.52
1864	18,176	30,035	1,122	23,017	855	165	3.73	76.63	6.17
1865	18,812	29,824	1,122	27,082	970	158	3.76	90.80	5.95
1866	22,151	36,379	2,317	27,680	944	161	6.15	76.08	10.59
1867	20,183	27,691	1,187	23,260	813	137	4.28	83.99	5.88
Total	259,127	418,507	23,870	345,949	11,921	162	5.70	82.66	9.24

Table No. VII.
Hospital Statistics.—Death Rates according to Disease.

YEARS.	CHOLERA.				DYSENTERY.				DIARRHŒA.				FEVER.				PHTHISIS.				ALL OTHER DISEASES.			
	Total number sick.	Deaths.	Ratio per cent. of deaths to total number sick.	Ratio per cent. of deaths to mean population in jail.	Total number sick.	Deaths.	Ratio per cent. of deaths to total number sick.	Ratio per cent. of deaths to mean population in jail.	Total number sick.	Deaths.	Ratio per cent. of deaths to total number sick.	Ratio per cent. of deaths to mean population in jail.	Total number sick.	Deaths.	Ratio per cent. of deaths to total number sick.	Ratio per cent. of deaths to mean population in jail.	Total number sick.	Deaths.	Ratio per cent. of deaths to total number sick.	Ratio per cent. of deaths to mean population in jail.	Total number sick.	Deaths.	Ratio per cent. of deaths to total number sick.	Ratio per cent. of deaths to mean population in jail.
1854 ..	426	157	36.98	1.05	4,876	313	6.41	1.76	3,012	60	3.05	.52	9,641	...	...	...	1,480	32	2.19	.18	9,535	658	6.34	3.53
1855 ..	753	344	45.30	1.55	4,811	455	9.51	2.47	3,115	126	4.04	.68	9,319	...	...	...	1,225	29	2.38	.16	9,157	1,035	10.94	5.42
1856 ..	612	374	73.04	2.00	4,781	352	7.93	2.04	3,102	151	5.84	.97	7,112	...	...	...	716	31	4.60	.17	13,557	791	5.82	4.23
1857 ..	622	384	72.37	2.31	5,066	557	10.93	3.32	4,112	258	7.00	1.71	10,118	122	1.20	.73	866	93	10.37	.55	10,288	604	5.93	3.90
1858 ..	715	364	51.15	1.87	5,412	906	15.58	4.65	3,016	356	12.97	2.58	9,307	117	1.19	.60	1,296	106	8.24	.64	11,454	332	2.99	1.73
1859 ..	716	342	47.76	1.55	4,995	697	13.97	3.24	4,112	314	7.63	1.70	6,010	91	1.13	.49	1,955	93	9.02	.51	5,205	801	6.10	1.71
1860 ..	1,360	723	53.32	4.21	5,167	786	15.24	4.54	4,116	272	6.60	1.58	6,601	54	.56	.45	1,125	83	7.53	.49	7,146	385	5.38	2.73
1861 ..	510	182	35.69	1.37	3,294	515	15.63	2.14	3,772	125	3.36	.77	7,596	56	1.09	.53	676	71	10.50	.43	10,106	433	4.32	3.64
1862 ..	806	324	40.24	1.58	4,513	601	12.09	2.65	3,497	238	6.82	1.36	10,155	95	.94	.56	625	66	8.33	.38	10,773	264	2.63	1.64
1863 ..	907	314	34.59	1.33	4,698	376	8.03	2.03	3,656	221	6.05	1.25	13,631	72	.76	.44	1,065	40	3.30	.27	9,604	274	2.94	1.52
1864 ..	607	214	35.29	1.04	4,698	376	8.03	2.03	3,656	221	6.05	1.25	13,631	72	.76	.44	1,065	40	3.30	.27	9,604	274	2.94	1.52
1865 ..	505	204	40.19	1.05	4,814	393	7.50	1.94	3,116	145	4.65	.73	13,164	104	.77	.54	1,065	40	3.30	.27	9,604	274	2.94	1.52
1866 ..	1,544	701	45.40	3.16	4,292	794	15.01	3.61	4,325	235	5.78	1.13	12,066	124	.99	.54	1,118	57	44.30	.28	10,034	420	2.99	1.49
1867 ..	414	179	43.23	.86	3,654	434	12.21	2.15	3,429	116	3.39	.37	10,053	87	.79	.40	230	61	26.52	.30	10,015	317	3.16	1.57
Total...	10,421	4,806	46.13	1.86	61,817	7,736	11.93	2.99	30,384	2,590	5.73	1.12	141,004	445	.74	.41	10,515	896	5.2	.35	141,050	6,480	4.60	2.501

Table No. VIII.

Showing the rate of mortality of each sex.

YEARS.	AVERAGE STRENGTH OF		DEATHS OF		RATIO PER CENT OF DEATHS OF	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1854 ...	17,138	618	1210	13	7.23	2.00
1855 ...	17,939	588	1932	29	10.76	4.93
1856 ...	18,167	529	1712	19	9.58	3.59
1857 ...	16,372	412	2016	6	12.19	1.15
1858 ...	18,763	718	2295	18	12.23	2.50
1859 ...	17,856	606	1891	49	10.59	8.08
1860 ...	16,686	602	2302	37	13.79	6.14
1861 ...	15,881	504	1126	30	8.97	5.95
1862 ...	16,851	555	1288	18	7.64	3.24
1863 ...	17,363	594	1679	32	9.67	5.38
1864 ...	17,532	614	1091	31	6.22	1.71
1865 ...	18,118	721	1091	31	6.02	4.28
1866 ...	21,179	972	2273	74	10.73	7.61
1867 ...	19,288	895	1112	15	5.92	5.02
Total ...	219,136	8,991	23,138	432	9.40	4.80

Table

Showing the rate of mortality

YEARS.	UNDER 20 YEARS.			FROM 20 TO 30.			FROM 30 TO 40.			FROM 40 TO 50.		
	Average number living.	Deaths.	Rate of mortality per cent.	Average number living.	Deaths.	Rate of mortality per cent.	Average number living.	Deaths.	Rate of mortality per cent.	Average number living.	Deaths.	Rate of mortality per cent.
1851	No Data.	37	No Data.	No Data.	196	No Data.	No Data.	649	No Data.	No Data.	409	No Data.
1855												
1856												
1857												
1858												
1859												
1860	689	18	2.61	5,432	234	4.30	4,800	479	9.79	1,741	359	20.62
1861		18										
1862		19										
1863		11										
1864		20										
1865		16										
1866	1,070	16	1.49	3,299	199	5.75	4,971	423	8.50	3,541	232	6.55
1867		36										
1868		13										
1869		13										
1870		13										
1871		13										
Total of 1861-67	7,480	145	1.93	35,223	1,701	4.82	38,122	3,557	9.33	22,313	2,312	10.36

Prison Discipline in Bengal.

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No. IX.

at the undermentioned ages :—

FROM 50 TO 60.			FROM 60 TO 70.			FROM 70 TO 80.			UNDER 80 YEARS			ALL AGES.		
Average number living.	Deaths.	Rate of mortality per cent.	Average number living.	Deaths.	Rate of mortality per cent.	Average number living.	Deaths.	Rate of mortality per cent.	Average number living.	Deaths.	Rate of mortality per cent.	Average number living.	Deaths.	Rate of mortality per cent.
No Data.	363		No Data.	146		No Data.	53		No Data.	18		17,780	1,253	7.04
	270	No Data.		162	No Data.		56			35		18,527	1,061	10.54
359		No Data.	232		No Data.	99			29			18,696	1,701	9.41
249		No Data.	110		No Data.	63			33			16,784	2,052	12.23
302		No Data.	185		No Data.	65			15			19,481	2,313	11.87
1,579	190	12.03	1,230	110	8.94	611	42	6.87	216	24	11.11	18,462	1,940	10.50
1,462	161	11.01	878	82	12.06	176	42	24.00	59	5	8.47	17,244	2,339	13.53
1,798	235	13.07	1,318	127	9.63	616	51	8.29	335	16	4.77	10,388	1,459	8.88
2,053	124	6.03	1,018	59	5.79	403	27	6.69	261	7	2.65	17,406	1,306	7.50
2,540	136	5.35	1,681	88	5.23	1,129	25	2.21	612	12	1.96	17,067	1,711	9.52
2,330	407	14.39	1,306	168	12.03	740	78	10.54	274	23	10.21	18,176	1,122	6.17
1,956	155	8.35	741	94	12.68	312	34	10.89	41	9	21.95	18,942	1,122	5.95
												22,151	2,347	10.59
												20,183	1,187	5.88
14,118	1,408	9.97	8,062	728	9.03	3,084	299	7.50	1,801	101	5.60	1,31,103	10,261	7.81

Table No. X.*Showing the period after confinement at which death occurred.*

YEARS.	6 Months and under.	Above 6 months and up to 1 year.	Above 1 year and up to 2 years.	Above 2 years and up to 5 years.	Above 5 years and up to 10 years.	Above 10 years and up to 20 years.	Above 20 years and up to 30 years.	Above 30 years.	Life-prisoners.	Total.
1854 ...	280	225	301	274	161	12	...	...	...	1,253
1855 ...	730	357	287	378	155	45	...	...	...	1,961
1856 ...	671	294	272	306	75	25	...	...	118	1,761
1857 ...	609	277	303	392	276	101	...	...	94	2,052
1858 ...	1,165	466	256	186	85	15	...	...	140	2,313
1859 ...	660	353	461	256	80	20	...	...	110	1,910
1860 ...	812	479	440	362	125	75	...	...	46	2,339
1861 ...	506	313	293	106	120	76	...	...	42	1,456
1862 ...	486	248	261	206	57	11	...	...	37	1,306
1863 ...	667	383	304	217	82	15	...	...	43	1,711
1864 ...	451	218	207	132	62	7	...	...	15	1,122
1865 ...	552	227	160	109	46	6	...	...	22	1,123
1866 ...	1,130	433	237	149	59	13	4	...	22	2,347
1867 ...	433	293	199	164	63	16	4	...	15	1,187
Total ...	9,461	4,596	3,981	3,237	1,446	437	8	...	704	23,870

Table No. XI.
Showing the rate of mortality classed according to religion.

YEARS.	HINDUS.			MUSLIMANS.			OTHER NATIVE SECTS.			CHRISTIANS.			TOTAL.		
	Average strength.	Deaths.	Rate of mortality per cent.	Average strength.	Deaths.	Rate of mortality per cent.	Average strength.	Deaths.	Rate of mortality per cent.	Average strength.	Deaths.	Rate of mortality per cent.	Average strength.	Deaths.	Rate of mortality per cent.
1854	11,098	594	5.27	6,468	411	6.35	282	35	13.47	17,789	1,253	7.04	17,789	1,253	7.04
1855	11,300	1,151	10.15	6,890	435	6.35	705	155	25.55	19,327	1,981	10.53	19,327	1,981	10.53
1856	11,205	1,151	10.15	6,820	431	6.45	711	127	15.65	18,966	1,791	9.41	18,966	1,791	9.41
1857	9,847	1,345	15.63	7,118	567	7.96	721	140	19.41	16,754	2,052	12.23	16,754	2,052	12.23
1858	9,847	1,345	15.63	7,118	567	7.96	721	140	19.41	16,754	2,052	12.23	16,754	2,052	12.23
1859	9,847	1,214	13.49	5,643	565	6.55	690	131	21.15	14,551	1,777	11.97	14,551	1,777	11.97
1860	9,847	1,306	13.49	5,643	565	6.55	690	131	21.15	14,551	1,777	11.97	14,551	1,777	11.97
1861	8,871	1,306	17.07	7,512	562	7.41	261	261	37.25	17,352	1,849	10.73	17,352	1,849	10.73
1862	8,871	1,306	17.07	7,512	562	7.41	261	261	37.25	17,352	1,849	10.73	17,352	1,849	10.73
1863	10,612	871	11.21	6,214	416	6.69	1,386	35	4.66	18,333	4	3.90	18,333	4	3.90
1864	10,612	759	7.55	6,873	451	6.99	438	35	7.99	17,946	1,896	10.53	17,946	1,896	10.53
1865	10,612	759	7.55	6,873	451	6.99	438	35	7.99	17,946	1,896	10.53	17,946	1,896	10.53
1866	10,612	854	10.07	6,944	520	7.49	295	24	8.46	17,957	1,711	9.53	17,957	1,711	9.53
1867	10,612	854	10.07	6,944	520	7.49	295	24	8.46	17,957	1,711	9.53	17,957	1,711	9.53
1868	10,612	1,152	14.07	6,944	412	5.99	373	19	5.49	19,176	1,122	6.17	19,176	1,122	6.17
1869	10,612	1,152	14.07	6,944	412	5.99	373	19	5.49	19,176	1,122	6.17	19,176	1,122	6.17
1870	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1871	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1872	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1873	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1874	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1875	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1876	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1877	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1878	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1879	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1880	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1881	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1882	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1883	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1884	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1885	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1886	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1887	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1888	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1889	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1890	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1891	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1892	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1893	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1894	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1895	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1896	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1897	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1898	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1899	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
1900	13,374	1,712	14.07	6,944	340	6.34	632	36	6.52	22,131	1,142	5.95	22,131	1,142	5.95
Total	150,309	15,865	10.55	95,906	6,457	6.72	10,168	1,456	14.61	255,127	23,570	9.24	255,127	23,570	9.24

Table No. XII.

Showing the death rates of 1867 as compared with those of the preceding thirteen years arranged in the order of the healthiness of the Prisons in the Lower Provinces.

MORTALITY IN 1867.				AVERAGE MORTALITY DURING THE 13 PRECEDING YEARS 1854 TO 1866.				DIFFERENCE BE- TWEEN 1867 AND THE PRECEDING 13 YEARS.			
DEATHS FROM		RATIO PER CENT. OF DEATHS.		Daily average strength of mean population in Jail.	DEATHS FROM		RATIO PER CENT. OF DEATHS.		In ratio of mortality by cholera.	In ratio of mortality by ordinary diseases.	In Total.
Cholera.	Ordinary diseases.	Total.	By Cholera.		By ordinary diseases.	Total.	Cholera.	Ordinary diseases.			
Alipore (European) ...	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hazareebaugh (Europ. Pnty.)	38	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pakour ...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gadgaon ...	41	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Doonga ...	27	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Poona ...	142	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Balasore ...	206	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chumpanun ...	212	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nudda ...	412	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bancoorah ...	557	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rajmehal ...	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Khasiab Hills ...	44	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tipperah ...	563	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Midnapore ...	345	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hazareebaugh (District Jail)	213	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hoerbhanga ...	165	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Noakhally ...	218	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Presidency (Natives) ...	933	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

	407	13	13	...	319	319	4,555	17	160	177	35	392	352	133D
Farrakpore ...	...	...	...	...	319	319	4,555	17	160	177	35	392	352	133D
Dacca ...	462	15	15	...	324	324	7,289	62	300	363	63	432	383	133D
Durgam ...	183	6	6	...	327	327	2,389	3	94	97	13	420	433	133D
Gya ...	395	14	14	...	354	354	6,716	92	776	868	138	1157	1245	803D
Gowalparah ...	132	5	5	...	378	378	1,928	85	201	256	41	1043	1184	803D
Sylhet ...	128	14	14	...	398	398	1,808	4	98	100	22	530	552	117D
Bogra ...	382	6	6	...	390	390	1,808	4	98	100	22	530	552	117D
Chittagong ...	240	9	9	...	391	391	3,942	12	474	186	30	411	471	50D
Shahabad ...	411	3	3	...	404	404	6,883	203	422	634	183	757	940	30D
Burdwan ...	424	18	18	...	414	414	6,883	81	459	540	117	716	833	30D
Hugli ...	424	18	18	...	414	414	6,883	81	459	540	117	716	833	30D
Manikpur ...	654	24	24	...	433	433	8,258	293	938	1,222	356	1029	1338	280D
Bhaugulpore ...	328	11	11	...	447	447	3,184	63	240	253	163	628	791	163D
Nya Doonka ...	20	1	1	...	500	500	5,243	405	651	856	773	1051	1523	620D
Jessore ...	672	33	33	...	520	520	7,469	61	224	288	58	299	385	57D
Hazarebaugh (Central Jail)	213	35	35	...	544	544	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rajshahye ...	678	2	2	...	552	552	6,721	184	431	605	273	716	989	238D
Barun ...	353	1	1	...	558	558	5,635	124	458	580	219	810	1029	191D
Porree ...	154	10	10	...	574	574	1,241	36	117	133	240	942	1332	290D
Munichy (European)	414	17	17	...	598	598	6,334	20	93	141	269	1377	1677	130D
Alipore (Natives)	2,453	26	26	...	607	607	20,921	270	933	1,432	324	1029	1332	37D
Moorshedabad ...	238	15	15	...	625	625	21,423	134	1,273	1,492	251	921	1291	281D
Tirhoot ...	324	6	6	...	645	645	5,774	139	425	555	225	36	961	40D
Debrooghur ...	89	11	11	...	674	674	1,198	27	57	114	227	732	959	237D
Singboom ...	155	...	...	...	709	709	2,042	95	203	298	465	934	1459	465D
Kowkong ...	180	17	17	...	752	752	1,011	13	42	55	129	415	644	129D
Melgaon ...	180	17	17	...	752	752	1,011	13	42	55	129	415	644	129D
Duckergunge ...	447	35	35	...	84	84	6,060	168	37	82	65	473	1143	155D
Dinapore ...	404	37	37	...	915	915	9,407	729	977	1,293	184	1139	1393	139D
Meetaore ...	685	25	25	...	929	929	4,557	147	443	580	320	966	1296	299D
Cuttack ...	689	1	1	...	1000	1000	5,68	5	53	68	58	899	975	305D
Darjeeling ...	129	1	1	...	1000	1000	1,496	10	136	148	60	909	975	101D
Kowrah ...	357	43	43	...	1176	1176	5,240	23	700	723	44	1335	1379	111D
Rangpoore ...	212	16	16	...	1367	1367	5,512	153	145	185	363	575	858	344D
Rachat ...	89	29	29	...	1463	1463	2,139	184	272	316	573	1165	1454	392D
Deegah ...	349	26	26	...	1594	1594	1,413	164	272	316	573	1165	1454	392D
Purneah ...	849	43	43	...	1599	1599	5,313	254	447	701	479	941	1319	754D
Total	20,183	179	1,008	1,157	89	499	5,98	2,59,127	4,809	23,870	186	738	924	238D

I indicates increase, D indicates decrease.

Table

Showing the Gross and Net Cost of the Prisoners in the Jails

YEARS.	Average number of prisoners maintained.	GROSS COST OF			
		Cost of Food, Clothing, Ward and executive Establishments, Hospital charges, &c.	Cost of Civil Constabulary Guards.	Cost of Public Works executed by the Public Works Department.	Cost of General Superintendence.
		Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
1851-55 ...	17,808	6,61,572 7 9½	.....	8,819 4 5½	33,034 7 0
1855-56 ...	19,102	7,83,400 3 9½	.....	31,529 0 5	35,343 13 8
1856-57 ...	19,151	7,83,915 0 1½	....	30,744 0 9½	30,252 6 4
1857-58 ...	18,690	8,03,180 15 8½	.....	25,095 9 10½	38,853 9 3½
1858-59 ...	20,282	8,83,919 9 3½	.....	34,952 6 10	41,214 0 3
1859-60 ...	19,003	7,95,109 11 7¼	.....	41,207 6 0	39,355 10 8
1860-61 ...	17,001	6,62,165 0 6½	.....	34,143 9 3	38,065 12 0
1861-62 ...	16,598	5,54,832 0 2½	.....	45,220 14 6	35,543 5 3
1862-63 ...	17,761	5,72,937 4 11½	43,879 11 1	1,11,357 13 8	39,710 13 3½
1863-64 ...	18,180	5,66,510 1 11½	1,41,865 7 5	2,02,610 4 0	43,724 10 0
1864-65 ...	17,961	6,08,969 11 9	1,50,830 11 3	1,47,405 0 0	47,308 0 10
1865-66 ...	18,803	9,00,346 15 7	1,61,133 5 5	1,92,602 0 0	40,397 1 0
1866-67 ..	22,704	8,60,529 11 9	1,38,715 1 6	1,67,278 0 0	13,766 4 7
1867 ...	20,183	10,45,308 13 8	2,26,787 3 9	2,02,173 0 0	42,248 9 9
Total	263,427	10,672,607 14 9½	8,69,311 8 5	12,84,438 15 6½	5,28,718 10 3½

No. XIII.

of the Lower Provinces from 1851-55 to 1867 inclusive.

MAINTENANCE.		Deduct income of the Jails from all sources.	Net cost of maintenance.	Average net cost of maintenance
Total gross cost.	Average gross cost per prisoner.			
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
7,03,426 3 9	39 8 1-0	82,165 10 2	6,21,260 9 7	34 14 2 2
8,50,282 10 10½	44 8 2-1	92,122 6 7	7,58,160 4 3½	39 11 0 1
8,62,912 0 2½	45 0 11-2	1,31,652 14 3½	7,31,259 1 11	38 2 11 3
8,67,130 3 3½	45 14 5 6	1,19,678 10 2½	7,17,451 9 1½	37 15 8 2
9,00,086 0 4½	47 5 4-6	1,51,401 7 10½	8,08,684 8 5½	39 13 11 4
8,75,072 12 3½	46 1 3 5	2,08,331 15 11½	6,67,340 12 4	35 1 10 5
7,35,574 6 6½	43 4 3 1	3,80,114 5 7	3,55,460 0 11½	20 14 6 3
6,35,506 12 11½	38 4 8-3	4,47,180 5 10½	1,88,406 7 1½	11 5 7-4
7,07,885 11 0½	43 3 9 0	8,64,662 3 3½	4,03,223 7 8½	22 11 2 9
9,54,710 8 10½	52 8 2-7	4,52,089 2 10½	5,02,622 6 0½	27 15 8 9
10,50,513 7 10	58 7 9 8	3,41,750 0 9½	7,08,763 7 3½	39 7 4 5
12,94,479 6 0	68 13 6-1	3,52,178 4 9½	9,42,301 1 3	50 1 1 0
11,80,289 1 10	51 15 9-3	2,58,551 8 10	9,21,737 9 0	40 9 6 8
15,16,417 11 2	75 2 1-6	4,40,800 6 2½	10,75,617 4 11½	53 4 8-3
13,254,977 1 0½	50 5 0-9	3,852,6-8 7 3½	9,402,289 9 9½	35 11 0 1

Table No. XIV.

Showing State of Education of the Prisoners on admission into Jail.

YEARS.	FAIRLY EDUCATED FOR THEIR POSITION IN LIFE.				ABLE TO READ AND WRITE.				ENTIRELY UNEDUCATED.				Whole number committed to Jail in each year.
	NUMBER.			Proportion to whole number committed to Jail.	NUMBER.			Proportion to whole number committed to Jail.	NUMBER.			Proportion to whole number committed to Jail.	
	Males.	Females.	Total.		Males.	Females.	Total.		Males.	Females.	Total.		
1854	}												
1855													
1856								No data.					
1857													
1858* ...	587	...	587	2 12	2,916	8	2,951	10.69	23,815	281	21,099	87.19	27,610
1859 ...	814	...	814	1.56	2,643	1	2,614	5.08	47,258	1,352	48,610	93.36	52,008
1860 ...	872	6	877	1.76	3,268	1	3,269	6.54	41,252	1,298	45,550	91.66	49,696
1861 ...	573	...	573	1.18	3,089	5	3,091	6.36	43,709	1,250	44,959	92.16	48,626
1862 ...	688	...	688	1.18	3,060	5	3,065	6.31	51,980	1,802	53,782	92.51	58,135
1863 ...	575	1	576	.97	3,683	6	3,689	6.19	53,310	1,961	55,271	92.84	59,596
1864 ...	742	1	743	1.17	4,271	4	4,275	6.75	56,023	2,319	58,342	92.08	63,360
1865 ..	301	...	391	.53	5,676	11	5,687	7.84	63,391	3,148	66,539	91.63	72,617
1866 ..	324	..	324	.34	5,367	17	5,384	5.61	85,075	5,168	90,243	94.05	95,951
1867 ...	154	...	154	.23	5,094	56	5,150	7.68	58,061	3,672	61,733	92.00	67,917
Total ...	5,720	7	5,727	.06	39,607	114	39,811	6.70	526,874	22,254	549,128	92.34	594,068

* From October of this year.

2.—*The Muhammadan Law of Marriage and Dower.* By MOULVI
ABDOOL LUTEEF KHAN BAHADOOR.

[Read on the 19th January, 1869.]

AFTER the labours of European Orientalists and Anglo-Indian jurists, it is not to be expected that I should be able to add anything new on this subject. The Muhammadan law, so far as it is prevalent in British India, is accessible to the English student in various translations and compilations and judicial decisions. Legal literature in Arabic, indeed, is vast, and in its juridical part fully worthy of the just renown of the language; and though almost the whole is deeply interesting to Muhammadans, as partakers of a faith and members of a church as well as members of society, a part only relates to purely secular concerns; and of this part, only a fraction is recognized and is recognizable in British India, and this fraction, I must confess, is very well represented in English. Therefore, though I was the most strenuous opposer, on other grounds, of the abolition of the office of the Muhammadan law officer of the British courts, and although one of the evil effects I predicted seems to have been realized, I have, on the whole, no reason to fear for the administration of the Muhammadan law, if judges be studious enough. The Social Science Association is not, I take it, the theatre for the introduction to the world of discoveries in any of the many branches of knowledge which are claimed by social science. I could not promise much to the learned or the legal profession; the general public know little of Muhammadan law, while it is needless for me to recommend to them the consideration of the subject, or to press upon them its importance.

In most countries, marriage is a civil contract. It is, however, everywhere considered as something more than an ordinary contract. Every nation, which possesses civilization enough to have the marriage institution, recognizes its solemnity by striving to give the contract the force and dignity of a religious ceremony, and some even completely merge its civil in its religious character. Thus, Englishmen repair to a church to be married, pass through a distinct form, and, except within the last thirty or forty years, the interference of a priest was necessary to the legal validity of a marriage. So among all Protestant Christians in Europe, America, and Australia, while the law protects the minority who desire to marry, but have not religion enough formally to seek

God's blessing on their union, or who, born Christians, have ceased to be such from conviction, the practice of the great majority is to sanctify their conjugal contract by the interference of a priest. Among the Romans, also, marriage was a civil contract; but it was likewise their custom to solemnize it under the auspices of their gods; and when the religion of the empire became Christianity, the Trinity replaced the gods in the marriage ceremony. It is the same among the Jews. The Hindus and Roman Catholics and Greek Christians alone, but more specially the two latter, seem to regard marriage altogether as a religious institution. Among these latter, marriage is a sacrament, and therefore indissoluble. Among the former it is a conveyance, and of the nature of a sacrament, and equally indissoluble. It was after long years of hesitation and deliberation that the Roman Catholic church decided to make the marriage contract irrevocable by giving it a sacramental character, but it remained in its origin and general character still a contract; and the perfectly secular character of marriage breaks out in those provisions of the Hindu law which dissolve it in case of incurable loathsome disease or continual absence, &c., of either of the parties. The Muhammadans are therefore in good company, in having their marriage a purely civil contract. The Muhammadan marriage often, indeed, is solemnized by a Kazee or Moulvi, and with the recitation of verses from the Koran, but our law does not prescribe any service peculiar to the occasion, or at all, or the interference of any priest; and, indeed, the various ways in which men may be married, and the various circumstances in which marriage will be presumed, make its non-religious character clear. The universal theory of marriage is, that a man and a woman agree to become husband and wife, though in some countries the consent of the parents is necessary to ratify the agreement of the parties. Among the Hindus alone this seems to be different. The theory of the Hindu marriage utterly ignores the choice, or even the consent of the bride, but recognizes the choice of the bridegroom. He and the father or guardian of the bride are the parties to the contract, or rather to the gift—the bride being the subject of the contract, indeed the gift itself. The bride is irrevocably given as a present to the bridegroom, who accepts her as such. The ancient Hindu law, however, was more liberal, or rather, I should say, lax; for it not only recognized marriages of choice and love, but even legalized the forcible seizure of women, whether in war or otherwise. The theory which universally rules in the ceremony of the modern marriage is, as before observed, that of the father or guardian's gift of the daughter or

ward to the bridegroom. In point of fact, except where the bridegroom has come of age, neither bride nor bridegroom contracts the union, but the guardians of both lead them to the altar, and they are married, too early to exercise any choice, even if custom or the law allowed it. It is much better among us. The parents of young men and girls, especially in the genteel classes, often contract the marriage; but the marriage takes place at a more suitable age, when the parties may, and sometimes do, express their dissent, by overcoming a little delicacy. The theory is even better than the practice; it allows the most perfect freedom of choice of the parties, and recognizes no intervention of guardians. Beyond India, where marriages are generally, except among the highest class, contracted at a mature age, and the ladies are bolder in their manners, this freedom of choice is a fact. I fear long residence among Hindus has, in India, reduced this freedom, by a tendency to imitate the Hindu customs of guardians usurping the power of the bride and bridegroom to contract marriage, and of early marriage.

I find among mankind a vacillation between rendering marriage a merely civil contract and a religious institution. It may be considered in either way; each view of marriage is practicable; each has its distinct consequences on married life and society; each, I believe, its good and bad. Marriage, as a religious institution, is an unalterable compact; as a civil contract, it admits of dissolution by default of either party, or of both. There is a disinclination to render absolute a union possibly made in haste, or incompatible, and always exposed to the influence of events; at the same time, the impolicy of fostering a spirit of restlessness and dissatisfaction with a union, which can yield happiness only by mutual accommodation, is manifest. A guarantee as the civil character of marriage is of domestic felicity, unless the civil character is kept under jealous check and subordinated to religion, there is great risk of social demoralization. The civil character should not, indeed, be too liberal, nor the religious character too exclusive. The instinct of mankind has generally led them to combine both views of marriage, recognizing it as a civil contract, but sanctifying it by the sanction of religion and placing it under its noble discipline. As a civil union, it admits of dissolution; as a religious union, it discourages wanton separation. On the whole, it seems to me that the former respects human liberty, allows chances, in short, promotes individual felicity; the latter breeds ascetism, and conduces to misery. Muhammadans are to be congratulated that marriage among them partakes so largely of a civil contract.

The Muhammadan marriage institution represents the mean between two opposite views of the mutual relations of the sexes. The one view is that of primitive female degradation, the other of the perfect equality of woman and man. In the Muhammadan medium, man appears neither as the task-master of woman nor her equal, but rather as her protector, bound to show her every fairness. A wife has her rights, and more respect, perhaps, is paid to them by the law than even to those of the husband. Her consent, as I have before observed, is required to marriage. If the lady has arrived at puberty and is sane, her consent is essential. In fact, such a woman can dispose of herself according to her choice in any way she likes, and her guardians or parents have no right of interference. So strongly is this freedom of choice upheld by the law, that even among certain small sects, who deny woman's capacity to give herself in marriage, if any woman should marry herself against the wishes of her parents to any one, either of her own tribe or any other, the union would be deemed valid. Not even a king can give his daughter in marriage without her consent.

It may be as well to mention the manner in which marriage is contracted among Muhammadans. The lady expresses her consent to a proposition for marriage with the bridegroom selected by herself or her guardians, and empowers an agent, in the presence of witnesses, to convey her consent to the bridegroom. The announcement of her consent and the acceptance of the bridegroom—all before the *Kazee* and witnesses—constitutes the marriage. In accordance with the seclusion of women in the East, the agent and witnesses to the lady's consent are generally her near relatives permitted to see her. The agent need not see her, but it is sufficient that witnesses who see her satisfy him that she expressly or impliedly consents to the proposition of which he is the bearer, and empowers him to convey her consent to the bridegroom in the presence of the *Kazee* and witnesses. The law respects the modesty of the sex, and allows the expression of consent on the part of the lady by indirect ways, even without words. With a virgin, silence, for instance, is taken as consent, and so is a smile and a laugh, not evidently indicative of sneer or jest. Nay, with the same perfect knowledge of human nature, the law understands the shedding of tears at the proposal of marriage as consent; but if the tears are accompanied by sounds, by sobs and cries, consent is not implied. In case of an adult virgin denying her having given consent, verbal or implied, to any marriage, the *onus* of proof of such consent lies upon the husband; and the great jurist, Imam Abou Huneefa, would not

put her upon her oath for denial. The consent of others than virgins must, in all cases, be pronounced in so many words. It will be seen that the liberty of choice of women is very well secured. There are two things which seem to curtail this liberty, namely, the power of guardians to contract the marriage of minors without their consent, and the necessary agency of guardians and friends even in the marriage of adults. But in the case of the marriage of a girl in her minority, she has the right to repudiate the marriage immediately on reaching her majority.

I have said that marriage, as a civil institution, respects human liberty, and takes into consideration human thoughtlessness, and, altogether, promotes human happiness. As if to ensure human happiness by a constant guarantee of its civil character, the Muhammadian marriage contract implies a consideration. This is the *dower*. Wherever marriage is a civil institution, it is generally regarded as a contract, and a contract implies at least two contracting parties, a thing contracted for, and a consideration. Among most people of other creeds, the parties being the husband and wife, the thing contracted for is the living as husband and wife, and the consideration is, I suppose, the hope of mutual happiness. Of course, the tacit nature of this understanding, perhaps, respects what is called decency among nations, who are scrupulous and nice in the use of language, but the Muhammadian law does not allow such squeamish delicacy in matters of such solemn import. It is almost rude in its anxiety to establish above doubt the civil character of marriage, by making it even more than a contract—a bargain. It represents the woman as surrendering herself to the man for a money-payment—the *dower*. This theory need not imply more material ideas than any other civil theory of the union, and, *practically*, the Muhammadans are behind no nation which marries civilly, with or without the intervention of the priest, in the reverence with which they ordinarily regard wedlock. Nor does the theory preclude marriages of love, those even of the noblest affection, though such are necessarily rare owing to manners; it only defines the rights of each party to prevent future confusion. Still Muhammadian lawyers have felt the apparent coarseness of the theory, and the danger of encouraging coarseness of thought on the subject, although that coarseness is a necessary consequence of regarding marriage as a contract at all, and have softened it. The *Hidayah*, for instance, says that dower is an *effect* of the contract, ordained on the husband by the law as a mark of respect for the subject of the contract—the wife.

The dower is a peculiarity of the Muhammadan law alone. What is called dower in English law is a wholly different thing, being the portion which a widow has of the lauds and tenements of her husband at his decease, namely, a third part of them. Even this has been virtually done away with in England by the Dower Act, which has left the right completely at the mercy of the husband, who may bar his wife's dower by disposing of his property in his lifetime, or by a clause in his will disallowing the dower, or by a declaration in the deed of conveyance to him. The custom, however, is very ancient; and, whatever the reasons among modern nations to disregard it, it is extremely useful in oriental society in the form in which the Muhammadan law ordains it, as daily observation shews. The ancient Jews, and, I believe, also their modern descendants, have the dower as a part of marriage; but the dower among them is the right of the parents or guardians, the price paid to them for acquiring the right to marry the bride, which does not benefit her at all, but rather the contrary, making her husband the poorer by that amount. By the Muhammadan law, the dower is the wife's absolutely. This is an important difference. In order to shew fully the effect of the dower on the condition of the wife, it is necessary to mention certain peculiarities of it and its operation.

The dower is so essential to marriage, that if the contract should not specify it, the law will presume it, and award it whenever the wife makes her demand. In such cases, the amount of the award will be according to the amount of the dowers of women of her rank, and of the ladies of her father's family. Special beauty or accomplishments may be pleaded for recovering a larger award than the customary dower, where the amount of dower is not mentioned in the contract. There is no limit either in law or in practice to the amount of dower, but the minimum among Huneefite Soonnees is ten *dirhems* or pieces of silver. So early as 1801, the late Sudder Court, in the case of *Gholam Hussun Ali v. Zynub Beebee*, recognized a dower of three hundred thousand gold mohurs, and in another case a dower of 1,14,000 rupees and 355 gold mohurs. There are innumerable little provisions by which the Muhammadan law guards with jealousy the integrity of the dower. The dower need not be in any currency, or even in metal. Everything except carrion and blood, and wine and hog—the former two not being recognized as property, and the latter having no legal value,—and the profits of lauds, cattle, &c., and those of the labor of slaves, artizans, &c., may be given in dower; but a man's own labor will not be upheld by law as a good dower, though the service of his

slave will. Instruction in religion by the husband, mentioned in the contract as dower, will not be reckoned as valid, nor anything non-existent at the time of the contract, as the gains of a slave, or the produce of a tree or land, or an unborn lamb; nor the convenience of the wife to be allowed to remain in her native town; nor the waiving by the husband of his right to marry other women during her lifetime; nor the condition of the husband repudiating his former wife in order to marry her; nor that of performing pilgrimage to Mecca with her; nor that of postponing a debt which she owed him. In all such cases, the law will presume the absence of specification of dower, and decree the proper or customary dower. The sanctity of the dower, and the wife's absolute and indefeasible right to it, are still more distinctly shewn in the dower being quite unaffected by what is called among Hindus *paribhato* marriage, or marriage of exchange, by which one man gives his daughter or other female member of his family in marriage to another man in return for the latter giving him or his son a daughter to marry. Such marriages, in which the dowers on both sides mutually cancelled each other, prevailed in Arabia before the coming of the Prophet; but he discountenanced them altogether. Although such marriage will remain valid, the right of each woman to her proper dower will also be maintained. A woman can, of course, make a gift of her dower to her husband, or receive anything in exchange for it, though her father cannot do the same for her.

Dower is *generally* divided into two parts, one exigible on entering into the contract, and the other after the dissolution of the marriage, by death or any other cause. It is this first part which exercises the greatest, and, I believe, a salutary influence on Muhammadan society. It becomes due at the time the contract is made, and although it is sometimes paid *then*, the practice is to leave it unpaid, like the other part which becomes due on the dissolution of the marriage. The right of the wife is not extinguished by lapse, but remains due at all times. It is a kind of on-demand obligation, to be performed at once whenever the wife should wish it. It may be imagined that this is a very inconvenient obligation, considering also that the amounts are generally excessive, and frequently in this country, specially among the higher classes, beyond the means of the husband. But it is in its inconvenience that its corrective influence lies. Wives, indeed, purposely leave the exigible part of the dower unrealized, that there may always exist a valid guarantee for their good treatment by their husbands. In India and some other countries, the exigible portion of the dower is fixed at one-half of the entire

dower. Many guardians would object to give their daughters in marriage, and most women would be afraid to marry, if the husband were to pay down the exigible portion before the marriage. Of course, husbands may pay beforehand, and hence to discourage such pre-payment or prompt payment, the universal custom is to specify heavy dower in the marriage agreement. Marriage itself would be utterly discouraged, if it were necessary to pay previously the half of the specified dower. So Muhammadans marry without paying it, but ever carry the burden of the liability to pay it on demand. It is only mercenary women who marry on pre-payment. The women of the respectable classes reserve their right to demand their exigible dower whenever occasion should call forth the exercise of that power.

The most beneficial social and moral function of the law of dower, and the custom of heavy dowers, especially in India, is the check they impose on bad treatment, and, above all, on frivolous or wrongful or causeless divorce: they are the natural complement to the rational compensation for the power of the husband everywhere to ill-treat the wife, and of the husband in Moslem countries in the Muhammadan law of divorce. The temptation to ill-treat the wife is nowhere wanting; and among us specially, the law gives the most unbounded power to the husband to divorce his wife. But the law enjoins the dower as an essential of marriage, and custom exacts from the husband compliance with a heavy dower, which is not intended to be paid beforehand, the payment of which would not be acceptable to the bride and her friends, the amount of which would be *doubled* if they thought he was in a position to pay it without the greatest difficulty, or at all; and as if to provide for cases of minor ill-treatment, as well as for those of frivolous divorce, the law makes a part of the dower, nearly a half, payable on demand, and the remainder, or the whole of it, if, the first part has not been paid, payable on dissolution of marriage, by death or divorce. I hope European lawyers and sociologists, who pay reverence exclusively to the Romans for their triumphs in legislation, will remark the beauty of this arrangement. I believe human ingenuity never devised a more successful method for ensuring good treatment for the wife, and preventing frivolous divorce. The law allows the husband to divorce on the slightest, or on no cause. A whim may unmake a wife deliberately chosen. There are many and minute provisions which allow time and opportunity for reconsideration, by which the whim may be arrested; but they would not be enough, when a husband can reject his wife, without being obliged to offer an explanation, not only by his

expression of rejection, but also by a hundred ways of implication of the same. The only practical check on the exercise of this despotic privilege is administered by the law of dower, and the custom of heavy dower. When the husband has agreed to a dower, generally much above his means, and when nearly a half of it must be paid immediately on the demand of the wife, there is every guarantee of his good behaviour towards her; and when the remainder or the whole must be paid as soon as there is a divorce, he has virtually sold his right to divorce. I think it was the abuse of the husband's privilege of divorce which led the Muhammadans in India to devise, as a safety for society and the home, the custom of selling the husband as it were previously, by the heavy dowry he agrees to pay his wife.

An interesting discussion followed the reading of this paper.

DR. CHUCKERBUTTY enquired if there was any remedy in the case of the wife eloping after she had been paid a heavy dower. Was there any provision against her running away or requiring the refund of the dower in such case?

BABU SHAMACHURN SIRCAR explained that the custom of dower was still prevalent in Hindu law. Among the eight forms of marriage, that by seizure was condemned from the very first; and in the *Kalinyaka* had been totally abrogated. The gift of dower is ordained in marriage, be that of any form. Thus *Jagnyalkya*: "The father, mother, husband, and other relatives on both sides should honor the damsel at her marriage with ornaments, apparel, and gifts of money."

BABU CHUNDER NATH BOSE said that the best thanks of the Association were due to the lecturer for the paper with which he had favoured them. It seemed to him that so little was known to the public of the social life of the Muhammadans of Bengal, that almost every fact noticed by the lecturer had a peculiar value in the estimation of the Association, considering that the Muhammadans were once the sovereigns of India, and are still an important portion of the general community. He did not, however, think that all the statements made by the lecturer regarding Hindu marriages were quite correct, and he pointed out the great importance of distinguishing between the theory of Hindu marriage and the practice which is observed with reference to it. The latter had greatly deviated from the former, and the deviations had been old and general enough to render them legally valid. Hindu bridegrooms now enjoyed great liberty in the selection of their brides. Nor was it quite correct to say that the Hindu law *prohibited* liberty of choice, for such an assertion seemed to him (the speaker) to imply a condemnation of the Hindu law, when in fact no blame could attach to that law, considering that the absence of the liberty of choice was owing not so much to any cruel or tyrannical injunction of the *Shastras* as to the custom of early marriage, which was calculated to make the exercise of this liberty productive of more evil than good. He could not, moreover, agree with the lecturer in thinking that the practice of postponing the payment of the *exigible* dower till some undefined time after the marriage was productive of any material social good. On the contrary, he thought that it would be better if that payment were exacted

precisely at the time of marriage, for, in that case, many a reckless and improvident marriage might be prevented and much social misery consequently removed.

DR. CHUCKERBUTTY put the case of a separation between husband and wife, and enquired who would be bound to support the children (if any), supposing the husband to have been impoverished by the payment of the dower.

MOULVI ABDOL LUTEEF said that the maintenance of the wife and children of a Muhammadan had nothing to do with the question of dower.

MR. BEVERLEY feared that he was trespassing away from the subject before the meeting, but he should wish to be informed if there was any system of registration of Muhammadan marriages in force now since the abolition of the Government Kazees. When in Chittagong some months previous, he had heard a wish expressed by Muhammadan gentlemen there, that some system should be introduced by the Government, at any rate to the extent of a recognition of the Kazees, and the deposit of the registers in some central office in each district.

MOULVI ABDOL LUTEEF replied as follows:—

"I am very glad that our learned Secretary has put a question as to the effect of the abolition of the posts of Kazees, or Registrars of Muhammadan Marriages, throughout India; for it gives me an opportunity of expressing my views and experience on a subject in which I have taken a very great interest, and which it was my intention to allude to at the end of the paper which I have just read, but I was unable to do so for want of leisure. When the subject of the abolition of the post of Kazees was under the consideration of the Government of India, about eight or nine years ago, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir John Peter Grant, did me the honor to ask my humble opinion as to the probable consequences that would ensue in Muhammadan society from such a step. And I furnished him with a paper, containing an account of the duties of a Kazees, in connection with the contracting and registering of Muhammadan marriages, and recommending that the Kazees should be continued in their posts only for the purpose of registering Muhammadan marriages, which being contracts of a purely civil nature, the registration of them was entirely a secular duty, and not at all a religious one, to which alone exception had been taken by Government and Government officials. Sir John approved of my suggestions, was in favor of retaining the Kazees simply as Registrars of Muhammadan Marriages, and recommended accordingly to the Government of India. But the Legislature decided otherwise, and at once abolished the posts of all the Kazees throughout the country. The effects of this measure began, at no distant date, to tell on Muhammadan society, and the matter reached so far, that Sir John Grant's successor, Sir Cecil Beadon, was induced to permit one of the Members of his Council, the late Moulvi Syed Azimooddeen Hussain Khan, to introduce a Bill in the Bengal Council for the appointment of Registrars for the registration of Muhammadan marriages. And that gentleman did introduce a Bill to that effect; but as he made a serious mistake in proposing that the registration of *all* Muhammadan marriages should be made compulsory, and in including several other provisions of an objectionable nature, he experienced such a strong opposition from the other Members of Council, at one of the preliminary stages, that he was compelled to withdraw it altogether. The crudeness of that Bill and its not undeserved fate prejudiced the entire question, and it is not surprising that since that time it has not attracted the attention of the authorities or of the

general public. At the same time, the Muhammadans, while they feel the evil, have become less hopeful of a legislative remedy. But the evil is a real one, and not only remediable by the Legislature, but I am humbly of opinion that it ought to be removed by legislation.

"As far as the higher and a portion of the middle classes are concerned, the want of a *Kazee* is not felt at all, as in marriages of these people almost invariably a *Kabeennamah*, or Deed of Dower, is drawn out and executed by the husband in favor of the wife: and the friends of the latter take care to have it duly registered by the ordinary Registrars of Assurances. But amongst the lower classes and a part of the middle class of Muhammadans, where a Deed of Dower is not, as a rule, written out and executed at the time of marriage, there remains no record whatever of the contracting of the marriage, the date, the amount of dower, and so forth. In former times, the parties to all such marriages, of their own free will, and at their own expense, had their marriages registered in the *Kazee's* registers, and these registers used to be annually filed in the Courts of the *Zillah Judges*, and there preserved. And whenever disputes occurred amongst the contracting parties themselves, or amongst their children or heirs, as to the fact or date of marriage, or the amount of dower, a reference to those registers carefully kept in the *Judge's* Courts, even after the lapse of years, was sure to settle the point in question. Since the abolition of the post of *Kazee*, however, the poorer classes have been put to much inconvenience from their being deprived of the only means whereby a record might be kept of their marriages, and a great deal of disorganization has in consequence taken place amongst them. It would take me long to specify the hardships of large numbers of the population of those classes, which can scarcely help themselves for want of intelligence and wealth, but whose happiness should be the peculiar care of their betters and of the Government. Great immorality and domestic misery is the consequence, as well as some litigation, which would be greater but for the means of the parties.

"Such a state of things should, I think, attract the notice of Government with a view to its being remedied; and if I may be permitted to say so, the remedy is a most simple and unobjectionable one. Something similar to this would answer all the requirements. Let *Registrars of Muhammadan Marriages* be selected and appointed by the *Zillah Judges*; give the Muhammadans of all classes option to have their marriages registered by these officers by the payment of a small fee; and compel these officers to keep registers in a uniform prescribed form, and to file them in the *Judge's* Courts regularly at the end of the year. This is all that is required; and such a measure will not entail on the Government the expenditure of a single farthing, whilst it will give the whole of the Muhammadan community great cause for satisfaction and thankfulness, and save them from the social and domestic disorganization into which they, especially the lower classes, are being plunged.

"And, moreover, this step would ultimately, I trust, be of material help to the organization of a grand scheme for the general registration of all marriages throughout India—a consummation most devoutly to be wished. This is an additional reason for the sympathy of our Association with the proposition for the revival of the institution of Government *Kazees* for the registration of Muhammadan marriages."

MOULVI ABDOL HAKEEM spoke in Urdu to the following effect:—

"As some objections have been raised by a gentleman here as to the doctrines of the Muhammadan law mentioned in the lecture of the Moulvi, I have only to say that these objections emanated simply because the Moulvi has treated the doctrines of the Muhammadan law, and the usages and customs

of this country relating to the marriage of the Muhammadans, together and jointly. If they were treated separately and were shown in their own colors, those objections would entirely disappear.

The doctrines of the Muhammadan law relating to the marriage of the Muhammadans, and mentioned by the Moulvi are quite in accordance with our law-books; and the usages and customs of this country relating to marriages mentioned by him, are equally sure and correct; and I beg to add that his opinion in reply to the question put by the worthy Secretary as to the registration of Muhammadan marriages is very just and right, and is the general opinion of all Muhammadans."

MOULVI MAHOMED ABDUE RAUF (who also spoke in Urdu) expressed himself as follows:—

"I have heard with much pleasure the lecture just read by my friend Moulvi Abdool Luteef Khan Bahadoor upon the marriage and dower of the Mussulmans. I am further gratified to see that by means of this lecture a subject has been broached by a question put by the worthy Secretary—a discussion of which in an assembly of this kind is very desirable. I allude to the re-appointment of Kazees or Muhammadan Marriage Registrars, whose offices have been lately abolished under an Act passed by the Council of the Governor-General of India for the purpose of making laws and regulations. To tell the truth, the Muhammadans have much regretted the abolition of these offices, as much inconvenience is felt therefrom.

"Although there is little fear of such inconvenience among the higher and educated classes of Muhammadans, who can distinguish good from evil, and have some consideration for their own position and honor, yet the abolition of these offices has been very injurious to the lower classes of Muhammadans. Often it comes to our notice that poor indigent Mussulmans contract marriages, and then, owing to their want of sufficient means to maintain their wives, unhesitatingly, without the slightest consideration for their non-registered marriages, forsake them and flee the country; and the fate of these unfortunate deserted wives is that they suffer considerable hardship, and then give their hand to some one in marriage without the legal dissolution of their former marriage.

"It is apparent that these evils arise from the absence of Kazees, or marriage registrars. Had the case been otherwise, the parties to the marriage would necessarily have adhered to their prescribed terms and conditions.

"Therefore my opinion is (and I dare say the Muhammadan gentlemen here present will have no hesitation in concurring with me) that it will be gratifying to the whole Muhammadan community, if the proposal for the re-appointment of Kazees as Muhammadan Marriage Registrars, which has just been proposed by my friend Moulvi Abdool Luteef Khan Bahadoor, be adopted."

THE PRESIDENT thought that it was not the highest compliment which might be paid to the sex, when the lecturer stated that Muhammadan women did not like to see the dower paid down at the time of marriage. It seemed to him to show a want of trust, confidence and courtesy. He thought, moreover, that the system of marriage which the Moulvi had advocated was not exactly the just medium between a civil and religious ceremony which he had desired to maintain. The Moulvi had placed Muhammadan marriages midway between Hindu and European marriages, whereas the marriage contract in Europe was essentially a religious institution, and many communities would be perfectly scandalized at hearing it spoken of as *civil* merely. Yet though European marriages were in theory and feeling placed upon a religious basis, still with the

progress of western civilization they had in the practical administration of law come to be treated more or less as matter of *civil* contract, and he (MR. PHEAR) would, therefore, place them midway between Muhammadian marriages, which were purely civil, and the Hindu, which were essentially religious in their character.

EDUCATION.

- 1.—*Summary of replies received to the enquiries of the Association on the subject of Female Education. Compiled by H. H. LOCKE, Esq., and BABU CHUNDERNATH BOSE, M.A., Secretaries to the Section.*

[Read on the 20th January, 1869.]

THE following brief summary gives an outline of the information which has been received from various sources, in reply to the paper of questions on this subject issued by the Association last year. Answers to this paper have been very kindly furnished by—

Mr. John Buckley, Cuttack.
 Miss Britton, Secretary to the American Zenana Mission.
 Mr. E. C. B. Hallam, Balasore.
 Mr. J. Phillips, Jellasure.
 Miss Crawford, do.
 Babu Madhub Chunder Shurma, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Howrah.
 Babu Joykissen Mookerjee, Zemindar.
 Lieutenant-Colonel Rowlatt, Deputy Commissioner, Western Doars.
 Mr. H. C. Sutherland, Officiating Collector of Backergunge.
 Mr. A. Levien, Collector of Dacca.
 Mr. C. B. Clarke, Inspector of Schools, S.E. Division.
 Mr. J. C. Price, Officiating Collector, Mymensingh.
 Mr. W. B. Livingstone, Dacca.
 Lieutenant A. N. Phillips, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Nowgong.
 Babu Shama Churn Chatterjee, Deputy Magistrate, Busserrhaut.
 Babu Rasbehari Bose, Deputy Magistrate of Khoolna.
 Babu Shib Chundra Deb, Connagar.
 Babu Denobandu Sanyal, Bhaugulpore.
 Mr. Browne Wood, Deputy Commissioner, Sonthal Pergunnahs.
 Babu Peary Mohun Dutt, Head Master of the Zillah School, Purneah.
 Babu Bani Madhub Bose, Rajmehal.
 Mr. E. Whinfield, Magistrate, Noakhally.
 Babu Bhagain Persad, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Purneah.
 Mr. A. V. Palmer, Officiating Collector of Monghyr.
 Babu Shib Chunder Shome, Head Master, Gowalpara School.
 Mr. A. T. Bainbridge, Collector of Burdwan.
 Babu Juggut Chunder Roy Chowdry, Zemindar, Panihatty.
 Babu Obhoy Churn Bose, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Cooch Behar.
 Mr. Raban, Officiating Collector of Pooree.
 Babu Bhugwan Chundra Bose, Furreedpore.
 Babu Koonjee Lall Mookerjee, Mooragatcha.
 Mr. H. Woodrow, Inspector of Schools, Central Division.

Babu Protap Chunder Chatterjea.
 Mr. Jenkins, Commissioner of Patna.
 Mr. Drummond, Magistrate and Collector of Patna.
 Mr. Halliday, Collector of Sarun.
 Mr. Metcalfe, Officiating Collector of Chumparun.
 Mr. H. W. Alexander, Collector of Shahabad.
 Mr. C. B. Garrett, Deputy Collector of Shahabad.

The subjoined table exhibits the number of existing schools for the instruction of females, the number of scholars, and the number of male and female teachers respectively employed in such schools, so far as is known to the correspondents from whom we have received information.

Names of places where Female Schools are situate,	Total No. of Female Schools	Number on the Rolls.	Average daily attendance.	Number of male teachers.	Number of female teachers.	Under female charge or superintendence or not.	For girls only, or for both boys and girls.
Central Division ...	155	4,240	3,194	100	147	{ Some are solely under female superintendence. }	Of both kinds; the majority, however, is for girls only.
Burdwan (District) ...	72	1,083	861	75	6	{ Three are under female charge. }	Ten of these schools only are exclusively for girls.
Cuttack and its neighbourhood ...	...	874	...	...	...	{ All under female charge. }	For girls only.
Balasore (District) ...	2	...	...	...	...		Not exclusively for girls.
Do. do. ...	1	60	60	...	...
Santipore (near Jellapore) ...	4	36	30	4	1	{ Under female superintendence. }	Not solely for girls.
Khoolna* (Sub-division)	15	204	150	15	...		Not exclusively for girls.
Noakhally* ...	1	6	5	1	...		For girls only.
Bhaugulpore (District)	1	5	...	1	...		Ditto.
Taljarree (Sonthal Pergunnahs) ...	1	...	...	...	...
Bongong (Sub-division)	19 or 10	...	...	1	...		Ditto.
Cooch Behar ...	3	34	25	...	...		Ditto.
Backergunge (District)	10	85	60	...	...		Ditto.
South-East Division ...	67	938	590	69	8	{ A few are under female superintendence. }	Ditto.
Mooragatcha and its vicinity† ...	3	49	36	3	...		Two only are exclusively for girls.

* These schools are, perhaps, included in the 67 female schools mentioned by Mr. Clarke as lying in the South-East Division.

† These schools are probably included in the 155 female schools belonging to the Central Division.

Influence of Caste.

It appears from an examination of the answers we have received to this question that the prejudice on the score of caste is of different degrees of strength in different parts of the country, being strongest in the north-eastern parts of Bengal. In Calcutta and the districts of Hooghly, the influence seems stronger than in the north-western parts of Bengal, stronger in the North-West than in Orissa, (with the exception of Pooree and its neighbourhood,) and stronger in Orissa than in most places in south-east Bengal and in Cooch Behar. In the district of Hooghly, the caste feeling does not appear to extend beyond an aversion to mix with the very lowest classes, such as *Harees*, *Bagdees*, *Chandalas*, &c. In Calcutta itself, the strength of this prejudice is somewhat greater than in the Mofussil, being such as to prevent the mixture of the most respectable classes of Hindus with castes much higher in social position than those who alone are avoided in the district of Hooghly. There seems to be little or no influence of caste in some places in Central Bengal and in the district of Backergunge. But we think the information we have received is not sufficiently extensive or particular to justify any positive statement regarding these districts. Regarding South-Eastern Bengal, we have received contradictory statements. Mr. A. Levien, the Collector of Dacca, informs us that the influence of caste *is* felt in the admission of girls to schools, while Mr. Clarke, the Inspector of Schools, and Mr. Whinfield, the Magistrate of Noakhally, say that caste has no perceptible influence. From Mr. Livingstone's answers concerning the town of Dacca and its nearest suburbs, agreeing as they do with the experience of Calcutta, we gather that conservatism is more likely to prevail in such places than in the interior of the district. In Orissa, with the exception of Pooree and its immediate neighbourhood, there seems to be extremely little caste influence. The prejudice which exists may be described rather as a feeling of nationality—Hindus there being only unwilling to mix with those who are not Hindus. In Cooch Behar, however, there is not even this feeling; Brahmans, Chandalas, and Mussulmans all appear to read together.

Age at which girls generally enter schools, and length of time during which they remain as pupils.

The earliest age at which girls enter school is stated to be 4, and the highest age at which they leave, 14.

Causes of the withdrawal of female pupils from school.

The most general causes of the withdrawal of girls from schools seem to be marriage, and the necessity of zenana seclusion on arriving at a marriageable age. In some parts of the country, it appears that girls, if married very young, are not taken away from school till it becomes improper for them to be seen in public. From one of the replies we have received to this question, it would even seem that there are instances of girls leaving school in the manner just mentioned, in the country adjacent to Calcutta. [Some information on this point regarding Calcutta itself would be, we think, instructive.] One amongst the many causes of withdrawal is, according to Mr. Woodrow, "want of appreciation of education." In very many cases girls are withdrawn from school by parents who are not in affluent or even easy circumstances, in order that they may assist their families by the performance of domestic work. [It would, we are inclined to think, be of some use to know how many in any particular school are withdrawn for this purpose, or to ascertain the proportion which the number of girls leaving school for this cause bears to the number of those who leave from other causes.] Another cause, producing something like a general effect upon the withdrawal of female pupils, is the employment of male teachers in female schools. The notion entertained very generally, and spoken of in one reply as prevailing in Mymensingh, that much learning in women is a cause of widowhood, has a great deal to do with the withdrawal of girls from school sooner than would otherwise happen.

The course of study generally pursued in the schools for females.

The course of study in the female schools situate within the district of Hooghly, appears to be higher than that in the female schools in the district of Burdwan. The former, in the highest classes, includes Bengali literature (up to Charoopat, Part III.; and Padyopat, Part III.), grammar (up to krit, tadhita, and gender), geography (whole of it in the highest classes), history, arithmetic (as far as double rule of three), and natural philosophy (up to electric attraction); the latter, in the highest classes, rises no higher than the course of study in "the 4th class vernacular schools (viz., up to Charoopat, Part I., &c.)" The course of study in the schools in Orissa seems to be far inferior to that prevailing in the district of Burdwan. In all the Orissa

schools about which we have been informed, the course of study is very elementary, and is perhaps of the same character as that which we learn is found in the female schools in the districts of Noakhally and Bhaugulpore respectively. In one respect, however,—viz., in the amount or extent of teaching in needlework, knitting, sewing, spinning, and other similar arts,—the female schools under the charge or management of European ladies, such as the Misses Britton, Crawford, and Phillips, in Orissa, Calcutta, and Rajpore, are superior to the generality of female schools in the different districts of Bengal. Needlework is not yet taught in the female schools in Khoolna and the district of Bhaugulpore, and it is only beginning to be taught in the district of Noakhally. It should, however, be noticed that the female schools in these places (Khoolna, Bhaugulpore, and Noakhally) are all of very recent establishment. It is worthy of notice, that out of the 67 female schools, mentioned by Mr. Clarke as existing in S.E. Bengal, needlework is taught only in six or eight. In the school at Cooch Behar, mentioned by Lieutenant-Colonel Rowlatt, the course comprises reading, writing, and mental arithmetic, but no needlework. This school, too, we are informed, is quite a new one. With the exception of three or four isolated instances, which can scarcely be regarded in a summary like this, it may be said that English is taught in no female school. The course in the female schools in S.E. Bengal is somewhat inferior to that in the Burdwan female schools, and that in the Cooch Behar and Backergunge schools inferior to the course in the S.E. Bengal female schools. The following is a list of districts, divisions, &c., arranged in the order of the progress which, from the information before us, they seem to have made in female education :—

1. Central Division :
 - (a) Hooghly.
 - (b) Burdwan.
 2. S.E. Division.
 3. S.W. Division :
Orissa.
 4. N.W. Division.
 5. Cooch Behar,
(N.E. Division.)
 6. Sonthal Pergunnahs,
(N.W. Division.)
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The progress made generally by all the girls in a school, as compared with that of the pupils in a boys' school of a similar kind.

Upon this point our correspondents are divided in their opinions. Some say that girls make greater progress than boys; others that there is no perceptible difference in the aptitude for learning displayed by girls as compared with boys; whilst by some it is asserted that boys excel girls in this respect in a marked degree. Mr. Woodrow, for instance, is very emphatic as to the superiority of boys; he says, "the difference is quite striking—the boys progress *much* faster." Mr. Bainbridge and Babu Shib Chunder Deb also say, with respect to this question, that girls cannot learn arithmetic, for instance, either so soon or so well as boys. On the other hand, Babu Bhugwan Chunder Bose is of opinion that, in whatever requires the exercise of memory, girls are found to be superior to boys. Babus Joykissen Mookerjee, Shib Chunder Deb, and Madhub Chunder Shurma, while admitting the inferiority of girls, are of opinion that it may be owing to the fact that less care is taken of them by their parents and guardians.

Extent to which it appears that education is continued after girls are withdrawn from school.

Our correspondents are almost unanimous in their opinions on this question, and their consentient testimony is that education is continued only in those cases in which the husbands themselves are educated and enlightened; that the extent to which it is carried even in such cases is necessarily very limited, on account of the little opportunity that natives have of seeing their wives in the daytime, and what is learnt is not learnt systematically. But, as appears from the answer sent by Babu Shib Chunder Deb, a taste for reading and writing is fast growing in Hindu families. We learn that in Bongong (or rather in the village of Guatulli, Thannah Moheshpoor) there are married girls receiving instruction in their houses from the male teacher of the school which has been very recently established there. Little or nothing seems to be done in Orissa and the district of Burdwan after leaving school.

Extent to which female education has increased within the last five years, both as to the numbers taught and the nature of instruction imparted.

All those who have replied to this question (with the exception of Babus Shib Chunder Deb and Joykissen Mookerjee) agree in saying that there *has been* progress, but the information on this point is not such as would support such a definite and statistical statement of the extent of the progress of female education within the last five years, as would fairly represent the progress that has been made in this respect in each district of Bengal. Some parts of the country, such as the districts of Purneah and Rajmehal, do not yet possess one single school for the education of girls. In Khoolna and the district of Burdwan, the progress of female education within the last five years has been most marked. In Khoolna especially, about 15 female schools, containing 204 girls, have been established within the last two years only, whilst there was not a single school for the instruction of females three years before. All the schools in the district of Burdwan, in number 72, and teaching about 1,000 girls, have been established within the last five years, and the course of study in the highest classes of these schools is much the same as that which, so late as 1864, formed the highest course of study in the schools in the district of Howrah. It is also said in one reply, that whatever progress female education has made in the district of Backergunge, has been made within the last two or three years. In Cooch Behar, Bhaugulpore, and Noakhally, female education has just commenced. There is only one female school in each of these three places. The course of study in the Noakhally school is, however, far in advance of that in the Bhaugulpore school, being exactly the highest course of the schools in the district of Howrah four years ago. This is something very noteworthy, considering that the Noakhally school has been in existence only for the last six months. In Orissa, the progress of female education has been hitherto confined to Balasore, Jellasore, and Cuttack and its neighbourhood. The course of study is nowhere other than elementary. In some of these Orissa schools, such as that mentioned by Miss Crawford, the number of female pupils is at present six times what it was five years ago. But, in taking this fact, it must be remembered that Miss Crawford's school is one intended for helpless orphan girls, and that, as such, the number of its pupils is more liable to sudden increase in times of distress than the number of pupils in a school which is not, like it, a sort of

relief school for the poor. Mr. Raban, writing from Pooree, says :—“ It is thought that the increase of schools, by limiting home teaching, has diminished the number of girls taught.” In the Howrah division, within the last five years, the number of female scholars has not increased in the same ratio as the nature of instruction. The course of reading five years back, in the highest classes of the schools in this division, was that which at present is perhaps the course of study in the third or fourth classes of those very schools. It would appear from Miss Britton’s reply that the increase of female education within the last five years, in Calcutta and its immediate suburbs, has been about tenfold. We may here usefully translate the answer returned to this question by the Pundit of the Bow Bazar Hindu Girls’ School :—“ When, about five years ago, for some purposes relating to the *Shome Prokash*, I travelled over the whole of Bengal, I visited many boys’ and many girls’ schools. At that time I did not find so many female schools in the vicinity of the 24-Pergunnahs, especially to the south of the Sonapore Station on the Mutlah Railway line, as I found in Zillahs Hooghly, Burdwan, and Nuddea, and in Dacca and other eastern districts. But, at present, in that part of the country, and especially in Calcutta, many female schools have been established, and it would seem that the number of female scholars in these places is now-a-days greater than it was five years before.”

In respect of progress in female education, the S.E. Division of Bengal stands next after the districts of Hooghly and Burdwan. Mr. Clarke, the Inspector, however, speaks of this division in these words :—“ Female education is considered to have hardly perceptibly increased in the last five years in this district. The number of pupils has increased, but the nature of the instruction imparted remains as it was.”

The following is the remark of Babu Joykissen Mookerjee :—“ The number of girls that can read and write is more numerous now than five or six years ago ; but this little knowledge has not made them more useful members of society.” Newspapers like the *Bamabodhini Patrika* and *Abodhabandhu* have done a good deal to encourage self-instruction.

Comparative merits of zenana and of school education.

The preference expressed for zenana education has been almost unanimous ; but Lieutenant-Colonel Rowlatt, speaking of Cooch Behar and the Western Dooars, says :—“ I think that zenana education is best adapted for the upper classes, and those who can

afford to pay a governess, but amongst villagers it is evident that schools must be established, as being a less expensive mode of education."

Hindrances to female education, arising from social difficulties generally, and from the Hindu family system in particular.

The instruction of females in the family house is attended with many difficulties. In the first place, there is the strong prejudice of the elderly women against female education, and their unwillingness to allow the girls of their families to read and write, possibly to the neglect of the household work. In the second place, young married women, charged with the nursing of their children, and with the performance of domestic duties from morning up to a very late hour in the evening, would scarcely find time for study. In the third place, the opinions of a Hindu family, condemning, as they do, all intercourse between the young wife and her husband during the day, are a great hindrance to female education.

Normal schools.

Normal schools are considered by all to be a great desideratum. It is, however, remarked by Babu Rasbehary Bose, Deputy Magistrate of Khoolna, and by Babu Madhub Chunder Surma, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Howrah Division, that women of respectable Hindu families will hardly be inclined to go to normal schools. The latter makes the following observations as pointing to the necessity of exercising great caution in selecting women who are to be trained as teachers:—"No young woman of a respectable Hindu family, who strictly adheres to the Hindu religion, will enter a normal school. Lower class females are not women of good character; and if, after receiving a limited education, they become mistresses, they will prove injurious to society, instead of doing any good to it."

Mr. Clarke, the Inspector, and Mr. Levien, Officiating Collector of Dacca, speak unfavorably of the Dacca Female Normal School. Mr. Levien says of the female teachers sent out by it that, although they take Rs. 25 or 30 each per month, they are not quite equal as teachers to ordinary *gurus* on Rs. 6.

Mr. Price, Officiating Collector of Mymensingh, says:—"If an attempt were made to establish a female normal school in Calcutta, a good many Native Christian females, Brahminis of the

progressive party, and widows of respectable family, would, it is presumed, be found willing to attend, and thus a good result might issue."

The selection of female teachers, whether widows or married women should be preferred.

This question has been answered with reference to two of the most indispensable requisites in an efficient female teacher—a reputation for good moral character, and the possession of a sufficient amount of time. If the question of preference were decided with reference to the first, which is at the same time the more important of these two requisites, married women would, in the opinion of the majority of those who have returned answers to this question, find preference over widows. If, on the contrary, selections were made with a view of getting teachers least liable to be interrupted in the performance of their duties, and having much time at their command, widows would, in the opinion of some of our correspondents, be preferable to married women. It is thought by some, that widows belonging to good families and above the age of 40 or 50, and therefore past the age of scandal, should be employed as teachers; but "*a respectable widow*," says Mr. Bainbridge, "*untrammelled by house duties, is comparatively a rarity*." Mr. Woodrow also adds that a widow, sufficiently enlightened to become a teacher, would not hesitate to re-marry.

Lieutenant-Colonel Rowlatt is of opinion that widows alone should be trained as teachers; "for married women," says he, "have generally quite enough to do to look after their own children."

The best means of promoting and extending female education.

Want of a sufficient number of female teachers, and the poverty of the resources that are at present available for the working out of schemes of female education, seem to be the chief hindrances to the extension of female education in this country. It is, therefore, recommended by most of our correspondents that female normal schools should be established, and that the teachers thus trained should not only be employed in female schools, but also sent about from house to house for the education of married girls in the zenana. In order to make female education productive of useful results, it is

considered by some that needlework should be most carefully and extensively taught. But we are informed by Babu Rasbehary Bose, that the resources of most female schools in the country do not allow of their entertaining separate mistresses to teach needlework. He is therefore of opinion, that to each circle of female schools there should be attached one or two mistresses paid by Government, who should go about teaching needlework from one school to another within the circle. It is remarked by some that the inability of the generality of the people of this country to spend money upon the education of their girls, and to pay subscriptions in aid of established female schools, is one main reason why female schools do not prosper, and why girls are withdrawn from school sooner than they would otherwise be. Thus, for instance, as long as the scholars in the Culna schools (we quote from Mr. Bainbridge's reply to question No. 10) were presented with half pice a day, "these schools were full, but immediately this allowance was stopped, the attendance began to drop off, till the schools were brought down to their present comparatively miserable proportions." For the sake of removing the evils arising from this source, it seems necessary to take the following steps:—

1. The establishment and maintenance by Government of free girls' schools, like the Halliday Model Schools.
2. A relaxation of the Grant-in-aid Rules in favor of schools for girls, and in some cases schools maintained solely by Government.
3. The foundation of scholarships for girls after the example of the Ooterparah Hitakari Shova, and the payment of monthly stipends over and above the ordinary rewards of prizes.
4. The continuance of the scholarship to the pupil in the zenana after she may have left the public school.

Female schools, besides being thus assisted by Government, and provided with scholarships and stipends, ought to be very carefully looked over; and Babu Shib Chunder Deb recommends the appointment of Inspectresses for the work of supervision. Mr. Woodrow agrees with him.

Captain B. W. Morton thinks that the distribution, free of charge, of vernacular newspapers devoted to the cause of female education, throughout the country, would assist a good deal in educating the women of Bengal, especially such as cannot afford to pay for their education. Mr. Bainbridge says:—"The means of promoting female education are various; the male population is the chief *point-d'appui*, and it seems to me we

should most effectually further the above object by imparting sound and liberal views to the men, and when they, as a body, appreciate the advantage of female education, and become dispossessed of their narrow views and crude notions, the way will be prepared for the successful establishment of schools, normal schools, and a system of zenana education." This opinion of Mr. Bainbridge has been expressed by many other correspondents. It has been remarked by some that the early marriage of girls being one of the chief causes of imperfect female education, some attempt should be made to prevent early marriage. We cannot do better than quote here the following observations on this point made by Mr. Clarke, the Inspector :—"It is suggested that the Hindu members of the Social Science Association should unite with and enrol with themselves all Hindus who truly sympathise with their objects, and form a banded league, solemnly pledged to one another that no female of their own families should be married before sixteen. It is said that the Hindus are much influenced by the example of those who possess wealth and position, and that such a league would soon have plenty of imitators outside." Mr. Clarke is also of opinion that, if educated natives make it a point not to marry ignorant girls, the cause of female education would be encouraged, as parents would, at least for the sake of getting good bridegrooms, be compelled to educate their daughters.

Mr. Clarke and Mr. Price concur in thinking that a great stimulus to the education of the females of the wealthy classes might be given by educating the wives of Government wards, out of the Court of Wards' Funds. These women, on returning to their estates, would, no doubt, exert a happy influence on the cause of female education.

In the discussion which took place upon this question,—

MR. WOODROW took the opportunity to explain the delay which had occurred in the establishment of the Female Normal School in Calcutta. Miss Carpenter had been asked to select a suitable mistress in England, but as she was then on the point of leaving for this country, she was unable to do so. It was believed, however, that a competent lady would be found before long, and the Normal School would then be opened. Its establishment would doubtless be followed by the establishment of a Branch Normal School at Kishnaghur, where the people seemed to be much more forward and anxious for it than in Calcutta. Hindu ladies could doubtless move about more freely in the Mofussil than in Calcutta, and the project should be tried where such facilities exist, and where there would be the least opposition to it. At first the students would probably be only *day scholars*, but in course of time, when mutual confidence shall have been established, we might expect to see them

board in the school. Most probably also the first teachers would have to confine themselves to the work of *zenana* instruction, and in this case it would be necessary to appoint Inspectresses to see that the work is really done for which the State pays. But it would be a matter of great delicacy and tact to make arrangements for the first supply of teachers; they must not, of course, be sent out friendless and unprotected into the wide world, but places must be selected where they have friends who will look after and provide for them. The selection of the women intended for teachers must also, at first, be very strict.

MR. BEVERLEY drew attention to the large number of female teachers shown to be now employed in the Central Division. It seemed that in 156 schools there were no less than 147 female teachers. There were also at least 55 schools in which there were no male teachers.

MR. WOODROW stated that the large number was apparently to be accounted for by the *zenana* system in and around Calcutta, according to which the group of houses under each mistress was called her school. Still the number did seem larger than he should have expected. There were, however, certainly more than 55 schools which had only female teachers.

THE REV. J. LONG enquired whether the natives objected to the practice of educating girls with boys.

BABU BUNKIM CHUNDER CHATTERJEE replied that there was a very strong prejudice amongst native gentlemen on the subject, though he was unable to state precisely on what grounds it was founded.

BABU SHOSHI, PODO BANERJEE enquired whether education was to be imparted in the Normal School in Bengali only, or in English and Bengali. He thought it was premature at present to think of such a school being a boarding-school. Hindu fathers would not yet send their boys even to a boarding school, much less their girls.

MR. WOODROW replied that the vernacular would of course be made the basis of instruction, but if any one of the students showed ability and willingness to learn English, she would not be debarred from doing so. The training would extend over four years. He believed the school would in time become a boarding-school. There were several hundreds of boys in the country boarding at school now.

2. *Compulsory Education in Bengal.* By the REV. LAL
BEHARI DAY.

[Read on the 19th January, 1869.]

THE parental right has justly been regarded in all ages and countries as sacred. A man that brings a child into existence is, in a certain sense, its maker and preserver; he has, therefore, authority over the child till it attains to years of discretion. But the rights of a parent over his children are founded upon his duties towards them; and one of those duties is obviously to educate them, and to train them to a life of usefulness and virtue. Indeed, for a man to summon a human being into existence, and not to furnish his mind with instruction, is as gross a dereliction of duty as not to supply his body with food and raiment. It is a dereliction of duty so far as the parent himself is concerned, and it is a great sin against the offspring. Were all parents alive to a sense of this duty, and did they all rightly discharge it, every citizen in a state would be educated, and society would be a commonwealth containing in it all the good things of the ideal republic of the old Greek philosopher. It is superfluous to remark that all parents have not a sense of this duty, and that many increase and multiply the human species without a thought as to how their offspring are to be educated. Now, the question arises,—Is the parent who fails in his duty to educate his child to be interfered with? and, if he is to be interfered with, by whom?

If there be one truth more undisputed than another, it is that “no man liveth unto himself.” As soon as a child is ushered into being, he becomes a member of human society; and when he grows up and acts for himself, he exercises an influence, beneficial or otherwise, on other members of that society. An educated man, whose mind has been cultivated, who is acquainted with his own duties and rights, and with those of his fellowmen, cannot but exercise a salutary influence on the community in which he moves; whereas an uneducated man, whom nothing but his erect form distinguishes from the brutes around him, proves very often a curse, at all events an incumbrance and a drag, on society. It is, therefore, clearly the duty of the guardians of

society—that is, of the State—to interfere in the matter, and to insist upon every parent educating his children.

It cannot be justly alleged that such an interposition on the part of the guardians of the State, between the parent and his children, would be an interference with the parental right. Parental *right* is altogether out of the question, for a parent has no more right to starve the mind of his child in ignorance than he has to starve his body to death by withholding all supplies of food. This right, if it can be called a right, might have been pleaded in ancient Rome, where parents had the odious privilege of killing their own offspring; but such a stretch of parental right is repugnant to every idea of parental affection and virtue. Nor can it be pretended that the interference on the part of Government, of the nature I have alluded to, would take away the parental care of the offspring from the person to whom nature has committed the charge. “Is it not clear,” asks Leonard Horner, in his preface to Victor Cousin’s *State of Education in Holland*, “is it not clear that the interference would only take place when there was a want of parental care? We know that there are parents so reckless that they care not what becomes of their children, provided they can make money by their labour. If a parent neglects to educate his child, he is doing an injury not only to the child, but to the community, which may grievously suffer by the evil consequence of that child’s ignorance; the child is thus deprived of parental care, and being so far an orphan, the State is bound to come forward as his protector and guardian. If the child could speak with the sense of mature age, would not his earnest entreaty be,—Do not neglect my education, do not deprive me of that which will make me a virtuous and a good man, and will enable me to better my condition in life, by improving the talents which God has given me?”*

That the Government of a country should attend to the education of its people, is a truth maintained and acted upon from the earliest times. The greatest philosopher of the ancient world, Aristotle, says, “No one can doubt that the legislator ought greatly to interest himself in the care of youth, for, where it is neglected, it is hurtful to the state.”†

“In a Doric state,” says Karl Otfried Muller, “education was, upon the whole, a subject of greater importance than Government.”‡ And one of the acutest minds of the present day, John

* *On the State of Education in Holland.* By M. Victor Cousin. Translated, with preliminary observations, by Leonard Horner, Esq., F.R.S. 1838.

† *Dorians*, Vol. II., Book III., Chapter I.

‡ *Politics*, Book VIII., Chapter I.

Stuart Mill, asks—"Is it not almost a self-evident axiom, that the State should require and compel the education, up to a certain standard, of every human being who is born its citizen?"*

There are three ways in which the State can promote the education of its citizens. *First*, by the State establishing schools of its own, and at the same time assisting the people to educate themselves in private schools, by making money grants on certain conditions, but not making education compulsory. *Secondly*, by simply requiring a certain standard of education for every citizen, leaving the citizens to get education where and how they best can, the State neither taking part in education nor making pecuniary contributions towards its promotion. And, *thirdly*, by the State taking the whole of education into its own hands, and compelling every parent to send his children to its schools. The first of these modes, which obtains with certain local peculiarities and modifications in Holland, in France, in England, and in India, is usually called the *voluntary* system, and it is rightly so called, for the people are left to educate themselves where they choose, or not to educate themselves, if it so please them. The second system, of which I am not aware that it exists in any country, but which is possible some day in England perhaps, I may call the system of *voluntary compulsion*: it is voluntary, because the people are left to get education where and how they please; it is compulsory, because the State requires for every citizen a certain standard of education. The third system, which obtains in most countries on the continent of Europe, is the system of compulsion, pure and simple, or rather of double compulsion, since the State compels every citizen not only to get some education, but also to get it in the schools which the State has established.

The question is, which of these three systems is best suited to Bengal? In answering this question, we must not think merely of the comparative merits of the systems themselves, but also of their adaptability to the people of Bengal in relation to their environments, their modes of thought and feeling, and the peculiarities of their national character. Let us see how each of these systems suits Bengal.

If there be any people in the world to whom education on the voluntary principle is more suited than to any other, it is the people of England. John Bull is the most independent being on earth. He thinks of nobody, cares for nobody,—all his thoughts and cares being concentrated on No. I. Putting his two hands in his breeches pockets, with his eyes directed towards the skies,

* *On Liberty*, Chapter V.

he whistles about, utterly regardless of all his surroundings, as though he were a veritable Alexander Selkirk, and "monarch of all he surveyed." Of Government he is extremely jealous, always taking it to be at the bottom of some mischief or other, and thinking it his duty to be invariably in her Majesty's Opposition. Of self-reliance he is the very personation. What thing is there which his own brawny arm cannot achieve? The word "impossible" is not to be found in his dictionary. Like Lord John Russell, as Sydney Smith would have it, he could put himself in command of the channel fleet in twenty-four hours. Among such a high-spirited and self-reliant people, education on the voluntary principle had the best possible chance. But what has been the result? All those men who are practically engaged in the work of education in England, declare that the voluntary system has failed in educating the lower strata of society, and will always fail. Let me quote here the testimony of some of her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools in England on this point.

The Rev. Mr. Gream, Inspector for Essex and Suffolk, says :— "It has been pressed on me that many of the children of agricultural labourers are kept from school, and consequently brought up almost destitute of education, by the inability of their fathers to resist the solicitations and threats of employers, who, regardless of the education of such children, urge their fathers to send them into the field instead of to school."

The Rev. Mr. Bellairs, Church School Inspector for Oxon and Bucks, says :—"My own conviction is, that until some means are devised to secure regular attendance of the poor from 4 to 11 years of age, a very large amount of exertion and money will be wasted, and our jails, penitentiaries, and reformatories will show our shortcomings by the presence of a mass of inmates untrained and untaught."

The Rev. J. Byrne, Inspector for Gloucestershire, says :—"The early age at which children leave school remains now, as ever, an insuperable obstacle to any progress in national education which shall neither disappoint our expectation, nor be, to a certain extent, illusory. Except in legislative interference, I see no remedy for so deplorable a state of things."

The Rev. W. W. Howard, Inspector for Devon and Dorset, after repeating the same tale, says :—"Where lace-making and gloving are rife, many girls never go to school at all, and live their lives and pass away to a hereafter in a state of ignorance which is a disgrace to humanity. I have no hope for much improvement in this state of things, until we have legislative measures which will make education compulsory."

To the above I shall only add the testimony of Mr. Henry Fawcett, a man who will not certainly be suspected of truckling to Government, or of proposing any measure likely to abridge the liberties of the people. In a thoughtful article in *Macmillan's Magazine* for last October, after repeating the usual tale of non-attendance and irregular attendance of the children of the poor at school, he says :—"In the presence of these facts, the conclusion seems irresistible that, if we really desire to see our agricultural labourers educated, we must be prepared to support a measure which shall prohibit a child being taken away from school before he has acquired the first rudiments of knowledge. Any measure which is not based upon this compulsory principle will prove almost useless, so far as the rural districts are concerned."

But this is not all. The compulsory system has been already adopted in England with reference to certain classes of the population. Poor law guardians have power to send the children of persons receiving out-door relief to school, and to pay for the teaching as part of the relief. Magistrates have power to send juvenile offenders to reformatory schools. The Factory Act of 1844 compels children of a certain age employed in mills and factories to go to school. The same Act has been since applied to children in "lace factories; to manufactories of earthenware, lucifer-matches, percussion caps, and cartridges; to employment in paper-staining and fustian-cutting; to manufacture of iron, brass, copper, tin, glass, tobacco; to letter-press printing and book-binding; and, in short, to every manufacturing process, wherein fifty or more persons are employed in any premises constituting one trade establishment." And, finally, the "Workshop Regulation Act of 1867" requires, in respect to every child employed in a workshop, or any kind of handicraft, that "he shall attend school for at least ten hours during every week, during the whole time of which he is so employed."

These testimonies and facts are sufficient to show that education on the voluntary principle has failed, at least so far as the lower classes are concerned, in the country in which it was more likely to succeed than perhaps in any other country in the world. Such being the case in England, what shall we say of Bengal? Is education on the voluntary principle, combined with the assistance of the State, likely to succeed here? There can be no doubt that it will succeed to a certain extent—as it is succeeding now among the higher and middle classes in England. But the question is, will it succeed among the mass of the people? I should be the last person in the world to say anything disparaging of my countrymen. I believe that my countrymen have many virtues,

but self-reliance is certainly not the most conspicuous of them. The Bengali is a staunch believer in the doctrine of mediation, expecting every blessing from either the gods of Indra's heaven, or the earthly gods of Government-house. Deeply religious in his character, he would devoutly kneel in the puddle and pray to Brahma for help, and would continue to do so till the end of the chapter, but would never dream of putting his shoulders to the wheel, firmly believing in the maxim that "Heaven helps those that do not help themselves." For self-action he has no great taste, his maxim being, "Don't do anything, if you can at all get it done by another." Amongst such a people—probably the least self-helpful in the world—education on the voluntary principle has little chance. And even if the Government were to cover the country with primary schools at its own expense, there can be no doubt that the mass of the people would stay away from them unless compelled to attend by an Act of the legislature.

It is almost needless to remark that a people who are not able to educate themselves with the assistance of the State can much less educate themselves without that assistance. The second system, therefore, the system to which I have given the name of the voluntary-compulsory system, and under which the State merely enforces education without providing it, is much less suited to Bengal than the voluntary system. In a country like Bengal,—indeed, in most countries in the world—for the State to enforce education without providing it, would be like Pharaoh ordering the Israelites to make bricks without furnishing them with straw. Such an order would read thus:—"We will not give you education; go ye, get you education where ye can find it; yet we insist on your getting some education."

We have, therefore, no other alternative than to have recourse to the system of compulsory education, and to request the Government to establish schools throughout the country, and to compel every parent to send his male children to them for instruction. I say *male children*, for, unfortunately, so dense is the ignorance of the people, that an order compelling every girl to be educated would meet with the most violent opposition. But it is some consolation to remember that, when all the boys of the country are educated, the education of the girls will not be long delayed.

We are aware that certain objections are generally brought against compulsory education; and we are far from thinking that the system is without its drawbacks. For ourselves, we should be best pleased if the people of Bengal could educate them-

selves on the voluntary principle; but where this is impossible—and we have shown that it is impossible in this country—it is clearly better that Government should undertake it than that the people should grovel in ignorance. The usual objections against compulsory education, however, are hardly applicable to its introduction into Bengal.

The chief objection against compulsory education is that it annihilates spontaneous action and private effort. An able writer, in a recent number of the *Westminster Review*, thus puts it:—

“Authoritative direction suppresses the delightful action of the faculties which are necessary to mental growth; suppression of spontaneous action is followed by a decline of energy, whilst reliance on the State is substituted for the vigour of personal interest. State interference with industry prevents action, which is necessary to happiness; and there is evil in all Government arrangements for doing what could be done by spontaneous action and association. Where Government goes beyond protection, as in France, obstacles beset every path of private action; and if force be employed against the will of men, its necessity increases with its use.”

However plausible all this may be in theory, it is found different in practice. We do not find any decline in the national energy of either the people of the United States of America, or the Swiss, amongst both of which nations there obtains State education. But it may be said that those are republican countries, and that there Government is but another name for the people. Well, let us go to Prussia. There, at any rate, there is monarchy, and a monarchy ruling with a high hand. Has the compulsory system of education checked mental growth in Prussia? On the contrary, is not Prussia emphatically the land of genius, of philosophy, of ripe scholarship, and of the highest culture? Has there been a decline in the national energy of the Prussians? Let the late Seven Weeks' War and the bloody plain of Sadowa answer the question.

In Bengal, “authoritative direction” cannot check spontaneous action, and that for the best of reasons—there is none to check. But, it may be asked,—Is not that the very reason why Government interference should be deprecated? If the people of Bengal are so little self-reliant as they are represented to be, why make them worse by introducing amongst them a system of “authoritative direction?” Why not train them gradually to self-reliance and self-action? To this it may be replied that, if we were to wait for the education of the people till the Bengalis were tutored into self-reliance, we fear we should have to wait till Doomsday.

We should, in such a case, be in the position of that shrewd man of old spoken of by the Greek satirist, who, when obstructed in the course of his journeys by a broad stream of water, sat down on its banks, deliberately waiting for the time when, all the waters having flowed down and exhausted themselves, opportunity would be afforded him to ford the river dry-shod. But in the next place, how self-reliance is to be got by waiting, does not appear. Will it drop from the clouds? Self-reliance is the effect chiefly of mental energy, which is but another name for intelligence, and intelligence is produced by education. In order, therefore, to make the people of Bengal self-reliant, they must be educated, and as they cannot educate themselves, the State must do the work for them.

The only other objection to the introduction into Bengal of a compulsory system of education which I shall notice is, that such a measure would raise a loud outcry among the agricultural population, inasmuch as they would be deprived of the services of those boys who, instead of tending cows in the field, would be compelled to go to school. This is a real difficulty, but it is not insuperable. To remove this difficulty, I would introduce the *half-time* system of England. Almost the only service which in this country a peasant's boy of from 7 to 12 years of age can render, is to take care of cows when grazing. Now, suppose there are in a village 20 boys of this description; any one that knows the nature of the service, also knows that 10 boys could easily do the work of 20. Instead of compelling these 20 boys to go to school every day in the week, I would make them go only three days in the week, so that when the first 10 were at school, the second 10 would be with the cows in the field. I would also allow peasants' boys to stay away from school for some days during the sowing season, during harvest, and other times when husbandmen are busy, in order that their fathers might not be deprived of the little services which they might do them. In this way, by consulting the convenience and the feelings of the peasantry, I do not think it would be impossible to reconcile them to the idea of sending their male children to school.

With regard to the provision to be made by Government for national vernacular education—and it is only of vernacular education that I speak in this paper—I have given my views on the subject in a pamphlet just published,* and it is not necessary here to enter into details. For a system of thorough national primary education, Bengal requires 40,000 primary schools, 80 normal

* *Primary Education in Bengal.* A lecture delivered at the Bethune Society on 10th December, 1868.

schools, 80 industrial or high schools, the cost of all of which may be estimated at sixty lakhs of rupees, which sum may be raised from a tax on salt, from a two per cent. cess on land, from contributions by the State, and from schooling fees at the rate of one anna a month for each boy—the very poor receiving education gratuitously. When arrangements are made for setting up this educational machinery, the Government should issue an order compelling every parent in the country to keep his male children at school from six to twelve years of age, any parent who fails to comply with the order being fined after the first and second admonition. It would be a happy day for Bengal when such a system of education should be adopted by the State.

The following interesting discussion ensued :—

THE REV. J. LONG thought that the writer had not made sufficient allowance for the voluntary efforts that were being made in the cause of education. It had been estimated by Mr. Adam that there were in his time 80,000 primary schools throughout Bengal. Probably this was an exaggeration, but there might be 40,000. He admitted that they did not impart sound knowledge. The *gurumahashay* taught mental arithmetic and writing perhaps better than any other teacher, but the course of instruction was not carried far enough. These schools were part of the old municipal system of India and Central Asia, under which every village had its schoolmaster as well as its carpenter. He thought that the voluntary system would be sufficiently effective if more funds were made available for its extension. There were other ways besides in which the Government might promote education. In Sweden no man could be married unless he could read and write, and in this country he thought it was desirable that the most menial appointments under Government should carry with them certain qualifications.

BABU KOONJEEAL BANERJEE stated that although there was no law on the subject, there was an order of so old a date as of Lord Hardinge's time, that in making selection for such appointments preference should be given to men who could read and write, and he believed the order was generally carried out. He thought that compulsory education had been advocated by the writer in ignorance of the customs and feelings of the country. He instanced the case of a Spanish gentleman in Moorsheelabad who tried to educate the children of his silk-spinners, and opened a school for the purpose; but though it was attended at first by 200 or 300 boys, it was soon deserted when it was found that they were not paid for attending school as they were for spinning silk. He himself had lately offered to educate 12 boys of his ryots at his own expense, but in a whole week two only had come forward. He thought there was no analogy between this country and Europe, because the circumstances of European countries were so different from those existing in India.

BABU SHAMACHURN SIRCAR concurred with Mr. Long in thinking that the *patshala* system was quite sufficient for the wants of the country. He gave a description of the course of study pursued in those schools; *spelling* appeared to be the chief defect. Now the boys commenced with reading, and the little education they got, though very useless to them, made them very proud and discontented. They now despised their old occupations and surroundings. The fisherman's son would no longer catch fish, but wants to get a clerkship. He thought there was a great amount of good in the system of caste occupations, which was generally overlooked.

MR. MOTEELAL MITTRA thought the system pursued in the *patshalas* was wholly erroneous, so far as there was no training for the mental faculties. The English system was the only system which properly trained the mind and intellect.

DR. CHUCKERBUTTY regretted that any political questions should be introduced for discussion at the meetings of the Social Science Association, for he thought it was foreign to their rules. The paper on Compulsory Education in Bengal necessarily raised such a question; and he could not therefore help making some remarks upon it. He did not think that compulsory education, such as was advocated by the author, was at all suited to the circumstances of this country. He could bear personal testimony to the substantial character of the education given in the old *patshalas* more than thirty years ago. He himself was taught in them as a child, and he recalled with satisfaction the hard and practical training he then received. As had been very justly explained by his friend Babu Shama Churn Sircar, the education given in the *patshalas*, although limited, was, so far as it went, sound and practical; and whatever the boys were taught, was taught with a thoroughness seldom surpassed in any country. That education was held sufficient for all the ordinary business of keeping accounts, preparing documents, carrying on correspondence, engaging in debating matches, and the management of property and lawsuits. It formed also a very good groundwork for further progress in knowledge, and it frequently happened that those who had had the benefit of such a training and afterwards learnt English, were precisely the boys who distinguished themselves as able men. According to the present method, when education commences at once with the English school, the old *patshala* training is almost unknown, and although a boy may be well up in geography, history, grammar, and arithmetic, in matters of business he is entirely at sea. He could not allow, therefore, that the *patshala* system was to be condemned. The *patshalas* had their own uses, and were the indigenous and popular schools of the country in which all who had a desire to learn were taught. They were literally the schools of the people, and were supported by voluntary contributions. English education, too, had made great progress without any compulsion. Besides Government schools, a very large number of schools were now maintained by private charity; and in many cases schooling fees were paid with cheerfulness. He did not regret the desertion of hereditary trades, for in that way alone could the system of caste be rooted out, which had been the great barrier to progress. The philanthropy which supported these schools and the *patshalas* would be effectually destroyed by introducing any system of compulsory State education, and there would be then no longer any European or native gentlemen who would employ their superfluous wealth in promoting the diffusion of knowledge. Thus far for compulsory education, irrespective of means: now he would beg them to direct their attention to the means of carrying out the scheme suggested by the writer. The author said that the cost of it in Bengal alone would be more than 60 lakhs a year. Where was the money to come from? He recommended among other things an increase of the salt tax. Now, the salt tax was an imperial tax, and pressed equally upon the rich and the poor. Would such a tax increase the popularity of education? Not a bit of it; the poor man, deprived on the one hand of the labour of his children in tending his oxen, and on the other compelled to pay more for his salt, would curse education, and strive by every means to evade its provisions. The universal discontent and exasperation might prove too much, and, instead of furthering, put back education altogether for an indefinite time. Then the compulsion would be most distasteful to the people. No one liked to have a thing thrust down his throat against his will, and so if education were made compulsory no one would care to

get it. The destruction of self-reliance, private philanthropy, and love of knowledge were, therefore, his three first objections to compulsory education. And he might here observe that he wholly differed from the author of the paper about the character of John Bull. Instead of always thinking of himself first, as the author would have them believe, John Bull was the most liberal man in the world, and thought more of how to make other people happy and to send out missions to foreign and distant countries than any other race of people on the face of the whole world. It followed hence, that there was always an abundance of private charity for the benefit of the poor in England and other lands, so far as John Bull could provide it.

BABU MOHENDROLAL SHOME was in favour of a system of compulsory education. It was a trite saying that prevention is better than cure, and if it was true that education makes good citizens and diminishes crime, it was undoubtedly the duty of the Government to promote it, even by compulsory measures, if necessary. If the Government might make laws for the punishment of crime, it was no extravagance to expect that it should make laws for its prevention. He denied that a system of compulsory education would be regarded by the people in an unfavourable light. Education was fully and properly appreciated in Bengal, and, as Mr. Long had pointed out, provision had always been made for it from the most ancient times. It was a mistake to suppose that the idea of educating all the people of a village was now novel; such a system, if introduced in the proper way, would be welcomed and appreciated all over the country. Even now the *gurumahashay* holds among his pupils the children of every class; but he (the speaker) had not a high opinion of the instruction which he imparted. It was not systematic, and was very easily forgotten.

BABU CHUNDER NATH BOSE agreed with Dr. Chuckerbutty and Babu Shamachurn Sircar in their appreciation of the nature of the instruction derived from the *gurumahashay*. He thought that there was not much force in the remark of the last speaker that it was easily forgotten, because all knowledge, whether acquired in the *patshalas* or elsewhere, was liable to be forgotten if disused for any long period. As to the opinion expressed by Babu Koonjeelal Banerjee, that compulsory education would be distasteful to the people on the score of the expense, it did not seem to possess any great weight. It was not proposed under a compulsory system to take from the poorer classes more than one anna per mensem for each pupil, and now-a-days no *gurumahashay* took less than that from the poorest village lad. If then it was believed, as it undoubtedly was, that the *patshala* system was popular, it could not be said that, on the ground of its comparative expensiveness, a compulsory system would be less so. There was, however, one point of view in which he thought unfavourably of a compulsory system, but he would not anticipate on this occasion the remarks which he had expressed in his paper on the Social and Economical Condition of Bengal.

MR. WOODROW observed that it was very frequently stated that a system of compulsory education existed in the United States, in France, and elsewhere. He had been at the trouble of reading the reports on the subject for those countries, and he found that the law was practically a dead letter, and that in point of fact there was little or no compulsion in the matter at all. This was certainly the case in America; the people were undoubtedly very zealous in the promotion of education, and the Government made large grants annually for the purpose; but that was all. The people were left to educate themselves or not, as they liked, and the penalties were not enforced. The same was the case in France, and to some extent in Germany also. He did not believe, therefore, that a compulsory system was required, or would be more practicable in this

country. He thought the present system of village schools should be extended. There were now 130,000 children at school in Bengal, but that was but as a mere drop in the ocean compared with the population of these provinces.

MR. ATKINSON agreed in the opinion that the extension of the *patshala* system would sufficiently provide for the present educational requirements of the country. Improved *patshalas* might, under the arrangements now in operation, be spread over the country at a very rapid rate, provided only the requisite funds were available and they would be largely attended by the village population. He did not object to the principle of compulsory education, and it might hereafter be found possible and desirable to pass a compulsory enactment for Bengal, but the time had not yet come for the introduction of such a measure.

3. *The Calcutta Ragged School.* By J. B. KNIGHT, Esq.

[Read on the 19th January, 1869.]

How are the masses to be educated, is a problem the solution of which possesses deep interest both for England and India. In both countries there is a large class who are not touched by the ordinary systems of education. In the agricultural districts of the mother country, the small earnings of the parent leave nothing to spare for education, while, even if instruction is offered free of charge, the child can take but small advantage of it when, from his earliest years, his labour is required to add something, however small, to the common stock. In the large towns the case is somewhat different. Here the mechanic and artizan class predominate. Wages are higher, and a larger proportion are in a position to avail themselves of the advantages of education. But there is also found an element of vice—hidden vice—grovelling in dark courts and alleys, shunning the light of day, rich in the usual concomitants of rags, filth, and misery, which ordinary educational appliances are powerless to reach. Years ago philanthropists enquired what could be done for these children of vice and wretchedness—outcasts from society; and the result of the enquiry was the institution of ragged schools. In India the same classes exist under somewhat altered conditions. The agricultural classes are no doubt, relatively speaking, poorer; but their life is not one of incessant toil from morn till eve. The same obstacles, therefore, which stand in the way of the child of the English labourer, do not exist in this country. The ryots of Bengal are in a position to avail themselves of any education which may be offered to them. But the position of the dwellers in large towns is widely different. Huddled together in filthy lanes and *bustees*, shut out from all pleasant external influences, despised by their more fortunate fellow-countrymen, ignorant of everything save vice, exist thousands of the poorest of the poor, for whose elevation scarcely an effort has been made. There are, it is true, certain native free schools, supported with praise-worthy liberality, but these are chiefly confined to Hindus, and are not designed exclusively for the lowest classes. I know it is a moot point whether the great ends of education are best promoted by beginning at the lowest grades, but unquestionably

those classes should not be wholly neglected. On this subject I may be permitted to quote the words of our respected President, expressing, as they do, so clearly what are my own views, as well as the objects for which the Calcutta Ragged School was established. At the examination of St. Chrysostom's School, Mr. Phear is reported to have made the following remarks :—

Government was bound to provide education for all classes alike, but he maintained that, if means failed for a complete system, they should rather direct their efforts at the lower stratum than the upper. The result dependent upon the enlightenment of the most ignorant were of the highest moment to society, while the higher classes might be trusted to take care of themselves, and would be undoubtedly stimulated to do so by the advance of those below them.

During Miss Carpenter's stay in Calcutta, she was struck with what she saw and heard of the destitution and ignorance which existed, and resolved to initiate a scheme for the enlightenment of the poorest and most ignorant; and it is the detail and results of that scheme, so far as it has gone, that it is the object of this paper to communicate.

The Calcutta Ragged School has now been in existence two years. For the greater part of the time it has been supported by voluntary contributions, with the aid of a Government grant of Rs. 20 per mensem. The number of pupils who have attended the school since its commencement is about 150, of whom 110 still remain on the rolls. The average daily attendance has latterly been about 80. The boys are taught reading and writing, arithmetic, geography, and object lessons, together with knitting and rough needlework, for which a *durzee* is regularly employed. A separate school has also been established, in which English is taught to a certain number of boys who, by diligence and good behaviour, have merited the privilege.

Of course, much of the value of the experiment (as such) depends upon the class of boys who compose the school. It is designed especially for a class whose means of subsistence are so limited, that even the smallest sum demanded for the schooling at the lowest *patshala* could be spared only by the sacrifice of some of the necessities of life. And the design has been rigorously kept in view. To this end, a register is kept, in which are noted (1) the names of the boys; (2) their caste; (3) names of parents or guardians; (4) their employment; (5) their monthly earnings. So far as can be ascertained, these returns are to be relied on, and they show pretty conclusively that the boys are what they profess to be—too poor to pay for their own education. Personal inspection of the school confirms this conclusion. The

boys are mostly of a low type, coarse in feature, rough in voice and manners, veritable street Arabs. Indeed, many of them have been brought out of the streets in a state of total ignorance. Still, they are sharp and quick enough in learning, and many of them have made very creditable progress. True, it is but a "little learning," comparatively speaking, that they can carry away with them; but this little, far from being "a dangerous thing," is calculated to fit them the better to fill whatever situation they may be placed in. I cannot but think that even our most menial servants would be the better for the power of spending some of their hours of idleness in self-improvement. The gates of knowledge once opened, on us will devolve the responsibility of caring for their future progress.

One of the chief objections raised against schools for the education of the destitute classes is the belief entertained by many that in thus educating them we are unfitting them for their position in life. We might fairly ask by what right we would compel any one class of men to perform the lowest offices; but this would lead us too far. But we have evidence to show that so far no such result has attended the experiment in the case of the school immediately under notice. We have a list of the greater number of pupils who have left the Ragged School since its establishment, by which it appears that the occupations they have entered on are no higher in grade than those followed by their parents or guardians. Two years is but a short time—scarcely long enough to serve as a test, since it does not afford sufficient education to raise the learner in the social scale: but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that but few of the class taught at this school will be able to devote a sufficient number of years to qualify themselves for employment in higher grades.

The experiment, so far as it has gone, may fairly be assumed to be successful; whether it shall be extended, or even continued on its present very limited scale, must depend upon the support which may be accorded by those who regard the scheme with approval.

DE. CHUCKERBUTTY stated that he had been originally connected with the Calcutta Ragged School, and he thought there could be no doubt that it was conferring a great benefit on the abject population in its vicinity. He maintained that these children had claims upon the community, and it was criminal to leave them without instruction of any kind.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. Justice Phear) remarked that he had also had some connection with the school at the time of its establishment, and though that connection had since been severed, it was not because he did not think that the school was doing good work, but because he thought the Committee had somewhat departed from the original project. The school

was originally founded with a view to reclaim what Mr. Knight had called the "Street Arabs" of Calcutta, to whom it was intended to impart an elementary education in the vernacular. An English department had, however, since been added, and English was taught, if not under the same roof, at any rate in the same compound. An attraction had thus been held out to a class of boys altogether different from those for whom the school was intended, and he (the President) thought that such boys could not, under the present system, be entirely kept away. He had at first been led to support the school with the view of securing the fair trial of an experiment of a very special and interesting nature. He thought the introduction of the English class, however good it might be in itself, had materially changed the conditions of the experiment. The school had thereby become practically undistinguishable from many other schools in Calcutta supported by private charity; and in that character no longer possessed the same claim to his personal support as it originally possessed. He was not aware whether the English class was still kept up, but he should be glad to hear that the institution had reverted to its original character.

MR. ATKINSON enquired whether English was still taught in the school. He doubted the propriety of a grant from the State, if the school had assumed the character which had been attributed to it.

MR. KNIGHT replied that he had not visited the school since his return from England, but he believed that the English department still existed. He maintained that no departure had taken place from the original principles on which the school was established. Those principles were to give gratuitous education to the very lowest class, and he did not think the children should be debarred from acquiring a little knowledge of English, if they could.

List of pupils who have left the Calcutta Ragged School and entered on business life.

	NAMES OF PUPILS.	Age.	When entered the School.	When left	Present position.	Father's position.
			1867	1868		
1	Hussein Ali ..	13	January.	June.	Duftery.	Duftery.
2	Khetter Mohun Dass ..	12	"	August.	Compositor.	Goldsmith.
3	Muhammad Hazil ...	10	"	February.	Duftery.	Peon.
4	Binod Behary Dass ...	11	"	April.	Carpenter.	Carpenter.
5	Budh Nath Dass ...	11	"	Nov.	Painter.	Guilder.
6	Tincoury ...	14	"	"	Duftery.	...
7	Gopal Dass ...	7	"	May.	Painter.	...
8	Abboo ...	15	"	Dec.	Tailor.	...
9	Hanoo ...	13	"	Sept.	Tailor.	Tailor.
10	Dwarka Nath Roy ..	14	"	May.	Servant.	...
11	Nufur Dass ...	11	"	August.	Servant.	...
12	Golzar ...	9	"	"	Tailor.	...
13	Hurrydass Dey ...	15	"	Sept.	Carpenter.	...
14	Khibboo ...	18	February.	March.	Tailor.	...
			1869			
15	Behary Neogeo ...	15	"	Dec.	Distributor.	...
			1863			
16	Behary ...	15	"	August.	Painter.	...
17	Rojebho ...	14	"	Sept.	Servant.	...
18	Audhor Dass ...	12	March.	Nov.	Dealer in China Wares.	Carpenter.
19	Panchkoree ...	17	"	May.	Duftery.	Tailor.
20	Kedarnath Mitter ...	10	"	Nov.	Servant.	Blacksmith.
21	Shooba ...	11	"	April.	Duftery.	...
			1869			
22	Nanna ...	14	"	January.	Duftery.	...
			1869			
23	Gopaul Ch. Coomar	10	April.	July.	Tinman.	Blacksmith.
24	Khettermohun Jala...	13	"	Sept.	Fisherman.	...
25	Babboo ...	13	"	March.	Tailor.	...
26	Opender Ch. Dass ...	10	"	Nov.	Servant.	...
27	Nawab Jan ...	15	"	Dec.	Duftery.	...
28	Ahmad Gholam ...	15	"	October.	Duftery.	Tailor.
29	Boobun ...	10	May.	August.	Tailor.	...
30	Modoosoodun Dutt...	11	"	Sept.	Servant.	Ferryman.
31	Aptaf ...	13	June.	July.	Tailor.	...
32	Ramkrishno Dass ...	12	"	Sept.	Servant.	Guilder.
33	Koonjeelall Dass ...	9	"	"	Tinman.	...
34	Amritlall Dutt ...	12	August.	Oct.	Compositor.	Sircar.
35	Kareem ...	15	"	March.	Duftery.	Tailor.
36	Aghore Chandal ...	14	"	February.	Brushman.	...
37	Megnard Paul ...	14	"	Dec.	Servant.	...
38	Hussein Ali ...	12	October.	Nov.	Tailor.	...

ECONOMY AND TRADE.

I. *The Social Condition of the Muhammadans of Bengal, and the Remedies.* By REV. J. LONG.

[Read on the 21st January, 1869.]

THREE great waves have swept over this country, which have left a deep impression on the people's manners and social condition: first, the Brahminical, which identified itself with caste and the degradation of the lower orders; then the Buddhist, which proclaimed the great doctrine of social equality, and the rights of the masses to knowledge; the next, the Muhammadan, which has left its mark in the feudal system of the land tenure, the languages of the country, and the immuring of women. The last, the Anglo-Saxon, is, we trust, destined to proclaim the great principle of the social elevation of the people, and no monopoly of knowledge to a favoured few.

Our subject treats of the reflex action of the third wave in the social condition of the Muhammadans of Bengal; but the limit assigned to this paper, and the extensive bearings of the question, restrict us mainly to the issues: for as to the facts, it is evident that all over Bengal the Musalmans are gradually deteriorating.

The finger of decay appears on all relating to Muhammadanism in India, whether we look at their crumbling palaces or debased social condition; their nobility yare vanishing like the old French *noblesse*, while the descendants of the once mighty rulers of the land eke out a miserable pittance, living in the light of other days.

This is not a subject for the mere sentimentalist or the investigations of the antiquary; it involves considerations connected with the peace and social progress of the country, as decay leads to desperation, and those that have nothing to lose are ripe for any revolutionary scheme. When the sons of kings become beggars—as I have seen at Jampur—we can understand what the state of feeling is, keeping alive the fire of envy and hatred. Let us not despise the Musalmans because they are low and poor; for the history of India shows us a Shakya Muni heading the lower orders in a successful crusade against the Brahmins, and a Govindh forming the Sikhs, chiefly of the lower castes; one of the leaders of the Khalsa troops was a barber, another was a bearer.

Among the difficult problems of the day in relation to India, there is none pressing with more weight on reflecting minds than this very question of the social condition of Musalmans in India, and especially of Bengal. It is a painful truth that they are sinking in the social scale, and that the new rule adopted of requiring a knowledge of English from all candidates for offices of any importance, is plunging them still lower. Hence, in few Government offices in Bengal are there any respectable Muhammadan officials, but plenty of duffries and peons.

Fallen, fallen, fallen, fallen—
Fallen from its high estate.

What are the causes of this state is evident: the Musalmans have lost the employments they held as conquerors, and are being superseded by Hindus with the new conquerors of the empire; they maintain a style of luxury and living quite incompatible with their means; profligacy and depravity exercise a baneful effect. Adalut Khan, Munshi of Fort William College, refers in his Lecture on Sadi to this: "The love of luxury has ruined us, and made us unfit to assume the name of a nation,—this has numbed the quickness of our reasoning faculty,—this has degraded us to such a pitch that in education, skill, and bravery we are far inferior to the other rising nations of the globe; and this—this only—has made our kings mere puppets in the hands of their designing ministers, and lastly hurled them down from their seats of royalty."

Of the Muhammadans in relation to the English, it may be said that though among them they are not of them,—the Musalman stands alone; though he professes a religion in its main features based on Christianity; though in his love for history and actualities, he has more affinity with the European than the Hindu; though his history is connected with European history, in the annals of Spain, the Crusades, of Austria, and Turkey. And yet of the social condition of the Muhammadan little is known or even cared for: how can it be? Though the Muhammadans are probably 30,000,000 in India, yet how little is attention in England drawn to their feelings or opinions. At the period of the Indian mutiny there was a painful consciousness of the existence of Muhammadans in India; but since that event the knowledge seems to have evaporated, and we seem to be ignoring, with respect to the Musalmans, that sound maxim of Tol in his "Rajasthan"—"that no European can be an acceptable or useful functionary amongst the Hindus who is not familiar with their language, manners, and institutions, and disposed to mix with them upon equal and social terms."

Yet though the Moslems have fallen from their palmy state,—no longer the rulers of the land, and the leaders of India,—yet are they not unworthy of our sympathy; we must regard them as a mighty ruin, as the *debris* left by a vast and overwhelming torrent. We cannot forget the noble reign of the mighty Akbar, a monarch ahead of almost all the European monarchs of his day. Though ignorant of them, we must not ignore them,—they are too numerous for that, as Sir Richard Temple stated at a late meeting of our Society: “In most parts of India, the Muhammadan races still possessed vitality; the lower orders were still military, while the upper distinguished themselves in politics or literature. Wherever administrative capacity and energy were required, there would Muhammadans be found, now as ever. At Hyderabad, where he (the speaker) had spent the last few months, there were Muhammadan administrators and statesmen, one of whom, Sir Salar Jung, had a repute which might justly be a source of pride to his Muhammadan compatriots and co-religionists.” And our President made remarks in a similar strain: “It ought never to be forgotten that the Muhammadan population was lately predominant in this country, and the recollection of their former power in connection with their present want of social importance was liable to engender feelings not of the most desirable nature. The subject was therefore of the highest political importance. We had not long ago experienced that the disaffection of the Muhammadans may be a serious evil, and he thought, therefore, that no opportunities should be lost of conciliating them by a spirit of fairness and justice.”

One great difficulty in dealing with this subject is that, to treat it properly, it has to grapple with political questions, which are excluded from our debates; besides, the social elevation and education of the Musalman is not a simple question for schoolmasters or political economists: it has much to do with the stability of civilization in India, with the contentedness of a people, grounded on the giving them a due share in the administration of their own country.* We know that the reversal of this policy by the Muhammadans in the days of Aurungzebe so incensed the Hindus as to lead to that formidable Mahratta power which, in its struggle of despair, helped to overthrow the Mogul colossus. Let us not tread in their steps.

* The following resolution was sent August 19th, 1867, to the local Governments of India:—“The Governor-General in Council is fully alive to the urgent political necessity for opening up to natives of ability and character a more important, dignified, and lucrative sphere of employment in the administration of British India.”

While politics then are excluded from our Society, yet there is one subject which even the parent Society does not exclude—peace and international relations. A socially degraded people cannot be a contented one; they may appear so, but it is only the temporary repose of the volcano—the lull indicative of the approaching hurricane.

A knowledge that could make the Muhammadans acquainted with the power, intelligence, and resources of the English Government, would tend powerfully to tranquillise them. We saw the other side in the mutiny, when, ignorant of all European knowledge, the mutineers thought England was a little island in the ocean, not far from Saugur, and that exhausted of men she was sending women in petticoats (*i.e.*, kilts) to conceal her weakness.

Of course, to some it appears a solution of the present policy to say, "Keep down the Muhammadans by the sword," or as Alfred St. Clare says in "Uncle Tom" of the American slaves, "Of course they must be kept down steadily, consistently." We can only say that even if right, it would be a sheer impossibility. You cannot repress 30,000,000—a population ten times as numerous as that of Scotland. You cannot oppose the great law, that force without enlightenment is the mother of rebellion. You cannot treat this immense number, equal to the population of France, as Helots or Pariahs. One of the greatest writers of the day has said "there is no sure foundation set on blood."

The Musalmans of Bengal may be weak and without energy, but they are connected by descent, religion, and trade, and, above all, by a common misfortune of being equally under the Kafir yoke, with the hardy races of other parts of India. The Afghans for a long period held possession of Bengal. Any one that will look into the mysteries of the Bara Bazar will find there a powerful link—an impulse of common thought which vibrates throughout India: the Bara Bazar chain on one side extends to Hyderabad, on the other to Bokhara. In the mutiny they had frequently information of matters of importance even before the Government. Of late we know the correspondence that has been carried on between Dacca and our north-west frontier by the Ferazis and Wahabis.

We cannot now carry out the old policy of *divide et impera*. The rail and other causes are leading natives to see the value of combination, that union is strength, and that on certain questions Hindus and Musalmans can combine. Even the Hindus feel that the Muhammadans settled in the country they conquered, spent their money there, intermarried with the natives, and admitted them to their privileges.

The Ferazis and Wahabis have, like the Irish, sought to extend their influence abroad through want of home sympathy. As the Irish looked for intervention in their case from France, Austria, and Spain, so the Wahabis fan the flame in Central Asia and our Affghan frontier. The history of the Ferazis and Wahabis clearly shows that Muhammadanism is not dead, but sleeping.

The Wahabis sprung from that remarkable association founded in the deserts of Arabia a century ago by Abdul Wahib,—a species of Moslem-Puritanism which has since spread along the Persian Gulf to India, and even to Bengal.* In Bengal, like other sects, they are chiefly composed of the middle classes—of the sons of tailors, butchers, hide merchants, petty traders, shop-keepers, and ryots. There are few of the upper classes belonging to them, excepting the Begum of Bhopal and the Nawab of Tonk.

Two years ago, I spent a week at the Nawab of Murshedabad's palace. I long before had been deeply interested in the sad state of the social degradation of the Muhammadans of Bengal, and the remedies for ameliorating it. I made many enquiries there on the subject, and, at my request, the Dewan of the Nazim summoned a meeting of the gentry of Murshedabad to talk over the question with me. We had a most interesting meeting, which lasted three hours, and in which the gentlemen made their remarks fully and freely, as I wished them to do. The conclusions I came to were, that there was an immense amount of bitterness and discontent existing owing to the want of a career for Muhammadans. Their fall from political power and the English Government making a book career a test for office had left numbers, poor and proud, without any resources, swelling that torrent of discontent which rolls between Hyderabad, Lucknow, and Bokhara.

They admitted the idleness and false luxury of many, but they complained seriously that the Government did not give them credit for the time they were obliged to devote to Persian studies: the Bengalees had only two languages to study,—they had three.

What are the remedies for this unhappy state of things?

1. The foremost step, we believe, must be a sincere attempt to remove that veil which hides the Bengal Moslem world from us. We have pursued in this case what may be called an ostrich policy, in following the well-known practice of that bird, which, when closely pursued, buries its head in the sand, fancying that by hiding the danger it escapes from it. So in India men have shrunk from that

* For an interesting account of them, see "Burkhardt's Travels," and that most valuable work, Palgrave's "Arabia." The expenses of Mr. Palgrave's journey were defrayed by the Emperor Napoleon.

question—What will you do with the Musalmans? They are 30,000,000 in India: they are sinking to the level of a Pariah race, —possessing great physical energy, with minds intensely embittered by their position, and hoping that revolutions may bring them some relief.

II. The collecting and communicating information through the agency of this Society, on all points relating to the social condition of the Muhammadans, the following among others :—

1. The numbers and position of those Musalmans of Pathan or Mogul descent resident in Bengal.

2. The points of difference between Muhammadans and Hindus in social life and morals.

3. The number, education, emoluments, and influence of Mullahs and Kazis.

4. The mutual influence of Musalmans and Hindus on each other.

5. The intercourse kept up between Musalmans in Bengal and in other parts of India.

6. The numbers and social position of Arab seamen, Affghan traders, and Moguls in Calcutta.

7. The past and present social condition of the Musalmans in Dacca, Murshedabad, Hooghly, Calcutta, Pandua, Furriddpur.

The *Seir Mutakherim*, published last century, throws much light on the social condition of Murshedabad, and the state of the Muhammadans: it is a second Clarendon.

Herklots has written well on the manners and customs of the Musalmans, but chiefly those of South India.

The *Memoirs of Lutfulla*, by Eastwick, are also valuable; his first ideas of Englishmen were that they were a race who had no skin, but a thick membrane covering their bodies, which made them appear white, and whose creed was that the Almighty had a wife and a son. The secrets of Haram life have been unfolded by *Mrs. Mir Haseyn*, an English lady married to a Muhammadan. *Sir H. Elliot's Works* are very valuable as to the past.

We are greatly in need of statistics in reference to the social condition of the Muhammadans in Bengal; one fact is patent—they have degenerated, are degenerating, and will sink to a still lower depth, unless steps are taken to remedy what must be an evil attended with serious consequences. Our social structure in India must not be built on a quicksand. You must not turn numbers of the people through rank despair into those mysterious but mischievous beings, wandering fakirs; the mutiny records their influence, so did the days of Aurungzebe, when they amounted to 110,000: *gens aeterna in qua nemo nascitur*.

The panics in the mutiny illustrate our ignorance of the Muhammadans, as well as those bazar rumours so mysterious in their origin, but so pernicious and widespread in their effects. Look even at a late scene in the City of Palaces, which boasts so of its civilization, or rather English varnish; the lower class of natives in Calcutta were quite in a panic for several weeks, afraid to cross the plain at night because they believed that several hundred heads were being cut off by Government as an offering to complete Kidderpur bridge. A tailor told a lady of my acquaintance that he saw seven headless corpses lying in the plain, their heads having been cut off to make this offering.

III. Encouragement must be given to the study of Arabic and Persian among Europeans. Sir Frederic Halliday, when Governor of Bengal, remarked on this—"To find Europeans in India acquainted with Arabic is now very difficult. The Government has long ceased to encourage the acquisition of such knowledge by its servants; and it is with great difficulty that an officer can be found capable of superintending the College. Indeed, when Principal Lees visited England last year, the Government was obliged to entrust the temporary superintendence in his absence to an officer who had some knowledge of Persian indeed, but did not pretend to any skill in Arabic. And if any accident were to remove the present Principal, I am not acquainted, even by name, with any officer competent by knowledge of Arabic to supply his place."

Are we to maintain the policy pursued towards Ireland, where, when Queen Elizabeth founded a University, there were chairs of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, &c.; and though chairs of Italian, German, and French have been established of late, yet, to the present time, there is not an endowed chair of the Celtic language. See on this subject Mathew Arnold's able Lectures on Celtic Literature.

The Marquis of Wellesley's policy was not such when he founded the College of Fort William, and gave every encouragement to the study of Arabic and Persian by Europeans.

IV. The opposing of excessive centralization and leaden uniformity so popular in India. We want, like the French Revolutionists, one dead level for all, ignoring the fact as stated by Mr. Bright in the House of Commons:—"Be it 50, or 100 years, or 500 years, does any man with the smallest glimmering of common sense believe that that great country, with its 20 different nations, and its 20 languages, can ever be bound up and consolidated into one compact and enduring empire? I believe such a thing to be utterly impossible."

The great question is—is India to be regarded as one country to which you can apply one great system of centralization, or is it to

be regarded as a collection of nationalities, like Europe, to be treated on the Federal principle? The former has been applied to the Muhammadans, and hence no regard has been paid to their specialities.*

The Moslems resemble the Celts very much in the tenacity with which they adhere to their ancient character and language: the history of Ireland for five centuries, and of Wales even in the present day, as well as of the Highlands of Scotland, illustrates this. Moore, the historian, remarks of the Irish Celts, as a remarkable result, "that after many successful invasions by foreign tribes, the great bulk of the nation itself—its language, character, and institutions—should have remained so free from change, that even the conquering tribes themselves should have been mingled with the general mass."

No one can win such men without sympathy. It has been remarked of the Irish: "We might as reasonably expect the reflexion of a mirror without an original object to produce it, as gratitude and veneration to discover themselves in the hearts of those who have never been treated with benevolence and condescending sympathy." The policy in Ireland was to ignore the Celtic language, and history tells us, in lines of blood, the result; so little sympathy was there for a race whom Lord Lyndhurst styled aliens in blood, speech, and religion, that the ablest Celtic grammar was published by a German, Zeus, while the enquiries into Welsh literature were due to Mr. Jones, a peasant. Bedell, an English Bishop in Ireland, was one of the few ecclesiastics who advocated the admission of the Irish nation to the ministry. He was opposed to it on the ground that patronage was the privilege of the conquerors, but, Cassandra-like, he told the rulers of that day that hoodwinking the Irish in ignorance was an ill principle of policy, which would be bitterness in the end. He was only ridiculed for this advice, and in the Irish rebellion of 1641 he was the only Englishman allowed to stay under his own roof.

V. Encouraging the combined study of Persian and English. We are happy to see a recent change in educational policy, which, while pursuing the study of English, recognizes the importance of the vernacular and classical languages of India, and that the aim must be not mere Anglicising, but an enlightened Orientalism.

* M. Guizot, in an excellent article in *La Revue des Deux Mondes* for last September—"La France et le Prusse responsable devant l'Europe"—makes the following weighty observations:—"Not only is the diversity of race and languages in those organised societies that we call a nation or a state, a fact which from the earliest period has been maintained in history, but this fact has powerfully contributed to the moral and social development of men, and to the progress of general civilization: it enters evidently into the plans, of Divine Providence."

The gratifying success of Sanskrit studies of late, in connection with the Calcutta University, affords one of the happiest omens for the future.

Surely, without depreciating the English, the Persian and Arabic have their claim also, as well as the Sanskrit. They are not only brought into the staple of the Hindustani, the *lingua franca* of India, but they form the key for communication with the majority of natives in North India and Central Asia.

A fatal mistake has arisen in Bengal from the circumstance that the Bengalis have such a wonderful power of speaking and writing in a foreign language, that no Native or European equals them in that except the Russians. Even John Bull himself is notoriously deficient in his knowledge of foreign languages, as every Frenchman and German can testify. Why then apply this test to all, and especially to a class like the Musalmans, who hold it a matter of religious duty to pay attention to the study of Persian and Arabic?

Are we, for the sake of swelling our University lists, and gratifying the pride of pedagogues, to enforce the English Test Act, and thus to violate one of the essential principles on which we hold India—the giving the natives a large share in the administration of their own country, and thus creating a joint interest with us in the land, identifying their interests with ours?

But filling offices with men like books in breeches is hardly carrying out this plan: we want these, but we require also those with a better *physique*,—not only strong in the brain, but also in the legs. Physical energy is as necessary as mental. If mere book-erum is to be the test, why not allow Bengalis to compete for the artillery or cavalry? Just fancy a Bengali B.A. leading a charge of infantry!

Sir Donald McCleod, the able Governor of the Punjab, made the following remarks, in reply to an address of the native nobility of Lahore, on the subject of an Oriental University:—

“The great bulk of our scholars never attain more than a very superficial knowledge, either of English or of the subjects they study in that language; while the mental training imparted is, as a general rule, of a purely imitative character, ill calculated to raise the nation to habits of vigorous or independent thought.

“It appears indeed evident, that to impart knowledge in a foreign tongue must, of necessity, greatly increase the difficulties of education. In England, where the Latin and Greek languages are considered an essential part of a polite education, all general instruction is conveyed, not in those languages, but in the vernacular of the country; and it seems difficult to assign a sufficient reason why a different principle should be acted upon here.

“And this brings me to the defect,—which I myself more especially deplore—in the system of instruction at present almost exclusively followed, viz., that it has tended, though not intentionally, to alienate from us, in a great measure, the really learned men of your race. Little or nothing has been done to conciliate these, while the literature and science which they most highly value have been virtually ignored. The consequence has been that the men of most cultivated minds amongst our race and yours have remained but too often widely apart, each being unable either to understand or to appreciate the other. And thus we have virtually lost the aid and co-operation of those classes who, I feel assured, afforded by far the best instruments for creating the literature we desire.”

VI. Imparting knowledge to the Muhammadans through the Vernacular. While, then, a knowledge of English is of great value, and deserves every encouragement, still, in the *present* state of the Muhammadan mind, it is not prepared to do what the Bengali does—gain European knowledge entirely through a foreign language: you must therefore *at present*, give it to him through his own vernacular, as is the Lahore University plan, and as the Alighur Vernacular Society has proposed to Government. Require a high test of knowledge for office, but let it be given through a vernacular medium.

As the Muhammadan student has, besides English, to study two languages, Persian and Bengali, whereas the Bengali has only one, the principle of an equivalent should be allowed, viz., his knowledge of Persian should compensate for his inferiority to the Bengali in English pronunciation and composition.

The Lahore University movement is, in this respect, on a broader basis than that of the Calcutta University. One of its objects is to give a high course of English *knowledge*, but in the vernacular language.

Its objects are thus stated:—

“In the examinations and the tuition of the University, ‘the comparative method’ will be aimed at, in order to form a link between the languages, literature, and science of the East and the West.

“Urdu and Hindi will be the principal vehicles for *direct instruction* to the masses of people.

“Arabic with Muhammadans and Sanskrit with Hindus will hold that place which the classical languages of Greece and Rome hold towards ourselves.

“English will give the opportunity for comparing their own language, literature, and science with our own, and its tuition will thus be rendered a really invigorating exercise for already prepared minds, not a mere word teaching.”

This plan has met with the cordial approval of the Governor-General, who in 1865 subscribed Rs. 2,000 per annum to it; Sir Donald McLeod, Governor of the Panjab, gives Rs. 1,000 annually; the Raja of Kashmere subscribed half a lakh to it; and the torrent swells as it rolls.

The results of this oriental movement are thus stated :—

“*1st.*—The establishment of the Vernacular Literary Society of the Panjab, the Anjuman-i-Panjab, and that of a number of either affiliated or independent Societies of the same kind in different parts of the Panjab.

“*2nd.*—The establishment of a Free Public Library and Reading Room in the City of Lahore.

“*3rd.*—The composition, compilation, and translation of a number of valuable treatises in Urdu, Hindi, Arabic, Sanskrit, and Persian.

“*4th.*—The presence of over 120 candidates from all parts of the Panjab, the North-Western Provinces, and even Bengal, at the first Oriental Examination held at Lahore. The examination—a very strict one—was in Arabic, Sanskrit, Urdu, Hindi, Gurmukhi, Pukhtu, and Persian; and although only a very short notice of it was given, and the prizes offered were few and small in value, it attracted a considerable number of candidates.

“*5th.*—The establishment of an Oriental and of an Anglo-Oriental University School, at which more than 500 pupils of all ages attend, and the affiliation to these schools and to the Anjuman of a number of smaller schools.

“*6th.*—The great concession made by Moulvies and Pandits to English education in themselves undergoing or promoting a more critical system of studies.”

It is likely to end in the formation of a North-West University.

The feeling is still strong among the Moslems in favor of those languages which in their present depressed state they feel to be a glorious inheritance. Hence even here in Bengal, we have instances of Muhammadans who love this knowledge so for its own sake, as to think nothing of begging their bread to great distances, even to Arabia and Egypt, to study the favorite Arabic. They may be said literally to pursue knowledge even to China. Maulvi Abdool Luteef, in his able paper on the Hooghly Madrassa, has stated the case thus :—

“The fruits of English education will show off to the best advantage, in conjunction with scholarships in the Muhammadan classics. Unless a Muhammadan is a Persian and Arabic scholar, he cannot attain a respectable position in Muhammadan society; *i.e.*, he will not be regarded or respected as a scholar; and unless he has such a position, he can have no influence in the Muhammadan community.

Consequently, a Muhammadan who has received an English education, and has omitted the study of the Persian and Arabic, is little able to impart the benefits of that education to the members of his community: he cannot persuade others into an appreciation of the beneficence of the British rule, and the greatness of the British power."

This is not the occasion to dwell on the great importance of the Arabic and Persian languages and literature, which is acknowledged by the leading scholars of Europe, and which are of such great use for political and commercial objects; we need not therefore be surprised that the Muhammadans are justly proud of the Arabic and Persian languages, which enshrine so vast an amount of valuable literature, and which are associated with the palmy days of their greatness on the banks of the Guadelquiver or Euphrates, with the times of Harun ul Rashid or Akbar, with the learned days of Spain, and, in fact, with the recollection that their literature preserved civilisation in Europe during the middle ages, forming the golden link between Latin culture and modern progress.

If in every country a foreigner's knowledge of the language is the key to the people's heart, why should the Moslems form an exception? why should we try to adopt towards them the worst features of the Irish policy, the endeavour to confine knowledge to the difficult and distasteful medium of a foreign language? Do we want to revive the policy of William the Conqueror in England, which made Norman French the language of the camp, the court, the law,—the pathway to all honor and preferment? yet in vain—the English mind, after centuries of suffering, rose against it. The Moslems themselves in Bengal made Persian the language of courts and business; yet we know the vernacular has risen against it, and thrown off the incubus as the Spaniards did at a later period, in their own country, though the Muhammadans had for ages imposed the Arabic language on Spain. The truth holds—Nations follow the language of the mother.

VII. While, with a proper regard to native wants, able professors have been imported from Europe for the cultivation of Sanskrit; while we have had a Ballantine, a Griffiths, and a Hall at Benares, a Wilson, a Marshall, and a Cowell in Calcutta, who by their influence have given a great impetus to Sanskrit literature; while, on the other hand, professors for various branches of English literature have been drawn from Europe;—what has been done for Arabic and Persian, though professors of these languages are required not merely for philological studies, but also for historical? Persian, as Sir H. Elliot shows, embodies our best materials for the past history of India, and for throwing light on the line of politics.

The Madrasa in Calcutta, richly endowed by Warren Hastings, has scarcely ever had European professors attached to give their entire time to it, a measure absolutely necessary to secure success; and even the college of Mahomed Sing at Hooghly, founded with Muhammadan money, has been alienated to the Hindus, and no European professor acquainted with Arabic has ever been connected with it.

Sir Frederick Halliday quotes the following remarks of one of the first European professors appointed to the Madrasa, "that the system of study which was actually in operation led to the encouragement of purely dialectical pursuits, and tended to keep up antiquated prejudices and to give sanction to superstitions condemned even by Islam. The system is, in fact, precisely the same as the one which was in vogue in Europe during the darkest ages; and it produces the same results. The sophistries of dialectics learned in a sacred language puff up the professors with conceit, render them hostile to everything practical or founded on experience, and extinguish in them the sense of art and beauty, and blunt the sentiment of equity and morality."

But Dr. Sprenger was sent elsewhere, and could not carry out his reforms in the Madrasa.

VIII. Scholarships have been abundantly bestowed on Hindus to enable them to continue their studies: a similar encouragement is even more urgently needed for the Muhammadans.

The above are some of the remedies proposed for the present state of things, based on the principle of employing Muhammadans more extensively under Government, and applying a different educational test from that for the Hindus.

There are signs of a move among Muhammadans. The Anglo-Persian class in the Madrasa has been a decided success; many students have matriculated from it at the University; two have obtained the degree of B.A. at the Entrance Examination. This year, of eight candidates sent up from the Madrasa for matriculation, six were successful.

Medical education through the vernacular has been a success in Calcutta, Agra, and Lahore among the Muhammadans.

The Survey Department has given a scope to Muhammadans. The publication and use of an Arabic grammar in India, compiled by Moulvi Abdullah Al-obydi, Anglo-Arabic Professor in Hooghly College, with the commencement of a series of works on this plan, is a sign of progress. The Moulvi is the author also of an interesting prize essay on the subject of Western and Muhammadan learning on their mutual action and influences on each other.

The foundation of a new literature, called the Musulman-Bengali, shows an awakening of mind among the lower orders.

The Muhammadan Literary Society, in its annual *soirée*, is a success.

The days of Muhammadan stagnation are, we believe, passing away ; there are ripples indicating that the current is in motion ; with a supply of European professors of Arabic and Persian, the establishment of scholarships, the co-study of Persian and English, and the opening of Government employ to the Muhammadans on the terms of a *special* test, there is every likelihood that a new career may be open to the neglected Moslems of Bengal,—a measure conducive to peace, as well as to the elevation of an important class of her Majesty's Indian subjects.

MOULVIE ABDOL LUTEEF acknowledged the increasing interest which was taken by Europeans in the present day in the unfortunate condition of his co-religionists. For their sympathy and good will, such men as Mr. Long were entitled to the deepest gratitude of the Muhammadan community ; and on its behalf he now tendered the lecturer his best thanks. He fully concurred in the view which Mr. Long had taken of the encouragement which should be given to vernacular education among Muhammadans ; but he ventured to think that such efforts would not be of much practical use, unless they embraced a scheme for imparting to Muhammadan youth the highest instruction in English science and literature. At present there was no provision for this purpose. He thought, therefore, that all who were interested in the social improvement of his countrymen should unite their exertions in the attempt to establish a strictly Muhammadan institution, in which instruction in the Arabic classics might go hand in hand with the English studies of the University.

BARU CHUNDER NATH BOSE, after thanking Mr. Long for his valuable paper, said that, in considering the social status of the Muhammadans, it was of very great importance to bear in mind the historical changes which that people had undergone. There was a time when the Muhammadans were the greatest power on the face of the earth,—when their empire extended from India on the east to Spain on the west,—when poetry and philosophy were cultivated by them with a high degree of success. But the rise of the Muhammadan power, he observed, was owing to the operation of a strong religious impulse and certain other principles, all of which seemed to him to have spent their force. Historically considered, the Muhammadans were, therefore, in the predicament of the descendants of the ancient Romans and of the degenerate Greeks of the present day. He thought that the Muhammadans had passed that manhood which nations, like individuals, can enjoy but once ; and he was of opinion that having become in a manner fossilised, the Muhammadans could not expect any new life to be infused into them. He approved of the suggestions which Mr. Long had made for raising the social status of the Muhammadans, and perceived their excellence in connection with the objects aimed at by the lecturer ; but he thought that no very sanguine expectations could be founded upon them. The fact of the Muhammadans being a people scattered over different parts of the earth seemed to him to be worthy of serious consideration, in discussing the question of their social status in the light in which it had been brought forward by Mr. Long.

DR. CHUCKERBUTTY remarked that the subject discussed by the Rev. Mr. Long was of great importance, and the Muhammadan gentlemen present were better able to express an opinion on it than he himself. He understood that the great point insisted on by the author was, as recommended by Sir Donald McCleod, the establishment of an Oriental University for encouraging, through the medium of the oriental languages, the study of European science, history, and literature. So long as the object of study remained the same, it mattered little in what language the education was conducted; surely physical truths taught in the vernaculars of India would not be different from the same truths taught in the English language. He would endeavour to illustrate this in the department of knowledge with which he was most familiar. It is true that the first attempt to give medical education in the vernaculars was a failure. But this was because it was conducted with great nervousness, without human dissection, and in constant dread of hurting the feelings of the Hindus. On the contrary, the attempt to impart medical education in English was a decided success. It was soon found out, however, that the success was limited, and that the English classes could never turn out a sufficient number of practitioners to meet the medical wants of the country. This led to the opening of first an Urdu class, and subsequently of a Bengali class. The progress of these vernacular classes, taught much in the same way as the English class, had been most remarkable. Out of a total of more than six hundred pupils, about five hundred belong to these classes; and out of the total number of successful candidates who take their diplomas every year, a corresponding proportion comes from the same source. The cost of education per man of the vernacular students was, he was afraid to say how much, less than that of the English students; perhaps not more than one-twenty-fifth to one-fiftieth of the cost in their case. Consequently, in the number of students under instruction, in the number of diploma-holders annually sent forth, as well as in the cheapness of cost, vernacular medical education in Bengal had a decided superiority. And what he had said about Bengal was equally applicable to Madras, Bombay, and Lahore; and more than applicable to Hyderabad, Agra and Nagpore, in these places medical instruction being entirely confined to the vernaculars.

Now what is possible in one department of knowledge is equally possible in its other departments; and if the Muhammadans preferred to receive instruction through their own vernacular or classical languages, they would be no worse than the Hindus. He could not admit that there was any real difference in vitality or intelligence between the Muhammadans and the Hindus. He denied that Muhammadans were in a fossilised state. Muhammadan workmen were as clever in the mechanical arts as the Hindus. In the learned professions, too, when they freely embraced them, the Muhammadans shone quite as much; and Salar Jung and others named by the author were universally recognized as able and successful statesmen. If they had had the benefit of an English education, they would most probably have enjoyed a still greater reputation. He did not agree with Mr. Long that there was any necessity for an Oriental University. The Calcutta University was good enough for all purposes. It encouraged the study of several languages besides English. Let it extend their number and found classes upon all subjects in every one of them. Then the student could use his option as to the language he would learn and take his degree in. Mr. Long did not wish to exclude English from the Oriental University. The whole thing after all was, perhaps, a quibble about a name. It mattered little by what name the university was called, so long as it gave fair play to every language employed by the people, besides the English, which

must always hold its place, and could not be dispensed with. All these languages had their advantages as well as their disadvantages. The vernaculars were as yet poor in scientific and historical works. But let them create the demand, and it would be supplied before long. The vernacular medical classes had the same difficulty to contend against; but, he was happy to say, several good books had been already translated or composed, and if the publication was satisfactory, it commanded a rapid sale and was soon out of the market. The same thing would happen in other departments. The English language was rich in scientific, historical, and literary compositions; but then it was a foreign language, and could not be acquired by an Indian student without many years' application, and loss of time which many people could ill afford, to say nothing of the expense.

MR. BEVERLEY agreed with the writer of the paper that any improvement in the social condition of the Muhammadans must be based upon a more liberal employment of the higher classes in Government service. But he doubted whether the encouragement of the study of their vernacular was the most suitable means to this end in Lower Bengal. Mr. Long seemed to have forgotten that the Muhammadan vernacular was not the vernacular of Bengal. Urdu was almost as foreign a language in Bengal as was English; and when there were so many vernaculars to deal with, as Bengali, Uriya, Assamese, Urdu and Hindi, it was no wonder that English had come to be so largely used for purposes of administration in the Lower Provinces. He did not wish to be understood to undervalue a knowledge of the vernacular in the rulers of the country; but he believed that, under existing circumstances, a knowledge of English was the Muhammadan's surest pathway to office. He had himself been debarred from employing several Muhammadan gentlemen solely in consequence of their ignorance of the English language. They were, no doubt, placed at a disadvantage in this respect as compared with Hindus; and he maintained that special facilities ought now to be afforded them for acquiring a knowledge of English in their own schools.

MOULVIE ABDUL LUTEEF explained that the reason why the Hindus had outstripped the Muhammadans in obtaining posts under Government was, that while the Hindus had no literature of their own to study, the latter were still under the necessity of cultivating their own language and literature. No Muhammadan gentleman was considered to have received a liberal education who had not studied Arabic and Persian; but these languages were not taught in the same schools and colleges where English was taught, and thence arose the difficulty experienced by Muhammadans in the study of English. He did not think that any measures which did not aim at providing facilities for the acquirement of the English language would materially benefit his countrymen.

MOULVIE ABDUR RAUF made some remarks in Urdu to the same effect.

In bringing the discussion to a close, the PRESIDENT remarked that he had little doubt that Moulvie Abdool Lutef had hit the right mark in accounting for the present relation which the Hindus occupied in regard to the Muhammadans. He thought, however, that argument had not been carried far enough. Under the early rule of the English, almost all the posts under Government were occupied by Muhammadans; while, at the present day, the case was exactly the reverse. The reason was that the Hindus had been wise enough, or fortunate enough, to acquire a knowledge of the English language with the advantages which attend it. If the Muhammadan is still so proud and staunch that he will not accept that knowledge without his own literature, he cannot complain of the consequences which result. It was not true that the Hindu had no literature; he had, perhaps, a finer literature than the Muhammadan. He (MR. PHEAR)

thought we had not yet truly measured the forces which operated in this matter, or gauged the real causes of the Muhammadans' great repugnance to the English language. They had now, however, he believed, seen their mistake, and were anxious to obtain an English education, if they could. This was doubtless the cardinal point. If they could not free themselves entirely from the idea that Persian and Arabic are essentials of a liberal education, we probably ought to give them opportunities for studying them side by side with English. In reply to an observation of Moulvie Abdool Luteef, the PRESIDENT admitted that until the rise of the English power in this country, Sanskrit literature was not open to the body of the people in the same way as the Muhammadan classics. But this difference did not really affect the comparison, for the Hindu rivals of the Muhammadans, who had beaten them in the race, were at first almost entirely Brahman, and, moreover, the mass of the Muhammadans who were displaced were not in any sense men possessed of a liberal education.

2. *On the Population of India.* By H. BEVERLEY, M.A., of the Civil Service.

[Read on the 20th January, 1869.]

The population of any place or country must be considered as the ground-work of all statistical enquiry concerning it. We cannot form a correct judgment concerning any community, until we have become acquainted with the number of human beings of which it is composed, nor until we have ascertained many points that indicate their condition, not only as they exist at the time of enquiry, but comparatively also with former periods.

Admiralty Manual.

It is a subject of congratulation for this Association to learn that the Government have determined to take a complete census of the total population of British India in the year 1871, that being the year in which the next periodical census of the United Kingdom will be taken. Though no regular census of the whole country has ever yet been taken, the proposition is not altogether new. In most of the provinces enumerations of the people have been made with more or less accuracy, and especially during the last few years attempts have been made to collect trustworthy statistics in regard to the numbers and rate of progress of the population.

A census was taken of the North-West Provinces in 1853, when Mr. Thomason was Lieutenant-Governor. The report was drawn up by Mr. Christian, but is now out of print. The second census was taken twelve years later, in 1865. Mr. Chichele Plowden's report on this latter census is a mine replete with suggestive statistics and valuable information. In Madras, rough enumerations of the people were made in 1850-51, in 1856-57, and in 1861-62, and a regular census was taken last year. In the Punjab, an enumeration of the population was made in 1854, and a new census was taken on the night of the 10th January, 1868. A census was taken of the Central Provinces in 1866, and of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts in 1867. The Justices of Calcutta also took a census of the town within their jurisdiction in the early part of 1866.

It will thus be seen that Lower Bengal is almost the only province of India in which there has been no regular census. All the information we possess on the subject of the population of these provinces is derived from estimates which were made at the time each separate district was surveyed, whether it was five or fifty years ago. Such estimates were based on a calculation of the number of houses, but such calculations are always more or less

erroneous, the average number of persons to a household or enclosure being mere guess-work, until satisfactorily ascertained by regular statistical enquiry. Moreover, no account whatever has been taken of any subsequent increase, although the extension of cultivation alone makes it probable that such increase has taken place. It may be assumed, therefore, that the actual population of Lower Bengal is not only unknown, but that the received figures do not even approximately represent its present condition and progress.

The uses and advantages of a periodical census have long been recognized by the civilized portion of the globe. In Great Britain, the first regular census took place in 1801, and has been followed by a census at an interval of every ten years. In the United States, there is also a decennial census, the first having been taken in 1790. In France, a census was taken in 1801, 1806, 1821, and at quinquennial periods ever since. In Austria, the population is numbered every year; in Prussia, every three years. Censuses are also taken from time to time in Spain, Portugal, Russia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, and other European countries. In this way the progress of these States has been ascertained from time to time, and the respective Governments have been enabled to contrast one State with another, and so to frame their legislative or executive action as to conduce to the greater happiness and prosperity of the people. Statistics regarding the population of a country lie at the very root of all social improvement; without their aid, the statesman, the educationist, the philanthropist, alike work in the dark. The value of such statistics depends, of course, upon the extent to which they are collected. In some countries the mere numbers of the people are recorded, the males being simply distinguished from females, and children from adults. In others these enquiries are made much more complete, embracing the operations of agriculture and trade, and investigating periodically the whole system of the social economy.

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to dilate on the present occasion upon the various uses to which the census statistics may be put; it will be sufficient to indicate a few points upon which the simplest returns serve to convey the most valuable information. Statistics of population, then, show the relative density of the inhabitants of different parts of the country, or of the world, as compared with the area and extent of cultivation; and the public is thus enabled to judge of the sufficiency of the food supplies, or of the necessity for importation. They enable

us to discover the relative proportion of the sexes, and to ascertain the cause of any great difference in their numbers, with a view to its removal. With the aid of mortuary returns, they also serve to indicate the average duration of life, the ages at which disease and death make their greatest ravages, and the localities which are more or less favorable to longevity. If the race, caste, and occupation of each individual is noted, we collect valuable information as to the different classes and occupations of the people, showing how far they are simply an agricultural community, or to what extent trades and manufactures are practised among them. Such statistics also enable us to test the increase or decrease of crime and the criminal classes, the progress of education, and the numbers of the maimed and indigent who need relief. In a word, it may be said that the value of such enquiries is only limited by the extent to which they are conducted; each new item of information adds to our knowledge of the social economy of the community, and consequently to the power of intelligently influencing its destinies for good.

A valuable compendium of the statistics of the area and population of India, so far as was known up to that time, was published in *The Annals of Indian Administration* for the year 1866-67, Part I., Vol. XII. Substituting the latest figures for those provinces in which more recent investigations on the subject have been carried out, the following would appear to be the population of each province, so far as at present it has been determined:—

Province.				Year of Census.	Area in square miles.	Population.
1	Bengal	...	...	By estimate only	226,552	39,567,675
2	North-Western Provinces	...	...	1865	83,369	30,110,615
3	Madras	...	...	1867	121,250	26,512,490
4	Bombay	...	...	Unknown	113,606	12,820,818
5	Punjab	...	...	1868	95,768	17,593,916
6	Central Provinces	...	...	1866	111,718	9,101,511
7	Oude	...	...	By estimate	80,112	8,326,647
8	British Burmah	...	...	Ditto 1866	90,070	2,330,453
9	Mysore	...	...	Ditto 1866	27,002	3,900,735
10	Berar	...	...	1867	17,331	2,231,565
11	Coorg	...	...	By estimate	2,116	115,827
Total				...	954,928	152,615,312

It would thus seem that the area of British India, exclusive of the feudatory states, is 954,928 square miles, with a population of 152,615,312 souls.

The area of the native states is estimated at 596,790 square miles, with a population of 47,909,199 souls.

The total area of India is therefore equal to the area of Europe exclusive of Russia, and the total population is probably over two hundred millions.

In the preceding table the area of Bengal is represented to be 226,552 square miles, with a population of 39,567,675, giving an average of 171 souls to the square mile. But these figures include the Non-Regulation Provinces of Assam, Cooch Behar, and Chota Nagpore, besides the Hill Tracts of Orissa and Chittagong. Excluding these districts, we have for the strictly Regulation Provinces, the old "Bengal, Behar, and Orissa," an area of 136,153 square miles and a population of 34,206,271, or 251 souls to the square mile. This is much below the average of the North-West Provinces, where the density of the population has been found to be as high as 361 souls to the square mile. I fully anticipate, therefore, that the results of the coming census will demonstrate the population of Bengal to be very much in excess of what is now generally supposed. Indeed, it will, in all probability, fall not far short of fifty millions. It must be remembered that the figures for some districts are the same now as were estimated fifty years ago, being handed down from year to year without any attempt to ascertain the rate of increase or the actual progress of the population. The Lower Provinces are quite as well cultivated as the North-West Provinces, and there is every reason to suppose that they support an equally dense population.*

For the Non-Regulation Provinces, which are chiefly hill tracts, we have an area of 90,399 square miles, with a population of 5,361,401 souls, giving 59 souls to the square mile; and, considering the nature of the country, this is probably a very fair estimate.

The different enumerations which have been taken of the people in various parts of the country, disclose several results which are opposed to the experience of statisticians in Europe. One of these, and that not the least important, is the difference in the relative numbers of the sexes. The point has been exhaustively treated by Mr. Plowden in his valuable report.

* This conclusion is supported by the fact that in Orissa, in 1865, the year preceding the great famine, the population is estimated to have been 3,015,826 souls to an area of 8,516 square miles, that is, an average of 353 souls to the square mile.

In Europe, notwithstanding a preponderance of male births, the females are, as a rule, more numerous than the males. Out of eleven countries, for which the figures are given by Mr. Plowden, there are two only—Italy and Belgium—where the males are in excess of the females; and in these countries there are respectively 99·84 and 99·40 females to every hundred males. In England, Holland, Norway, and Sweden, there are from 104 to 106 females to every 100 males, and though this excessive disproportion is doubtless, as pointed out by Mr. Plowden, attributable in some degree to the maritime position of these countries, and the absence of a portion of the male population on the seas, it is nevertheless an admitted fact that, if anything, there is a slight excess of females over males.

In India, on the other hand, we find the males greatly in excess of the females. In the North-West Provinces, there are only 86·49 females to every 100 males. In the Punjab, there are said to be only 81·8 to 100. For the Central Provinces the figures are 95·4; and in Hyderabad, 93·5. So that everywhere, so far as our experience goes, the males are greatly in excess of the females. The same result has been exhibited at every previous census, whether of whole provinces or of individual districts, and a remarkable feature in the case is the fact that the excess is always slightly greater in the case of Hindus than in the case of Muhammadans, so that it is not to be explained by the supposition of inaccuracy in the returns from a desire to conceal the number of women.

Mr. Plowden has examined with great ability and copious illustration the causes which have tended to produce this result. It is obvious that it must be attributable to one or both of the following propositions:—

1. That the proportionate number of male births is greater in India than in Europe.

2. That male life is stronger than female life; or, in other words, that males live longer than females—a position which is totally opposed to the experience of Europe.

Mr. Plowden is in favour of the first proposition, and I think he is right. Although we have no system of registration of births, which would decide the point once for all, there is evidence in the census reports to show that the proportion of males is greater among children than among adults, or among the total population. Thus, in the North-West Provinces, there is a percentage of 55·78 male children, but of only 52·42 male adults, or 53·62 males in the total population. In the Central Provinces, 53 per cent. of the children are males, while the sexes

of adults are nearly equal. In Berar, 53·1 per cent. of the children are males, but only 51·2 per cent. of adults. It is obvious, therefore, from these figures that, unless we are to suppose the destruction of a frightful number of female children during infancy, *male* births must greatly preponderate in this country.

Now, knowing as we do that the practice of female infanticide does prevail among certain castes of the Hindu community, and observing, moreover, that the proportion of female children is nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. less among Hindus than among Muhammadans, we might be tempted, at first sight, to attribute the great disproportion of the sexes among children to that practice or similar causes. But if we consider that among the Muhammadans, who do not practise infanticide, the excess of male children is as 54·7 : 45·3, it is obvious that the custom in question can exert but a very insignificant influence in determining the relative proportion of the sexes. At the same time, it must be admitted (and with sorrow be it spoken) that both among Hindus and among Muhammadans, male life is much more dearly cherished and cared for than female life. It is a son that the Hindu prays for, it is the begetting of a son that is the highest object of his earthly and, we may add, of his heavenly ambition. And even if it is not true that, the bulk of Muhammadans being converts from Hinduism, Hindu customs and ideas are largely prevalent among them, we, at any rate, have daily experience of the low estimate at which they rate women, and the superior gratification which the birth of a son gives them.

But all these indirect causes combined are probably not sufficient to account for the very large excess of male children found in India, and we are, therefore, driven to the conclusion—a conclusion which we may hope to see some day fully demonstrated by actual registration—that the proportion of male to female births is greater in this country than in Europe.

Mr. Plowden advances two theories to account for this fact, and he supports them with such an ingenious array of statistics, that it is impossible not to believe that they rest upon a foundation of truth. These theories have found acceptance with European statisticians and physiologists, and may briefly be stated thus:—

1. That the ratio of male to female births varies directly as the temperature of the climate, the number of male births increasing as we approach the tropics.

2. That the average difference between the ages of husband and wife is greater in India than in Europe, inducing, according to a law which has been observed in Europe, a greater excess in the number of male births.

It is unnecessary to give here the evidence which Mr. Plowden has collected on these points. Those who wish to consult it, will find it detailed at length in his report. It is sufficient that, to whatever causes the fact is to be assigned, there is most undoubtedly a very large preponderance of male births in India.

It is time now to examine the relative vitality of the sexes. It being admitted that the male population is always greater than the female, is this excess in any degree to be attributed to the greater vitality of the former; or, in other words, do males live longer than females?

And at first sight we might suppose that early marriages and habitual neglect could not but leave their injurious effects upon the female constitution to such an extent as might account for a comparatively shorter average duration of life. But if we examine the statistics of the North-West Provinces census, we shall find the figures opposed to this conclusion. Thus, in the North-West Provinces in 1865, there were 35·58 children to every 100 of the population, and of these 56 per cent. were males and 44 per cent. females; that is, there were 19·92 male children in every 100 of the population. Now, in England, there are only 29·44 children to every 100, and up to 12 years of age—the period at which adults were distinguished from children in the North-West Provinces—the numbers of the sexes are about equal; there are, therefore, 14·72 male children to every 100 of the population. We have therefore this result that, up to 12 years of age, there are in the North-West Provinces, 5·2 more boys to every 100 of the population than in England. In England, there are 48·88 males in every 100 of the total population; in the North-West Provinces, there are 53·62, and therefore 4·74 more than in England. But we have seen that up to 12 years of age the excess was 5·2. It follows that the excess of males is not so great after 12 years of age as before it; and the preponderance of males in the population is due to the excess of male births alone, and not to the greater vitality of the males. This result is in accordance with the experience of Europe, where it is certain that female life has more force than male life.

But the average duration of the life of both sexes in India is much shorter than in Europe. This is evident from the excessive proportion of children to the population all over the country.

For eight countries of Europe, Mr. Plowden gives the average proportion of children under 15 as being 33,199 in every

100,000 of the population. Taking this average, and applying it to the North-West Provinces, where there is a population of 30,039,854, we should expect to find 9,972,931 children under 15. But the returns give no less than 10,702,774 as being under 12, or 729,843 children under 12 more than we should have expected to find under 15.*

Mr. Plowden attributes this abnormal excess of children in the North-West Provinces solely to inaccuracy in the returns. But it is to be observed that every attempt at a census has invariably shown the same result. In the Central Provinces, for instance, out of a population of 9,104,511, we find 3,696,465 nominally under 14, or 673,859 more than we should expect to find under 15. Or the fact may be exhibited as follows :—

In England, which, of all European countries, has			
the largest proportion of children, they number			
up to the age of 12 years	...	...	... 29·44½ per cent. of the population.
In the North-Western Provinces, up to the same			
age	...	...	... 35·58 " "
In the Central Provinces, up to the age of 14	...	...	... 35·67 " "
In Berar, up to 13 years	...	...	... 55·4 " "

That is, more than half the population has been returned as under 13!

We may fairly conclude then, I think, that whatever inaccuracy there may be in the returns, the number of children in this country is vastly disproportionate to the number of adults, as compared with statistical researches on the subject in Europe. The cause must be either in a greater proportionate number of births, or in a shorter average duration of life, or in both. Mr. Lyall, who had charge of the Berar census, inclines to the former supposition. Mr. Plowden writes :—"The large proportion of children under 12 in the total population of these provinces would indicate a waste of life in later years, which I am not prepared to believe in until we have further information on this subject." I am myself of opinion that both causes prevail to a very considerable extent. I believe that there is not only a larger percentage of births in India than in Europe, but that life is also considerably shorter.

The wider prevalence, I may say the universality, of marriage in this country will, of course, account for a larger proportion of births among the population. Marriage and the raising of offspring is considered a religious duty by the Hindu, and both sons and daughters are early provided for in this respect by all

* There would seem to be some discrepancy between paragraphs 57 and 58 of Mr. Plowden's report; the general statement gives 10,702,774 as the number of children below 12 years of age.

rightminded and orthodox parents. So important, too, is it considered to have male offspring by whom the funeral rites may be duly celebrated, that not only is a second marriage allowable to males, but a pretext was thus found even for polygamy. It is quite possible, again, that, owing to the early age at which marriage is consummated, as compared with European countries, larger families, as a rule, should be the result.

It may, of course, be urged that the interdiction of widow marriages must have an injurious effect upon the increase of population; but, after all, I should be inclined to doubt whether the total number of Hindu widows at all approaches the number of unmarried women in England and other European countries. And we must further bear in mind that moral restraints upon marriage do not exist in this country. The information which this Association lately collected in regard to the agricultural classes conclusively showed that marriage takes place as a matter of course, and is scarcely, if at all, influenced by any considerations of the means of living.

The same view of marriage does not exist in the Muhammadan community, and we should, therefore, expect to find a somewhat smaller percentage of children among them. But, in point of fact, there are more children among the Muhammadans in the North-West than among the Hindus, considered in proportion to their relative numbers. There are 35·6 per cent. among Hindus, and 36·1 per cent., or a half per cent. more among Muhammadans. This is another of those cases in which experience seems at present to run counter to all our pre-conceived notions on the subject.

That the rate of mortality in this country is higher than in Europe, will only be conclusively demonstrated when a system of mortuary returns have been established upon a satisfactory basis. Such, however, is the universal belief of those who have studied the question; and if we consider the earlier maturity of life in this country, and, consequently, the earlier expenditure of the forces of nature; or, if we regard the absence of many of those comforts, or rather necessities, in the way of food, shelter, and medical skill, which in civilized countries are such prophylactics to longevity; or, lastly, if we contemplate those vast calamities, such as famines and pestilences, which periodically devastate whole provinces, we must admit that *primâ facie* there are not wanting causes sufficient to produce such a result. Taking the case of famines alone, Mr. Girdlestone's report exhibits the details of no less than *ten* famines during the present century, or an average of one famine in every seven years; and although

the mortality may not, on all these occasions, have been as excessive as in 1770, when one-third of the population was carried off, or as in 1860-61, when Sir Arthur Cotton estimates that at least two millions perished,* or as in Orissa in 1866, when upwards of 800,000 out of three millions, or 27 per cent. of the population, fell victims to the calamity, the casualties thereby occasioned must greatly interfere with the average rate of mortality, and consequently with the average duration of life. A single famine, as in Ireland, effects no inconsiderable disturbance in the normal condition of the population, and many years are required to obliterate its effects; but when such calamities occur periodically, it is obvious that the population must be ever straining to repair its losses, and that there will be always a larger proportionate number of children than in countries which are exempt from similar devastations.

In the foregoing remarks it has been my object to explain to this Association, in as few words as possible, the results of previous attempts to enumerate the population of this country as compared with the results attained in Europe. It has been seen that not only is India generally far behind the more civilized states of Europe in this respect, but that we here in Bengal are behind the rest of India. I have also endeavoured briefly to indicate the uses and objects of a periodical census; and by practically discussing some of the results which have been already arrived at, I have tried to exhibit the interest which these statistical enquiries have in themselves, and the important problems which they enable the Government and the public to solve. On some future occasion, I trust I shall not have to confine myself so closely to reports for the neighbouring provinces, but that there will be some statistics forthcoming worthy of being laid before the Association in respect to Lower Bengal. It may be known to many here present that preliminary operations have already been set on foot with a view to accustom the people to the idea of a census, and to ascertain the best method of proceeding in 1871. When that census is completed, the Association will, I trust, have satisfactory data to work upon in their inquiries regarding the social condition of the various classes of the community, and I believe that it will mark an epoch in the government of this country by introducing further statistical inquiries,

* This widespread calamity, to say nothing of the mutiny of 1857, is quite sufficient to account for a decrease in the population of the North-West Provinces as compared with 1853—a decrease which Mr. Plowden would explain by the inaccuracy of the returns.

which can only result in an improved administration, and in the greater happiness and prosperity of the people.

There is one way in which this Association can afford material assistance to the operations which are now about to be undertaken by the Government, *viz.*, by disseminating as widely as possible the true object and uses of a census, and by discountenancing and combating those absurd impressions which invariably, on such occasions, take hold of the lower orders. The idea of a census is not altogether unknown in India; but it would appear to be inseparably associated in the minds of the people with an increase of taxation. The "*Khana Shumari*," where it has been carried out, has generally been the precursor of some new capitation or house tax; and accordingly we find that the late attempts to take an accurate census of the Central Provinces, and in some parts of the North-West, excited considerable apprehension on this account. Those who are acquainted with the extraordinary simplicity with which the ignorant masses give credence to the most exaggerated rumours—a remarkable instance of which occurred only a few weeks ago in Calcutta—will not be astonished to find that the idea of a census has in places given birth to the most unaccountable alarm. In Mr. Bernard's report on the census of the Central Provinces, it is stated:—

"In many parts of the country, especially in those districts where no census of any kind had taken place before, absurd rumours floated among the lower classes of the people. These rumours originated with ignorant or designing people, and though they may have received credence for a time, they had for the most part lost all credit by the time the night for the census arrived. One of those rumours may, perhaps, be recounted here. In the district of Mundla, among the hill tribes of Gonds and Bygars, there was a story that the British Government wanted wives for its soldiers, and would take any girls who might be unmarried at the time of the census. Accordingly all parents made the utmost exertions to find husbands for their daughters, and when they had married them off, they quietly awaited the census." The whole paragraph on this subject is very suggestive, and certainly does not leave upon my mind the impression which the writer of the report wishes to convey, that the census passed off generally without any feeling of alarm. On this subject hear what is stated by Mr. W. B. Jones, the Deputy Commissioner of Wurdah:—"Among the lower classes, dread and suspicion struggled with instinctive reverence for authority and confidence in the intentions of their rulers." "In the more remote villages, the operation of ticketing the houses especially excited apprehension, and the

enumerators were met by the entreaties of the inmates." "The night of the census was the first of the *Dewallee*, and on another occasion would have been one of illumination and general movement. But on the 5th November stillness and darkness prevailed in town and village from the moment of sunset. Lights were put out, and the people retired each one to his own house, the head of the family sitting at the door and waiting to be numbered. When I walked through the streets of Hingunghat, at 7 P.M., not a sound was to be heard, and the only lights were the torches of the enumerators on their rounds."

So at the time of the late census of Calcutta, it was found that "the inmates of 98 houses had actually left the town on that day to avoid the census, but had returned on the following morning."

In the North-West Provinces the census is no longer a novelty, and the people are, to some extent, acquainted with the motives of Government in respect to it. But in the Kumaon Division, where no census was taken in 1853, we find this most remarkable result, that while the number of adult females exceeds the number of adult males by five per cent., the number of females under sixteen falls short of the number of males of the same age by nearly 29 per cent. And this is explained in the following way. The Commissioner had fixed the age of *sixteen* as the period at which the population should be distinguished as adult, and as males under 16 are exempted from certain public burdens, every young man, who could do so, put down his age as under 16. Again an effort which had been made in the previous year to introduce female education into Gurhwal appears to have excited the most unnatural alarm, and many girls were consequently returned as women, lest they should be required to go to school!

In the census which was taken of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts in 1867, I also find that the most extravagant rumours got abroad regarding it. In some parts the census was believed to be the precursor of a new cess or "patti" upon gourds and the creepers upon the roofs of houses. In another district it was rumoured that the women of the household were to be brought out and inspected, and that all those whose breasts were too large to enter a certain cup were to be deprived of the left breast. Elsewhere it was said that the males were being numbered with a view to a certain proportion being taken for the Abyssinian War.

Similar rumours, it is only natural to expect, will gain currency among the lower orders in Bengal; but much may be

done by the intelligent portion of the community not only in the way of discountenancing and exposing their absurdity, but by explaining and showing, in its true light, the object of the proposed operations. It is to be hoped that the native press, and more particularly the vernacular press, will take up the subject, and endeavour to instruct the community in the uses of such statistical enquiries as the Government are now desirous to commence. It is probable, also, that considerable voluntary agency will have to be called in, if it is determined to undertake the Herculean task of counting fifty millions of people in a single night. Such agency will, doubtless, be forthcoming when the objects of the census are put before the people in their proper light. It is to be hoped, therefore, that zemindars and others will do their best to second the intentions of the Government, that Bengal may be no longer held up as the only Lieutenant-Governorship in which there has been no regular census, and that our returns may be able to compare, in point of accuracy, with those of any other province in India.

In the discussion which ensued upon this paper,

MR. WOODROW expressed his astonishment at some of the conclusions which had been arrived at. For instance, in regard to the relative proportion of the numbers of the sexes, he thought there was an entire contradiction between the census returns and the every day facts around us. In Bengal he might say every man was married, whereas all women, he believed, are not married. Again, women marry only *once*, whereas men frequently marry a second time, and there were few widowers who had not married again. Lastly, many men had more than one wife, and Mr. Woodrow instanced cases within his own knowledge. All this pointed to the fact that there were more wives than husbands, that is, more women than men. If, therefore, the number of males exceeded that of the females, the difference must be in the period of childhood, yet he doubted whether the number of deaths was greater among boys than among girls. There could only remain the conclusion that the true number of the females is concealed, and that the returns of every census have been wrong. It was a fact that no male would ever give the names of the female members of his family, and he thought that error in this respect was therefore only probable. He (Mr. Woodrow) believed that after all the best way to take an enumeration was to count the number of houses, and to reckon the population at five to each house. This method of calculation had been found to be approximately correct in a number of Christian villages around Calcutta. Yet it was remarkable that in those returns even, there were no young women between the ages of, say 15 and 25, a fact which he attributed to a lingering reluctance on the part of the converts to make disclosures on the subject.

DR. CHUCKERBUTTY could well appreciate the difficulty in the matter arising from the unwillingness of the people to disclose the particulars relating to their families. The Hindus had peculiar prejudices in this respect. Husbands did not always *know* the names of their wives, and the wives were never heard to name their husbands. Hindus, again, had no idea of their age; and their

birthdays were calculated in so extraordinary a fashion, that they never fell on the same day of the year. DR. CHUCKERBUTTY, however, doubted the statement which had just been made as to the universality of marriage among males. So far from its being an exceptional circumstance to find an unmarried man in native society, the men had really the greatest difficulty in getting married. One cause in Lower Bengal was Kulin polygamy, of which the speaker gave instances. He did not believe that the disproportion of the sexes was in any degree attributable to a disproportion in the number of births. Judging from his professional experience, DR. CHUCKERBUTTY was of opinion that females perish in a greater ratio than males after marriage. When a Hindu girl becomes a mother at 11 or 12, she has not the stamina to carry her through the period of lactation, and she falls a victim to consumption. The husband might perhaps re-marry, and the same thing occur again. The number thus removed by death would soon diminish the female portion of the community. He (DR. CHUCKERBUTTY) believed that a correct proportion of the sexes could only be ascertained by registering every birth and death. There were doubtless great difficulties in the way of a complete system of registration, but they were not insuperable. The Natives were particularly superstitious in regard to enquiries regarding births and deaths, and the speaker concluded by giving instances of the prejudice on this head.

REV. J. LONG advocated the employment of some new machinery for collecting returns on this subject. The police should have nothing to do with it. He would suggest that the *mundals* or headmen of villages should be employed, and that they should be well paid for the work.

THE PRESIDENT remarked that Dr. Chuckerbutter's statement regarding the early mortality of married women, rather confirmed Mr. Woodrow's argument as to the preponderance in the number of women. He thought, however, Mr. Woodrow pressed his statement too far in laying down that all men were married. From personal experience, he doubted the universality of the proposition; he had had several servants, for instance, in his employ who had never been married at all. He thought there would be no great difficulty attending the registration of births, deaths, and marriages, if the matter were seriously taken in hand. The Muhammadans had such a system already, and in case of dispute evidence was always forthcoming from the Kazi. In conclusion, MR. PHEAR pointed out that the census was quite as much dreaded among the lower classes in England as it was here. It was believed to be contrary to the law of God, and also to be connected with taxation. He remembered in 1861 how numbers of the ignorant agricultural population left their houses, and passed the night under hayricks, or where they could, to escape being numbered.

MR. BEVERLEY in reply stated, that the names of females had never been the subject of enquiry in any census taken in this country, the number in each house being simply recorded. He disapproved entirely of mere estimates based on the number of houses, because, as he had stated, the average number to a house had not yet been determined. No fair deduction could be drawn from the Christian villages, because with the adoption of a new faith, the converts had entirely changed their manner of life, and relinquished the Hindu joint family system which introduced such an element of disturbance into the question.* In reply

* It may be interesting to note the main features of these Christian villages here. In 37 villages in the district of Nuddes, there are 815 families inhabiting 975 dwelling-houses with a total population of 4,368 souls. The males number 2,178, the females, 2,088. Unmarried males up to 30 years, 1132; unmarried females up to 30 years, 755. Married women, 833; widows, 370. Of the young women, there are 143 between the ages of 10 and 20 unmarried, and 290 married; and between 20 and 30 there are 365 returned.

to Mr. Long, he believed that the police would not be employed in the work of enumeration in Bengal; the object of the present preliminary operations was to ascertain the best agency available in different localities. The Government were naturally anxious to avoid, if possible, the heavy cost of entertaining a special machinery for the purpose.

3. *Thoughts on the Present Social and Economical Condition of Bengal and its probable Future.* By BABU CHUNDER NATH BOSE, M.A.

[Read on the 21st January 1869.]

AFTER more than a century of rule, the Government of Bengal has expressed its opinion that it is high time to organize some measures for elevating the material and intellectual condition of the great mass of our countrymen. The avowed object of providing education to the poorest tiller of the soil is to rescue him from an intellectual gloom, and to reclaim him from a moral degradation, the consequences of which, whether we regard him as an individual or as a member of society, are equally deplorable. But it cannot be mistaken that the Government of Bengal expects material advantages of no trifling character to result from the education which it is proposed to give to the ryot. A common intellectual discipline is, in our opinion, the best guarantee and promoter of a community of thought and feeling, and a community of thought and feeling, it cannot be denied, is a social power of vast importance. The condition of the Bengal ryot is, no doubt, one of great misery and hardship; but his proverbial ignorance, keeping him, as it does, wholly unacquainted with better modes of life in his own sphere, and the manner of accomplishing them, makes him a stranger to all healthy aspirations, and is the indirect cause of that want of energy and perseverance which makes our peasantry work in a dull unvaried routine, as if devoid of life and incapable of progress. Knowledge, we are sure, by at once opening and expanding the ryot's vision, will not only awaken in his mind desires for the improvement of his material condition, but also enable him to appreciate the importance of measures calculated to ensure that improvement. An enlightened sense of material suffering will excite mutual sympathy amongst our peasantry, and a constant and extensive interchange of thoughts and feelings, which, when educated, they would be able to maintain amongst themselves, will raise upon the basis of that sympathy a spirit of combination which, by removing that individual,

or rather family, segregation which forms a marked characteristic of agricultural life in Bengal, will effect important changes in the economy of agriculture, and succeed, by the force of a resulting opinion, in establishing satisfactory relations between the agriculturist on the one hand, and the landlord and the capitalist on the other. An intelligent peasantry will not remain satisfied with such rude and primitive implements of husbandry as are at present in use. Perceiving the superior efficacy of European machinery and chemical appliances, and the consequent necessity of farming on a large scale, they will probably form either combinations of small capital, like the peasant proprietors of Norway, or associations of their own for the purpose of making large culturable areas by the consolidation of many petty ones. It is worthy of remark that the causes which at present prevent the formation of such combinations and associations are all of them such as education, co-existing with certain monetary institutions, might succeed in removing. Combinations of capital, supposing the will and the opinion necessary to accomplish them to be in existence, are at present impossible, simply because the cultivating ryots of Bengal possess no capital whatever worthy of the name. Advances of capital to the ryot, upon the security of his land, or on the hypothecation of its produce, which are at least in the contemplation of our finance minister, Sir Richard Temple, will rescue the poor cultivator from the clutches of the mahajun, and allow of his making some savings out of the results of his labour; whilst the savings banks, which it is intended to establish in the mofussil, will serve as a place for the accumulation of these savings. But banks and loan companies are institutions which cannot gain the confidence of ignorant and unlettered men, and it is therefore necessary that the Bengal ryot should be educated before banks and loan companies can be thought of as likely instruments for the improvement of his material condition. I have every reason to apprehend, considering the position, legal as well as contractual, of holders of land between the zemindar and the actual cultivator of the soil, that the intermediate land tenures of Bengal will oppose serious obstacles to the working of the loan or mortgage system, even when the cultivator himself has been, by his increased intelligence, prepared for its acceptance; and I am almost of opinion that Government will, perhaps, find it necessary to exercise its legislative power at least for some years after the establishment of that system. But as the education of the ryot is the most important condition which requires to be fulfilled before even the bare idea of any such legislation can be entertained, I think the British Government has established a lasting

claim to the gratitude of Bengal by forming the bold resolution to send the light of knowledge down into the lowest strata of society.

Large farming can be carried on only with large capital ; and if, by some such process as has been described above, our peasantry can succeed in forming independent capital of their own, they will have realized one of the essential conditions of large farming. But there will still remain to be created, *firstly*, an opinion in favor of this system of agriculture, and *secondly*, the possibility of getting, in the present circumstances of land tenure in Bengal, farms large enough to render improved methods of tillage practically operative. The absence of any opinion in favor of large farming is owing to the entire ignorance of its existence as an economical fact, and of the advantages it possesses over farming on a small scale. We cannot entertain the slightest doubt that the peasantry of Bengal, if educated, will learn to think otherwise than they have hitherto done of the system of agriculture which they practise, and that the creation of model farms on a large scale, by making patent to them the inferiority of their own system, will be the cause of a rapid growth of opinion against the existing agricultural economy of Bengal. The proverbial ignorance and unletteredness of the Bengal ryot is a great hindrance to the formation of associations amongst the peasantry, and associations, in the face of the small parcels into which the soil of the country is split up, is indispensable as a measure for calling into existence large unbroken areas of cultivation. Now, the ryot of our time is a very simple fact. The plot of land which he holds is not larger than 2 or 3 acres, and his own labour, assisted by that of his children, is generally sufficient for its cultivation. As a tiller of the soil, he knows none but his own landlord and the mahajun. This simplicity of position is, in one sense, a necessary result of the ryot's ignorance. The ryot's connection with his landlord brings him into some sort of relationship with the latter—a relationship, which may be more or less definite, and the duties of which he cannot efficiently discharge without some knowledge of its legal meaning. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for the ryot to learn to read and write, and to make himself acquainted with the ordinary principles of the law of tenancy, in order to be able to fill his own position of a lessee without any material disadvantage arising out of the better knowledge or information possessed by his landlord. And even if the landlord himself be a person of known good principles, it is not very difficult to imagine that the almost brutish ignorance of the ryot would be the cause of a mental timidity and

suspiciousness, which must prevent him from making his position legally complicated by combining several leases of different legal characters into one agricultural tenure. But as it is indispensably necessary that some such combination should be made for the purpose of obtaining large culturable areas, so long as the lowest intermediate tenures, whether rent-free or not, retain their present minuteness of form, nothing will seem to be of so much importance in making room for the introduction of some vital change in the agricultural economy of Bengal as the diffusion of education amongst our sunken peasantry. Associations of ryots or small jotedars, for the purpose of combining several small tenures into one large farm, will be also impossible without an educated peasantry; for associations like these, consisting, as they must in many cases do, of ryots with different kinds and degrees of rights and interests, will make the position of every member of such an association as complicated as would be the position of a ryot with a combination of leases such as we have described above. It would not, perhaps, be out of place to surmise, that small bodies of ryots, having capital of their own accumulated through the agency of loan companies and savings banks, will, in some future time, convert the entire system of our agriculture into one of large farming, and drive out the putneedar and the whole host of rapacious speculators beneath him as an economical grievance in the highest degree disgraceful to the increasing civilization of Bengal.

These, in short, are a few of the most important changes which an extensive system of popular education, aided by certain monetary institutions, is likely to accomplish in the agricultural economy of Bengal and in the social status of our peasantry. I cannot but regard the whole question as one of a very complicated nature, and I am inclined to think that, when the question shall come to be practically solved, causes of impediment, which the wisest among us cannot now foresee, will appear in view to add to the difficulties of the solution. There will be, I apprehend, great differences of opinion as to the exact economical changes which popular education will help to produce; and I have every reason to doubt whether the particular views which I have stated above will appear to the discerning public to possess any amount of truth or plausibility. But one thing, it seems to me, can be affirmed with very great certainty, which is, that an educated peasantry, aware of the existence of different modes of agriculture, will regard their own system in the light of an obsolete fact, incompatible with their increased intelligence, and inadequate as a *régime* for the realization of a better ideal of agricultural life.

A peasantry imbued with such notions will not remain satisfied with a system of agrarian despotism. They will not consent to practise a method of tillage which men adopted in the pre-historic ages of the world. They will constitute an opinion against the existing economy of agriculture, whose force it will be impossible to resist. An improved system of agriculture will be gradually established by the peasantry itself; and the ryot, rising out of that abyss of ignorance and poverty, in which a most fatal supineness seems now to possess all his senses and faculties, will stand erect like an enfranchised slave, and look upon the world around him as a matter of some concernment to himself.

We have then every reason to hope that the education of the ryots of Bengal will be the means not only of their moral and intellectual elevation, but also of their progress in wealth and social importance. But it is at this moment of time of the utmost consequence to bear in mind that the scheme of education which has been proposed is a scheme intended not only for the actual cultivators of the soil, but also for certain classes of our countrymen who, though not leading an agricultural life, are yet, on account of their listless ignorance and poverty, ill-fitted to take care of their intellectual wants. Weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, and members of the other hereditary professions of Bengal, are almost all of them too poor to be able to defray the expenses of their own education; and even where pecuniary means are present, there prevails an amount of apathetic ignorance, which exercises a more injurious influence upon the cause of education than poverty itself. Persons standing in this miserable category, composing as they do an integral part of the population of Bengal, influence too materially the destinies of the country by their position and circumstances in life to be excluded from a scheme which has for its avowed object the moral, social, and intellectual elevation of our race. But it has appeared to us, from certain considerations based upon well-ascertained facts and indications of experience, that the mere imparting of education to those classes of our countrymen who, like our weavers and blacksmiths, occupy a social position immediately above the actual cultivators of the soil, would be productive of more evil than good. As the question to which these considerations give rise is, in my opinion, a question of national interest and importance,—as it is, moreover, a question specially fitted, by its grave social bearings, to be brought before an Association like this, I think I shall be justified in entering into its absolute and relative merits with some degree of minuteness.

The most important feature of the system of caste as it exists in Bengal is the exclusive allotment of distinct callings to distinct classes of the community; and this feature, especially in the inferior castes, is so characteristic, that it may be regarded as the only principle on which a large portion of the population of Bengal was divided into distinct sections. As originally constituted, these castes possessed no right to cultivate learning, for the cultivation of learning itself was regarded as a distinct profession, which none but the members of a particular class, which claimed it as its exclusive property, were entitled to practise. Ever since the organization of these castes, which, without entering into any antiquarian enquiry, can be affirmed to be of a very ancient date, the indigenous trades and arts of Bengal have continued to be practised exclusively by exclusive castes, and the exclusiveness of these castes, as well as of the different callings attached to them, have been maintained inviolate by the circumstance of the several castes being of several degrees of social respectability. The weaver is more respectable than the blacksmith, the blacksmith more respectable than the potter, and the potter more respectable than the basket-maker. Each of these castes, moreover, is so complete in itself, as to find even the means for the satisfaction of its spiritual wants reserved to itself as an exclusive appanage of separate existence. Most of the inferior castes have each a priesthood of its own, who can no more perform religious offices for the benefit of a different caste than can the caste itself to which they are attached practise any calling which has not hereditarily belonged to it.

The picture of castism given above represents a social organisation of the most primitive character, and we accordingly find that working for limited local purposes is the most prominent characteristic of artizan life in Bengal. The distribution of the produce of the various arts practised in this country is even, at this day, of the most limited character; and, indeed, when we consider that the village system of India is, in its economical aspect, based upon the idea of making every village or community of villages self-sufficient for the supply of the ordinary wants of life, we should be rather surprised to find any very large or active system of internal traffic for the distribution of the products of our homely arts prevailing in Bengal. Speaking somewhat roughly, though by no means with any broad exaggeration, it might be said that every village in Bengal, besides containing a certain number of families of the respectable castes, who belong to no particular profession, and who form by far the majority of its inhabitants, is the dwelling place of a certain number of families

of each of those artizan classes which are indispensable to the ordinary every-day-life purposes of the remainder of the village population. In short, any particular Bengal village bears the same relation of similarity to any other village which any particular farm in any part of the country bears to any other farm in any other part; and not only this, but every village in Bengal may be regarded as representing in miniature a large commercial country like England, where a gentleman residing in the extreme south of Cornwall depends as much upon the cutler of Sheffield and the cloth-maker of Manchester as he does upon the valet who serves him to coffee, and the coachman who drives him to his county town. Now this village system, or rather village segregation, cannot, it is easy to see, render the artizan classes of Bengal exclusively dependent upon the resources of their professional industry for the supply of the varied wants of life. For, as internal traffic is almost unknown, the Bengal artizan can take advantage of but a very limited local area as a market for the commodities he prepares, and a limited market can support only a limited establishment, and yield a limited income. But the difficulties of maintenance arising out of the scantiness of his earnings are increased by the circumstance of the Bengal artizan being the Kurta, and, therefore, the only hope of a large joint family. It is true that the women and children of certain artizan classes assist the head of the family in his professional work; but, besides the fact that the assistance thus given is not only not very material, but often very irregular in its character, this cannot be said of by far the majority of the artizan classes existing in Bengal, nor with the same degree of applicability to all of them. The economical deficiencies of the various indigenous arts of Bengal, as so many means for the support of animal life, have, from a very olden time, rendered it necessary for the artizan to supplement the earnings of his hereditary labour by the produce of a more or less extensive cultivation of the soil; and this is the chief reason why an artizan, be he a bricklayer, a blacksmith, or a weaver, living solely and exclusively upon the resources of his own peculiar art, is so rare a spectacle in Bengal. The archaic simplicity of Bengal village life, its entire ignorance of luxury, and its indifference for commodities which in the least civilized country of Europe would be regarded as necessary comforts, have not only prevented the material wants of our countrymen from attaining any degree of refinement, but also confined them within very narrow numerical limits. And this circumstance, it is worthy of remark, has had, along with certain other causes, a large share of influence in keeping our national arts not only in a form of

primitive rudeness, but also subservient to the village system and caste organisation of Bengal. It might be argued on a well known principle of political economy, that the paucity and simplicity of the material wants of Bengal cannot be considered as any sufficient cause of the poorness and limited extent of our indigenous arts, since a demand for commodities is not a demand for labour. Now, although it is true that the artizans of Bengal might, by preparing new and tasteful articles, have created an extended market for themselves, and enlarged the sphere of their labour, still, in considering the applicability of this politico-economical doctrine to the circumstances of our country, it is of the highest importance to bear in mind that the introduction of new arts, or the preparation of new articles of luxury and convenience, requires, as a preliminary condition, an educated artizan class acquainted with the many diversities of art and with the truths of theoretical and practical science. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that the almost Cerberian gloom of ignorance which has hitherto brooded over our unfortunate country, and which has received a substantial signification in our simple stereotyped wants and wishes, has helped very materially in keeping our arts in a state of disgraceful rudeness. It behoves us also to consider in this place that the imperfection of our arts is owing also to the absence of any strong motive or necessity for improving them—an absence which, in my opinion, is traceable to that ignorant supineness which centuries of a comparatively painless life, half-agricultural and half-manufacturing, devoid of political stimulus, and undisturbed by the influences of a foreign civilization, have rendered a fixed feature of the Bengal village character. Finally, the mode of life—half-agricultural and half-manufacturing—which prevails amongst the artizan classes of Bengal, however accordant with our indigenous civilization, is yet, as has been shown before, only a sort of compromise between life and death, and, as such, it is highly unfavourable to the growth of what might be called a substantial commonalty.

Such, in short, is the character and position of the artizan classes of Bengal whose number, according to an estimate* lately made by a highly educated and experienced Native gentleman, might, with some approximation to the truth, be fixed at one-eighth of the entire population, both male and female. Now the establishment of English rule in India and the influence of the

* See *Indian Daily News*, 2nd September 1868.—Letter on Popular Education by Babu Rajendralala Mitra.

English nation, as the representative of a typical form of civilization, have called into existence two social phenomena of vast importance in their bearings upon the condition and material prospects of the whole population of Bengal, with the exception of what has been called the *upper ten-thousand*. In the first place, the extensive commercial intercourse which now exists between England and India has introduced into this country all the refined and exquisite products of British manufacture. English broad cloth, English linen cloth, English woollen cloth, the flashing knife, the gleaming razor, the glittering scissors, all of them engraven with the names of the manufacturers of Birmingham, Sheffield, and Manchester, are now to be seen in the poorest shop of the poorest village in Bengal, and each, with a refined and revolutionary idea attached to it. The blotting paper has displaced the little bag of sand and lime—that indigenous soaker of ink. The fragrant and vari-coloured soap has usurped the place of *khole* and *shuffeda*. High-heeled boots reaching up to the knee have excommunicated the *chuttee*, the national covering for the leg. The earthen-plate of China, the electro-plate of Germany, the glass-plate of France, have all conspired against the *thal*, the *rakabee*, and the *deepa* of the brazier. The slate-maker has issued a bull of interdiction against the palm-leaf of India. The chair has ousted the *chatta*, the *mat*, and the *mora*. The pharmacy of England has thrown into discount the mysterious art of the *Kobeeraj*. In short, that glorious triumph of British art and skill which, as Lord Macaulay said in the House of Commons in the year 1833, should be the true object of England's connection with India,* seems in one sense to be well nigh its accomplishment in Bengal. But although well for England, it still remains to be seen whether or not our commerce with that country has affected the condition of a large portion of the population of Bengal. The increasing use of articles of European manufacture has thrown into the background the indigenous arts of this country, and contributed in various ways to render the earnings of our artizans much less inadequate to the purposes of maintenance than they were, say 20 years ago. It is true that our commerce with England, which is virtually a commerce with the whole of the civilized world, has opened many a new field of labour, and that a large number of persons who, it will perhaps be said, might otherwise have been left to the chances of starvation, have found sufficiently remunerative employments. But, besides the

* See Macaulay's Speeches.—Speech on the Government of India.

fallacy which is involved in the opinion that but for the commercial requirements of India, an extensive population would have remained without any employment whatever—a fallacy which is contained in the proposition that a demand for commodities is a demand for labour—there is, considering the natural capacities and resources of India, that still doubtful question, whether the non-agricultural community of Bengal, who form no inconsiderable portion of its entire population, can derive any such benefits from our commerce with England as constitute the peculiar merit and distinguishing feature of that economical phenomenon called commerce or international exchange. Most of the articles which India sends out to England are the immediate produce of the soil, and are, therefore, the exclusive results of agricultural labour. It is, therefore, the agricultural population of Bengal who have found in our commerce with England a market for the produce of their labour far more extensive than that which they could command previous to the commencement of our relationship with the latter country, and it is also they who have derived most benefit from our foreign commerce. There are, indeed, some rude manufactures included in the Indian exports; but it would not be very incorrect to say that more than 75 per cent. of the indigenous arts of Bengal are unrepresented in our commerce with England. And this fact, it may be said, fully justifies the remark that our artisans, regarded as a body of labourers for the great market of the world, are wholly unproductive. But unproductive labour—labour which contributes nothing to the commerce of the world—cannot receive the *entire* benefit of that commerce viewed in the light of a body of international exchanges. Supposing a Bengal weaver to possess a capital of Rs. 1,000, it is easy to see that, if the production of cloth for his own country requires only a capital of Rs. 500, the remaining Rs. 500 will be absolutely useless, and therefore incapable of yielding any profit to him. But, if he were allowed to prepare cloth also for some foreign country, the whole of his capital might find profitable investment. I have remarked above that our artisans are commercially unproductive, and I should not, after what I have said regarding the influence which has already made itself manifest of the products of European manufacture on the state of the indigenous arts of Bengal, hesitate to affirm that our artisans are fast approaching the same category in their position as labourers for their own country. It will sufficiently appear from the sequel, that there are at present powerful causes at work to render a constantly increasing number of men of the artisan classes wholly unproductive, in the larger as well as in the restricted sense of

the term. Those who have been affected by these latter causes can, it is manifest, consume the products of European art only for the sake of an increasing impoverishment. But to take the case of those who are still engaged in the work of production, it is extremely questionable, and it is well worth our inquiry, whether the agriculturist and the artizan of Bengal have derived any *absolute commercial* benefit by consuming, for instance, the cloth which is manufactured by England. For, reasoning on the principles of the theory of commerce, it might be urged with very great force that English cloth, although cheaper than the cloth of indigenous manufacture, cannot be regarded as an economical advantage to Bengal, if Bengal, with the aid of European learning and machinery, can produce cloth equal to that of England at a less cost than is incurred by the latter in its manufacture. And the probability of such a result will be manifest from the obvious consideration—which is only one out of many—that the prolific soil of India, forming as it were an epitome of the whole vegetable world, is rich in those raw materials of manufacture which England cannot procure without an extensive expenditure of capital. If, then, India is to be governed for the benefit of India alone, if the triumph of European science and art is to be the object of England's connection with India, it is, I think, the bounden duty of England to establish in India those manufactures the advantages of which, in a *commercial* point of view, are at present reaped by England alone.

In spite of what I have here said, it cannot be denied that our relation with England has been of immense advantage to us. The cloth which is prepared by the Bengal weaver is much more costly than the cloth which we get from England, and, so far at least as this single commodity is concerned, it must be acknowledged that England has been a source of positive benefit to our country. Bengal might benefit herself in a far higher degree by preparing with her own labour, but with the aid of British machinery, the same cloth which England now manufactures for her; but so long as she refrains from doing this, the English manufacturer must be regarded as a blessing to a considerable portion of her population. But it is of the highest social and political importance to bear in mind, that the large body of Bengal artizans, who have hardly anything to spare after defraying the cost of bare subsistence, can offer nothing in exchange for the exquisite products of European manufacture, and that, therefore, these products, if purchased at all, must be purchased only for an increasing impoverishment, or, if not purchased, must be to our artizans a cause of chronic discontentedness with their own

condition and with English rule in India. It is not so much any actual social status as the disadvantageous light in which it appears when placed in immediate contrast with a better but unattainable status, which constitutes a source not only of personal discontent, but also of political disaffection. England has not so much to fear from the ignorance of the great mass of her Indian subjects as from that wide-spread dissatisfaction which has been caused by the presence of her own civilization—a presence at once most mortifying and humiliating to the primitive ideas of the country.

It is clear from these statements that it is at least for the interest of a safe governing policy that England should introduce large manufactures into Bengal. England need not be afraid of any material decrease of the income which she annually derives from her commerce with India, for India, as a manufacturing country, will not displace her as the great distributor of the world's riches to all the nations of the earth. And even if any such decrease did actually result from the establishment of manufactures in India, England must remember that that decrease would be, to a considerable degree, made up for by that increased prosperity which the Government of India as a taxing authority might, with a wealthier population subject to its sway, be able to acquire. All such views apart, England ought to bear in mind that, as the voluntary, self-created guardian of India, she cannot, in good conscience, make any other use of India than to supply such of her own wants as can be supplied from the resources of India in a manner which should be least expensive to this latter country. But there are other considerations of far less dignity and altitude it is true, but not of inferior importance, which make it appear very clearly that the establishment of large manufactures in Bengal has become a matter of indispensable necessity. These I will state below.

The caste system of Bengal has violated one of its essential traditional prejudices by cultivating literature and science. I have said before that the inferior castes of Bengal have never thought the pursuit of knowledge to be any part of the privileges allowed to them by the authority which called them into existence; and I will now add that, till very recently, these castes did not in any material degree violate the spirit of the order which prohibited to them the cultivation of learning and the study of the *shasters*. The Anglo-Vernacular system of instruction, aided by the grant-in-aid method, has, however, opened a new era in the history of education in Bengal. The situation of schools for elementary training all over the country, at convenient distances from each other, and the oppor-

tunity which exists at present of receiving education in these schools at a cheap rate, have induced the inferior castes of Bengal to provide their children with some amount of knowledge or other. It is, however, of the gravest importance to bear in mind that the motive which is uppermost in the mind of the Bengal artizan in sending his children to school is not that they should be enlightened in their understanding and improved in their morals, but that their education should enable them, by engaging in lucrative services, to discharge those heavy duties of family maintenance, which the rapidly declining profits of his hereditary labour make it day after day more and more difficult of performance. How far the hopes of the artizan are realized, seems to me to be extremely questionable; but the mere fact of his forming these hopes must be taken to be highly significant and suggestive. The number of boys of the artizan classes of Bengal, who have received an education more or less advanced, is very large, and the extension of the grant-in-aid system, together with the allurements of university distinctions are year after year giving considerable accessions to that number. Now it cannot happen that all our artizan boys should be able to carry their education beyond that which is receivable in the Anglo-Vernacular schools, neither that all those who have the good fortune to enter the university should succeed in getting admittance into any of the learned professions of law and medicine. And, indeed, it may be affirmed, without any fear of contradiction, that the number of such members of the artizan classes as ultimately become practisers of law and medicine cannot be even so much as 2 per cent. of the entire number of artizan boys receiving education in Bengal. But as one-fiftieth in a hundred is a proportion too small to constitute any appreciable result, I may justly say that the entire number of artizan boys who have received any amount of education are at present candidates for service, or, which is the same, thing for admission into the well-known *keranedom* of Bengal. I say they are candidates for service, simply because educated boys of the artizan classes feel, for certain reasons which will be stated hereafter, very great repugnance to practise the hereditary callings of their forefathers. But service is now so difficult to obtain, that it may be considered a very fortunate circumstance if 100 out of every 1,000 persons find employment in any given year. Nor, if the field of service were large enough to embrace the entire number of those who are desirous of entering it, would that be, in any elevated sense of the term, a happy state of things for Bengal. The discipline to which a *keranee* is subjected is of the most degrading nature. It suppresses all intellectual activity

besides that, if activity it can be called, which is implied by a most mechanical method of keeping journals and ledgers, and by a most empirical system of computation. It stifles or expels from the mind all that curiosity which is the most powerful cause of our progress in knowledge and wisdom. It makes a man a mere machine, or a slave, devoid of all sense of honor, of all nobility of thought and feeling. Men formed and fashioned by a discipline like this can do no good to their country, and might well be considered as civilly dead for the purposes of civilization and economical progress. There must be in every country a certain number of men doomed to undergo such a discipline, but it is highly undesirable that England, by preparing for us every commodity we require, should leave to our countrymen no other alternative than that of becoming *keranees* in her mercantile offices. But to take things as they are at present.—The vast majority of boys of the artizan classes who cannot get admittance into any kind of service, and who would not, for any thing which you might offer them, be induced to take up their hereditary professions, pass their lives in idleness, contract vices of the most degrading character, and aggravate the miseries of their already destitute families. Thus, by becoming educated, they find themselves not only incapable of rendering that little assistance to their nearest relatives which the pursuit of their hereditary callings might have placed within their power, but also wretched victims of all those demoralising influences which force men to lead a life of criminality and penal suffering. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that a large part of the drunkenness and debauchery prevailing in Calcutta and the *mofussil* represents the debasement of a section of the population who, but for their untimely education, would at least have led a life of innocent and sober indigence.

The difficulty met by educated boys of the artizan classes in finding employment as clerks and sircars is vastly increased by that unlimited competition for service which has been called into existence by those educated members of the higher Hindu castes, whom the different schools and colleges of Bengal turn out upon our over-stocked market of labour in bands of thousands every year. A reference to the minutes of the Calcutta University will suffice to give us an idea, however rough in itself, of the extent of that demand for service which failure at the different university examinations creates every year in Bengal. Now, the circumstances in life of by far the great majority of our countrymen are such, that they find it hard in almost fifty cases in a hundred to allow the education of their children to be carried

beyond the highest course of study in the best Anglo-Vernacular school. The number of those whose education is finished at school must be, therefore, added to the number of those who fall off at the different stages of university life; and the two together, it is not difficult to imagine, will constitute an amount of demand for service much too formidable in the present state of the labour market in Bengal. The rapidly increasing number of Anglo-Vernacular schools, and the growing popularity of the Calcutta University are year after year bringing a larger and larger number of persons within the influence of education; and this constantly increasing number of educated men, belonging as they do to *all* classes of the Bengali nation, signifies, in the state of idleness to which, as I have shown above, the majority of our educated youth are condemned at present, an increasing national profligacy, viciousness, and criminality. Even the Brahminical class—the hereditary priesthood of Bengal—have forsaken the office which old Menu had assigned to them, and, imbibing the ideas of a species of civilization, the most hostile possible to that of which they themselves are the most characteristic symbol, are swelling the tide of idle extravagance and penurious licentiousness.

The causes which, in our opinion, have rendered unpopular the native arts of Bengal, are three in number. In the first place, the introduction into the country of the products of European manufacture has, as I have already shewn, curtailed the use of the products of our indigenous arts, and thereby lessened their remunerative power. But even if it were assumed that the use of the native products has remained unaffected, still it would not be very difficult to prove that the pecuniary value of our arts has suffered some diminution. For, although it is true that the various articles of food have risen in price, yet, as the wages of labour do not form the only element of the cost of production, and cannot, from the circumstance of their money value not having increased in the same ratio in which the price of food has increased, be considered as *real* wages, it is only fair to expect that the native arts cannot possibly have retained the same *real* value which they bore when food had not risen in price. But leaving aside all politico-economical considerations, nothing, I am inclined to think, can be a better proof of the diminished productiveness of the indigenous arts of Bengal than the opinion which is growing amongst our artisan classes in favor of English education as the only passport to *service*. Again, supposing the profits of our arts to have remained unaltered, still it would follow, from what we have said regarding the nature and extent of the market which any particular art can command, that the

profits derivable from it can barely serve the purposes of a very rigid mode of living. But educated men, acquainted with better states of life, and naturally ambitious of using the exquisite products of European manufacture, cannot be reconciled to a position which, like that of the Bengal artizan, is almost a stranger to the fine commodities which England brings to India. In the second place, it is of the highest importance, in considering the increasing disfavor into which our arts are falling, to bear in mind that the Bengali nation is a hierarchy of castes of different degrees of social respectability. This circumstance renders the callings attached to our inferior castes contemptible in the eyes of those who belong to the superior Hindu castes, and the practice itself of those callings a mark of social inferiority which makes itself painfully felt in the higher circles of Hindu society. The *educated* youth of the artizan class, who feels himself ashamed of a birth which exposes him to the contempt and derision of all the respectable castes of his country, naturally turns away from the pursuit of a calling which would not only remind him constantly of his social humiliation, but would also, by excluding him from that enlightened society which he has learnt to regard as a privilege of his education, aggravate the painful feeling of mortification with which he contemplates his position. Thirdly, the almost primitive rudeness of our arts is of itself a sufficient cause of the neglect into which they are falling. In only a few of the arts practised in this country is the artizan required to exercise any amount of intelligence. The education which constitutes a Bengal artizan is of the simplest character, and consists mainly of an empirical discipline of the body. The instruments with which he works are of the rudest description, and bear no scientific value whatever. Division of labour there is none, and the most menial act necessary to be done in the course of his work must be done by the artizan himself. An educated mind cannot reconcile to itself a position which lasts only through ignorance and barbarism. A man whose intelligence is developed, in however slight a degree, if compelled to work like the Bengal artizan, would regard his life as one of penal servitude. He would very naturally consider his education wasted and his ideas insulted. If, therefore, the educated members of the artizan classes of Bengal have abandoned the callings of their forefathers, they have done only what any other man placed in their predicament would do.

It is clear from the foregoing considerations that education has exercised the largest amount of influence in throwing our national arts into a state of decline ; and as the decline of the

arts has been the immediate cause of that increasing pauperism, profligacy and criminality, which we have described above, it is only just to connect these latter effects with the diffusion of education.

It is now time to consider that although the products of European manufacture have, to a certain extent, displaced the creations of our native artizans, there yet remains a wide field for the practice of the indigenous arts of Bengal. The demand for the products of our national arts is yet sufficient to give employment to a large section of the population, and to enable them to make a livelihood which, however devoid of every feature of comfort and luxury, will at least keep them within the limits of social order and moral sobriety. For, in estimating the truth of this latter remark, it is only necessary for us to bear in mind that the life of the Bengal artizan has a basis of simple ignorance and self-edifying honesty, and withal favors a quietism of conduct which serves as a spell against all extravagant and disorderly indulgences. But when we consider how education has already influenced the thought and character of a portion of the men born of the artizan classes, we cannot but entertain the suspicion that the scheme of popular education, which has been proposed, and which, we have every reason to think, is very near its enforcement, will operate much to the prejudice of that still large number of artizan boys whose ideas and social habits are yet of an antique cast. I do not mean to say that education is a bad thing in itself, or that the ignorance of the artizan and the economy of the arts he practises are features of a form of civilization whose continuance is desirable as an absolute fact. But being as I am of opinion that any shock given to an established system, when a new and a better system is not ready to supply its place, is generally attended with the most dreadful consequences to society, I am inclined to think that until a better mode of life has been found out for the artizans of Bengal, popular education, which has a known revolutionary tendency, will only be an element of social and economical disturbance. But the diffusion of education has rendered the adoption of a new system of life necessary not only for the artizan classes of Bengal, but also for a very large number of persons of the higher Hindu castes—a number which is increasing every year almost in a geometrical progression. Bengali life, it is worthy of remark, before it received the ideas and influences of a foreign civilization, was essentially agricultural in its character. Almost all Hindu families had agricultural establishments, which varied in extent according to their own varied demands. But that was a life of primitive simplicity, and

educated Bengal has learnt to despise it. Archaic village life has thus given way to a life of visionary prosperity, but of real wretchedness, indigence and depravity. It would not be talking the language of the nineteenth century to say, that the exigencies of material living will drive back our educated countrymen upon the mode of life led by their remote ancestors. Agriculture is a noble art no doubt, but it is, by no means, the noblest of arts; and he must be considered as the sworn foe of our race who should say that enlightened Bengal might well be made a nation of husbandmen. But, if ever the educated Bengali be forced to lead an agricultural life, he will think ill of that British nation which, after instructing his intelligence and causing him to cherish noble aspirations, should have left him to follow an occupation where he would regard his intelligence as a grievance, and his aspirations as the cruel invention of a spirit of mockery in the dominant race intended to torment his mind. Civilized Bengal will thus become a nursery of personal discontent and a stronghold of political disaffection. I am, therefore, inclined to think that the same considerations of policy which have led the Government of India to regard popular education as a growing necessity of the age, apply with still greater force to the present economical circumstances of the country. I cannot suggest a better remedy for the economical shortcomings of Bengal than the establishment of large manufactures embodying all those principles of art and science on which they are conducted in Europe. Such manufactures will give employment to every grade of mind in the nation, and make the economical life of Bengal a material counterpart of its intellectual development. They will, by their unlimited extent, supply the entire nation with useful occupations, whose influence on the moral character and conduct of our educated countrymen would be most invaluable. They will render a vast system of popular education not only desirable as a civilized institution, but also necessary as a condition of economical labour. They will rouse Bengal from the state of lethargic indifference in which she has been lying for centuries, and impress our nation with the conviction that life may be made more real, more full of duties and responsibilities, more full of healthy intelligent activity than they have yet known it to be. They will infuse into the national mind of Bengal a vitality, a sense of civic dignity and independence, such as alone, in the absence of political freedom, can lead a vast people on into the path of virtue and greatness.

Want of proper fuel will, probably, be considered as a serious impediment in the way of establishing large manufactures in Bengal. But the experience of certain small manufactories,

worked by means of the Raneegunge coal, might induce us to think that our coal can be used for manufacturing purposes. I think I am right in stating that only such coal as contains more than 5 per cent. of sulphur is useless in manufacture; but it has been found by analysis that all our coal is not of this description. The following extract from Dr. O'Shaughnessy's Bengal Dispensatory and Pharmacopœia shows that there are means by which coal, whether English or not, may be made fit for manufacturing use:—"Coke is coal previously heated to redness and freed from all its volatile matters. It consists of carbon and earthy matters alone. The heat it produces is very intense and uniform. Being free from volatile matters, it burns without flame. Coke is much used in furnace operations in the arts."* But supposing that the Bengal coal is not fitted for economical consumption, it will still remain to be seen whether coal might not, if not with any positive advantage, at least without any sensible loss, be brought from England. Equal weights of coal and cotton, or of coal and jute, are very nearly equal in bulk, and *prima facie* it could be said that the cost of bringing coal would not greatly exceed that of sending out cotton or jute. Besides, the exportation of cotton is attended with certain charges, such as gunny cloth, brokerage, godown rents, both here and in England, and the cost of screwing, from which the importation of coal would be entirely free; and this circumstance must argue greatly in favor of the view I am here advocating. I may venture to affirm that the charges just enumerated, excepting godown rent in England, amount very nearly to Re. 1-13 annas for every maund of cotton. Moreover, it is well worthy of consideration that, in allowing England to manufacture for us, we have to pay the cost of sending cotton and the cost of bringing it back in the shape of cloth, whilst if we manufactured for ourselves, we should have to pay only the single cost of bringing coal, and that the latter might, in all probability, be at least equal to, if not less than, the other two collectively. The failure of certain manufactories set up in India was owing, I believe, to the employment of European labour, which is far more costly than native service, and, what is more to the point, much more expensive than manufacturing labour in England. But whether it was so or not, it must be apparent to all that the substitution of native labour would be a source of economy, which might form another means of counter-

* Bengal Dispensatory and Pharmacopœia, p. 31.

acting any inconvenience which may be found to connect itself with the importation of English coal. But even if any disadvantage remained after making all this comparison, it would behove us to consider that, without manufactures in Bengal, the mental and bodily powers of a very large number of our countrymen—powers that ought to be regarded as wealth more real than gold or silver—would be either wasted in idleness, or frittered away in the apathetic drudgery of *keranee* life. Such a loss might well be set against the advantage of England manufacturing for India, for idleness is in itself an economical encumbrance, and apathy the greatest foe of progress, social or economical. From what I have said before, it has, I think, been clear to everybody that our society is now in a crisis, and our national character in jeopardy. The ancient Romans neglected agriculture, though by cultivating the soil of Italy they could have saved much of the expenses of their Mediterranean trade. But they thought that the profession of arms was more favourable to the formation of a virtuous national character than the merely arithmetical discipline of a commercial life. A manly character is far more precious than all “the wealth of Ormuz or of Ind,” and if manufactories can create a race of Bengalees useful, industrious and noble-minded, they deserve to be secured at any price. But in making this proposition, I am of opinion that the wise and wealthy men of our nation will have to inaugurate the measure, and that enlightened England will have to assist them with her counsels, and, if need be, with her capital too. I cannot find words strong enough to express the amount of diffidence I have felt in taking up for discussion the subject of the present economical condition of Bengal, and the still greater hesitation with which I have committed my thoughts to writing. I felt it to be an act of duty to my country to give expression to what I considered to be a right and honest conviction of my mind, and now it is for those Native and European gentlemen, who are members of this Social Science Association, to discuss the proposition I have humbly advanced in all its various and important bearings.

I will bring this paper to a close by describing, as briefly as possible, some advantages which may be expected to result collaterally from the establishment of large manufactures, and the growth of a manufacturing class in Bengal.

In the first place, the establishment of manufactories in Bengal will open a field of labour, which will invite a large amount of capital which now either remains idle or is spent most unproductively. The number of men who are employed in mercantile and other descriptions of offices is very great. The savings which

any one of this number makes in a year out of his monthly salaries are often too small to be deposited in banks for the trifling sum of four or five rupees which every one hundred rupees will bring back in twelve months in the shape of interest. Such savings are, therefore, either wasted in idle amusements, or embodied in golden or silver ornaments, which serve no other purpose than that of pampering female vanity. Manufactories will, it is expected, create a most profitable mode of investment for these savings, and their very popularity will, I am sure, cause them to be largely resorted to.

I am, in the second place, of opinion that a class of manufacturers in Bengal will be a power of vast importance in securing the material and intellectual elevation of our peasantry. The experience of history and the abstract theorems of political economy both concur in proving that the man, who works upon the rude produce of the earth, and fashions it into various forms of grace and beauty for the purpose of gratifying the foolish taste and reckless vanity of the rich and the luxurious, is the man who of all others can best sympathise with the tiller of the soil. The greatest of modern writers on political economy says:—"When a thing is bought not for its use, but for its costliness, cheapness is no recommendation. As Sismondi remarks, the consequence of cheapening articles of vanity is not that less is expended on such things, but that the buyers substitute for the cheapened article some other which is more costly, or a more elaborate quality of the same thing; and as the inferior quality answered the purpose of vanity equally well when it was equally expensive, a tax on the article is really paid by nobody."* What has been here said of articles of vanity is true also to a very great extent of articles of necessity. The men of wealth and influence in a nation very generally pass away their lives in occupations which have not the remotest connection with that economy of production, whose results, however disadvantageous, cannot sensibly affect their material condition. Their attention, if ever drawn to the economical state of their country, is directed to some one or more of the numerous facts relative to the distribution of commodities, and is rarely turned to things which are so far removed from the sphere of their action and observation as the economy of production. It is a highly significant fact—a fact which could be witnessed only with a social organisation materially defective in an economical point of view—that, whether in

* See Mill's Political Economy, Book V, ch. VI, § 2.

times of absolute scarcity or in times of high prices, the enlightened public of Bengal, whilst calling out for measures of relief to the poor and for a stoppage of the export of corn, is never heard to say that our peasantry require to be educated, or that our agricultural economy demands a reform. This is only because Bengal is wanting in that class of men who alone can sympathise with the agriculturist; it is because Bengal has no manufacturer. England is about to educate the sunken ryot; England will soon construct roads for the facilities of inland intercourse; England is about to carry out a vast project of irrigation in Bengal. And why is England doing all this? Is it not because England is our manufacturer? Is it not because England deals directly with the Bengal ryot? Is it not because England, as the direct customer to our peasantry, is vitally concerned to see the latter raised in intelligence and social status? Is it not because England has understood that a better economy of agriculture in Bengal, by cheapening the produce of the soil, will enable her to conduct her manufactories with a smaller capital than would suffice at present? There may be, and I have no doubt there is, a motive of benevolence prompting England to do all the good and great things which she is doing in Bengal; but it would be a scientific mistake to think that motives of interest are altogether absent. It would be no insult to England to say that she is doing good to Bengal in order to educe good therefrom to her own self. Let, then, a manufacturing class arise in Bengal, and our peasantry will get a body of men who would feel true sympathy for them;—who would consult their wishes and ascertain their wants, who would advocate their cause, who would represent it to the aristocracy of the land and to the Government of the country. With a class of manufacturers possessing a voice and opinion of their own, the intellectual progress and material prosperity of the Bengal ryot will be secured far more easily than they would be if left to the care of our Government or of our aristocracy.

Thirdly, one of the necessary consequences of the establishment of manufactures would be the necessity of imparting to our countrymen a knowledge of the ways and processes of mechanical industry. Schools of art will be required for a very large portion of the population, and even scientific education of a high order will become a desideratum. Employment in manufactories will be sufficiently remunerative, and in many cases full of honor and public influence. The intellectual training which Bengal will require in order to support her manufactories will thus combine two results very desirable in the present circumstances of

the country. In the first place, the existence of manufactories will enable any system of popular education in Bengal to be so devised as to be capable of producing that taste and those habits of useful occupation without which the education of the great mass of people in a country can be of little personal benefit, and might be of much social harm. For, as a writer on popular education has said, "to allow the pupil to pass whole years in learning little and learning ill, is inculcating, by practice if not by precept, the habits of idleness; to allow him to pass it in studies, which have no sort of reference to his position, is superadding to idleness, inutility."* In the second place, the various positions of trust and responsibility in a manufactory, requiring as they would do high scientific attainments, will render it necessary for a large number of our countrymen to receive a special scientific training at once dignified and productive of great personal reputation. And this circumstance, it may be justly expected, besides promoting the study of nature in a truly earnest and manly spirit, will do more than any thing else to reduce the number of those who, in the absence of any field of labour, lucrative as well as respectable, are at present compelled to enter the learned professions of law and medicine, but who cannot, in consequence of the existence of a competition which is already formidable in both those professions, manage to acquire even a decent livelihood for themselves.

But fourthly, the result of by far the largest and most general importance to the cause of civilization in Bengal would be a wider and freer intercourse with Europe, and especially with England than has yet been found necessary. Bengal, working for England with her own means and resources, finds little need of taking part in that vast international correspondence which gives unity of life and similarity of purpose to all the nations of the civilized world. Bengal has, up to this day, made no use of those various discoveries of art and science which have increased the power of man over material nature, and caused almost everything that exists on earth to serve some human purpose. She has derived but little benefit from the improved ideas of the age; she has felt not the remotest interest in the increasing thought of the world. She knows what modern civilization means, but she is only ideally civilized. Nay worse, she is yet only a hewer of wood and drawer of water for English civilization in the East. But once let manufactures be established in Bengal, let Bengal once know that the cloth which she wears, the paper on which

* See Education Reform. By T. Wyse, M.P., p. 51.

she writes, and the knife with which she cuts will be no longer prepared for her by England, and she will perceive the necessity of looking beyond the resources of her own art and skill, she will be forced to study the progress of modern art and science, to consult the whole of Europe on the methods of manufacturing industry, to examine nature with a minute and scrutinising eye. When Bengal becomes a country of manufacturers, she will begin to think and to act; then will she rise in the esteem of civilized Europe; then, for the first time in her history, will she acquire a position of dignity and importance in the great commonwealth of nations. Then, chiefly, will Bengal find it necessary to cultivate the acquaintance she has formed with England—the great mistress of the commercial world. Then will England herself form with her a friendship more close, more intellectual than subsists at present, and then will that friendship be placed on that basis of mutual esteem and respect without which friendship is a serious misnomer. Then, in the true sense of the words, will that triumph of British art and science be consummated in Bengal, of which Lord Macaulay, as I humbly conceive, gave a narrow interpretation to the Commons of England in his speech on the government of India, in the year 1833.* Then will be fulfilled that *mission*, with which, as it has been said, Providence has sent England to India.

DR. CHUCKERBUTTY rose to say that Babu Chunder Nath Bose's paper had made a strong impression upon him. It was very patriotic; but he begged to differ entirely from the author's views. No statistics had been given to prove his assertions. DR. CHUCKERBUTTY did not believe that it was a misfortune that the produce of the soil should be exported from India and manufactured goods imported into it. Some of the articles exported, such as saltpetre, were very lucrative, and would be useless from their very superabundance in this country. Others paid well to send out as raw materials, and to receive back in the manufactured state, such as cotton and silk. If a certain piece of cloth made abroad could be got for two rupees, nobody would be so patriotic as to pay four rupees for the same, merely because it was spun by his own countrymen. If the thing did not pay, it would not answer. But when the producer got a higher price for his wares, and paid less for his consumption, it was obviously to his advantage to export and import. Then a third class of goods, such as opium and rice, were sold to foreign nations for consumption, because they could not get them so cheap in any other market as in India, and because the sellers could not get the same high prices without exporting. The exports of the articles named had immensely increased during late years, to the great advantage of the cultivator. The only exception was, perhaps, saltpetre, the trade in which

* See Macaulay's Speech on the Government of India.

had diminished owing to an enhancement of the duty. The imports were even larger than the exports. The latter put money into the pockets of the people, the former showed their increased capacity to make purchases. It was absurd, therefore, to say that the country would be more prosperous if the raw materials were manufactured in it, instead of going to foreign markets, or if it had no imports and exports.

The author's opinion, that the extension of education to the artizan classes made them more vicious and idle than before, was opposed to all history and common sense. One of the most remarkable facts established by experience was, that the diminution of crime was in proportion to the increase of education. India was in a transition state, and it might be true that persons who were educated did not like to pursue hereditary trades. But that was a consummation which many philanthropists desired; and if it were an evil, it must, sooner or later, correct itself. When people saw that the only effect of crowding into Government or other offices was to lower their emoluments, and that they could better employ their labour and capital in trades, they would soon get over their reluctance, and follow occupations for profit, and not as hereditary professions. Popular education might destroy caste distinctions, but that would be a great gain to civilization, and no loss to society. He regretted that the author had not supported his conclusions by figured statements instead of relying on dogmatic assertions.

MR. BEVERLEY thought that the writer had laid too much stress upon the injury which had resulted to native manufactures through the connection of this country with England. It might be true that native cloths had now been superseded by European piece goods, but the author had overlooked the numerous trades and employments to which the British Government had given birth. To take one instance out of many, the business of printing now employed many hundreds—he might say thousands—of hands, where never one was employed anterior to the British rule. And he need only point to the improved mode of living of all the native gentry, not only in and around Calcutta, but all over the Mofussil, as a proof that the trade of the country had been stimulated rather than injured by the operation of the British Government. Even in the matter of piece goods, we were not so wholly dependent on the looms of Manchester as the writer seemed to think. There was more than one cotton mill in Calcutta, and there were at least a dozen companies quoted on the Bombay share list. With the large saving in the cost of freight and duties, amounting to something like 30 per cent., it might be expected that the number of those manufactories would increase with the accumulation of capital and the improvement of native skilled labour. The writer had dwelt upon the evils arising from the hereditary character of the occupations pursued in this country. He might say that a very similar obstacle in the way of industry existed in England till within the present century in the law of apprenticeship, under which no person was allowed to practise a trade in which he had not served an apprenticeship for seven years. This was a very considerable restriction upon the development of trade, so far as it prevented the transfer of labour and capital from one business to another. In this way it bore a very striking resemblance to the institution of caste in this country—a resemblance closer than was generally supposed. Besides this, England had had other obstacles to contend against in the expansion of her trade, among which MR. BEVERLEY instanced the riots which occurred in the manufacturing districts on the introduction of steam machinery, and the strikes of the present day. The progressive spirit of the nation had overcome these difficulties; and if there was any vitality in the trade

of India, it might be expected to overcome, in a similar manner, any temporary obstacles which threatened to impede its progress.

There was one other fact mentioned by the author which MR. BEVERLEY could not refrain from noticing, because it brought out a grand distinction between this country and Great Britain. The writer had estimated the number of artisans in Bengal at one-eighth of the population. It might be presumed that the rest were mainly agriculturists. Even if two-thirds only of the population were engaged in the cultivation of the soil, it would follow that two men were engaged in raising food for three in this country, while in England the labour of one man was said to feed twenty-six. This simple consideration showed the vast difference between an agricultural and a manufacturing country.

THE PRESIDENT congratulated the lecturer on introducing a new subject which was worthy of being investigated further. It treated of one of those social changes which the country was now passing through. The writer had laid some stress upon the effects of education in India, and certainly there were difficulties attending the subject. In England, agriculture was carried on by *paid* labour: the cultivator was a man of capital, and merely directed the work, which was performed by hired labourers. Under such circumstances, education might work remarkable results. If the workman became dissatisfied, and found that manual labour was better paid in other trades, he could either alter his own condition of life, or at least improve that of his children. Many, again, by refraining from marriage, were able to save money, which would in time improve their condition; so that the tendency of education in England was to increase wages, and to give the working man habits of providence and the power of saving. Here, in India, the same principles were not in action. There was not the same paid labour in agricultural pursuits. What could the cultivator do to better his condition? He might say, "No, I won't pay so much rent, but I'll go somewhere else." But he could not carry off his labour to some other occupation, as in England. And as to habits of providence, it was a result which it seemed to him hopeless to expect would be secured even by education. The force of prejudice, or religious principle, was so strong that the lower classes never thought of abstaining from marriage till they could afford to maintain a family. Thus the result of educating the masses in this country might be totally different from what it was in England.

It was a mistake to suppose that the artisans of this country were not a productive class, and that it would be of no importance to the rest of the world if their work were to be blotted out altogether. It was going too far to say that what is not carried out of a country is not production, so far as the rest of the world is concerned. The exports of India were enormous; and those who ministered to the wants of those who raise the raw produce which we export, really administer to the wants of the world as much as if their own work were exported. But, in point of fact, there were Indian manufactures which had been distinguished in the markets of the world. Dr. Chuckerbutty's argument was just, that it is better for this country, just as for any other country, that what can be done cheaper elsewhere should be done elsewhere. It was our business really to look after the imports, not the exports. He thought the old error was underlying Dr. Chuckerbutty's assertions; but the fact was, that the only object of exporting home produce was in order to be able to import foreign produce.

As to the evils of popular education, he (MR. PHEAR) thought there was a little confusion as to the cause. So long as education was a rare acquisition, a man

would be naturally reluctant to go back into the old family ways, and to take up the occupations of those above whom he had a right to consider himself elevated by cultivation and acquirement. And therefore partially extended education might be expected to have just the effect which it is found to have, of beating down the wages of keraneedom. Those who obtained the distinction of education, forsook the business of the class out of which they rose, and flocked to the one employment, which gave scope for the exercise of their new abilities. The remedy lay in the extension of education. If all a man's friends and relatives were equally educated with himself, there would not be the same objection to follow the old pursuits. The result of the present partial system afforded no fair ground for the complaint against educating the masses, which at times was urged with much greater stress than it ought to be.

4. *On the Origin of Hindu Festivals.* By BABU BANKIM CHANDRA CHATARJI.

[Read on the 20th January, 1869.]

SOME attention has been paid to the subject of Hindu festivals, and there is among the records of the Transactions of this Association a paper on the nature of Hindu festivals. I wish to say a few words on their origin. It is my impression that most Hindu festivals were not in their origin at all similar to what they are now; and if we could trace their origin in every case satisfactorily, we should have the key to interesting phenomena in the various phases of social existence which the nation has gone through. It is impossible to venture on any *general* theory regarding their origin. Particular festivals appear to have had each a particular origin, quite different in its principle from the origin of others. Again, it is by no means clear that every festival has had its origin in the earlier stages of Hindu society. Some are, doubtless, very old, but others are extremely modern.

It is certain that many festivals which have now assumed the shape and adopted the symbols of the worship of particular gods, were in their origin nothing more than the celebration of the advent of particular seasons of the year, or of other physical phenomena, and had *no religious element* in them at the beginning. Take the Dôl Jatra, for instance. It is now in Bengal only a special mode of worshipping Krishna on a particular day. Up-country it is the *Huli*, as the word is mis-written and mis-pronounced. Originally, it was nothing but a festival in honor of spring, *Vasantotsaba*. From *Vasantotsaba* it degenerated into *Mudanotsaba*, or the festival of love, and then the religious element first crept in. It is strange that that season of the year when the fresh bursting forth of nature into new life, and into forms of pure and stainless beauty, is calculated to dispose the mind towards the highest and the calmest moods, should be set down by the poets and the people of India as peculiarly the season of love and desire. Being so set down, spring came to be indissolubly associated with love and desire, not that love which is high, holy as an abnegation of self, even when man or his companion is the object, but love which levels man to the brute. The association was so strong, that whenever a Hindu poet happens to touch on spring, he speaks of it only in one aspect—as the season of love. Not even the highest and most cultivated minds which

Puranic India ever produced were free from this peculiarity. Even in the finest passage in all the poetical literature of India, perhaps of the East, the third canto of the *Kumar Sambhava*, where the poetry often rises into strains of loftiness and grandeur rarely attained, it sinks into the earth when the poet comes to describe spring. He is tender, he is touching, his exquisite and trembling sensibility reflects every shade of the new life of Nature ; but the leading idea throughout the description is still that of the season of love and desire. It was natural, therefore, that the festival of spring should transform itself into the festival of love ; and as love was the god Madana, the festival became one for the worship of Madana. The red powder and the squirt, which form the distinguishing features of the Huli, were also the ancient accompaniments of the Madanotsaba, and we find them all in the description of that festival given in the *Ratnaboli*. When Madana came to give place to Krishna, and the Madanotsaba came to be transformed into the Dôl Jatra in Bengal, I am unable to say ; but it was naturally to be expected that the god whose worship came to be the most popular in the country, and the memory of whose amorous achievements better fitted him to represent love and loose morals than Madana himself, should supplant the latter in popular festivals.

Take, again, the festivals in honor of Lakshmi. Lakshmi is the goddess of prosperity ; but the word "Lakshmi," or "Sri," which is another name for the divinity, also means prosperity itself, or wealth. In early times, when agriculture was the only and the direct source of wealth, wealth differed little in popular idea from the produce of a good harvest. Now, we find that there are four festivals in honor of Lakshmi ; or, in other words, there are four seasons during which she is worshipped. The first is in autumn, after the Durga Puja, just before the winter harvest commences. We find her next worshipped in Pous, just as the winter crop has been, or has nearly been, gathered in. We find her again worshipped at the end of Choitra, just before the first rains are expected, and the early rice crop is about to be sown. Lastly, we find her worshipped again in Bhadra, just as the early crop has been gathered in. These facts are calculated to lead to the inference that the festivals in honour of Lakshmi were, in their origin, purely agricultural festivals, and probably had then in them no religious character whatever.

Other festivals clearly have an astronomical origin, and are mere representatives of celestial phenomena. I shall advert here to some ingenious hints, for which I am indebted to a paper by Babu Bhudeb Mukarji. The most important of our festivals,

that of Durga, is probably resolvable in this way. Indian astronomy or astrology gives to the twelve months of the year the names of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and each month is named after the sign in which the sun is supposed to be during that month. Thus, Baisakh is Mesha, or the Ram; and Jyastha is Brisha, or the Bull. Similarly, Aswin, in which this festival is held, is the Virgin *following on the back of Bhudra, the Lion*. Now the image worshipped in the Durga Puja is that of a virgin on the back of a lion. Durga is not indeed supposed to be a virgin, she is fabled as a married goddess; the wife of Siva and the mother of Ganesa. But what may be contended for is not that the present worship is that of a virgin, but that at the original institution of the festival, the worship was that of a virgin: in fact, of the constellation Virgo. The image actually worshipped even now is that of a *young* female, and Durga, as thereby represented, is popularly described as *sorasi*, or in her sixteenth year. Just as it is possible that the obsolete deity Madana gave place to the popular god Krishna, so it is possible that the constellation gave place to an almost equally popular deity Durga.

The origin of the festival of Rath is, perhaps, to be explained in the same way. This festival takes place about the time of the summer solstice. It does not now fall exactly on the day on which the sun is on the solstitial point, or on any fixed solar date, but the variation must be owing to the substitution of lunar for solar dates, which is the general rule for regulating the recurrence of festivals. It is not improbable that originally the date of its celebration was regulated according to the solar calendar, though now it has been made to conform to the general rule. Now, the plain facts regarding the phenomenon of the solstice are that the sun, in its apparent annual motion, approaches a certain point in the heaven, seems stationary there for a short time, and then recedes again towards the equator. In Hindu mythology, the sun is represented as moving in the heaven in a car, or *rath*. And so his car, or *rath*, is represented on earth, and made to conform to his motions in the heavens. At the same time that the sun moves in the heavens towards the solstice, stops there for a short time, and then recedes, his car on earth is in the same way made to move to a certain place, kept there for eight days, and then taken back in the same direction from which it was originally moved. It is true, Jagannath now rides the car, not the sun. But, like Madana and the Virgin, he has probably been made to give place to a more popular deity than himself.

It may be said that if there be any foundation for this theory of the origin of this festival, there ought to be found a correspond-

ing festival in celebration of the winter solstice; and so there is the *Makar Sankranti*. This, unlike the other, is regulated by the solar, and not the lunar calendar. The reason why this festival escaped being made to conform to the general rule, probably is that it falls on the last day of a month, and is thus of a class which forms the only known exception to the general lunar rule. Even, however, with the unchanged date, it does not fall on the exact date which corresponds with the solstice. But my theory, that this is a solstitial festival, would be wrong if the two dates coincided. We must take into account the effect of the precession of the equinoxes. If they coincided at the original institution of the festival, they cannot coincide now, for the Sankranti is a day fixed by the calendar. The difference at present is one of 21 days. At the rate of 50".1 for a year, nearly fifteen centuries must have elapsed since the institution of this festival, to account for the difference. So that if you accept the supposition, this festival must have been instituted towards the latter end of the fourth century after Christ,—as probable a date as any other.

On the Makar Sankranti the sun's car is not represented on the earth, as in the festival of the summer solstice; but one of the names given to the day succeeding the festival leaves no doubt that it is a solstitial festival. It is called the *Uttarayan Dina*, or the day on which the sun starts on his northern course. And in some places, though not in all, the sun is the only deity worshipped on the Makar Sankranti. Mr. Long, in the five hundred questions on Indian subjects, which he put in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society, asks "Why is the sun the only deity worshipped on that day?" The answer is now clear; it is because the festival is a solstitial festival. I do not think that the answer could have been given on any other supposition.

I am aware that another, and a very reasonable, account of the origin of the festival of Rath has been given by General Cunningham in his work on the Bhilsa Topes. He there traces it to a similar festival of the Buddhists, in which the three symbols of the Buddhist faith, Buddha, Dharmma, and Sangha, were drawn in a car in the same fashion, and I believe about the same season as the Rath. It is a fact greatly in support of the theory, that the images of Jagannath, Balaram, and Subhadra, which now figure in the Rath, are near copies of the representations of Buddha, Dharmma, and Sangha, and appear to have been modelled upon them. The details of the evidence in support of this supposition will be found in the work of General Cunningham, to which I have referred. That evidence is by no means conclusive, and it is possible that the Buddhists themselves may have transformed an astronomical commemoration into a religious one.

The name of the festival of the Rasjatra would also seem to point to an astronomical origin. The word is derived apparently from "Rasi," a sign of the Zodiac. As to what its precise meaning may be, I am unable to offer any opinion. This festival seems to be the autumnal counterpart of the vernal festival in honor of Spring, and may have had a similar origin. The vernal festival is celebrated on the day or night of the full moon of the season; the autumnal festival is also celebrated on a similar night in autumn. So there is a summer festival, the Phul-dol, celebrated on a full-moon night in summer; and there is a rainy season festival, the Jhulan, falling on a full-moon night in the rainy season. All these four festivals were probably in their origin festivals merely in honor of the respective seasons, and had no necessary connexion with religion. They are now all religious festivals in honor of Krishna. It is to be observed, also, that there are these full-moon festivals for only four of the six seasons into which Hindus divide the year. There are none for the two divisions of the cold season. The reason is obvious. A spring night, or a summer night, or an autumnal night, with a splendid full-moon lighting up the earth and heavens, is a very proper season for festivity, and such a night, even during the rainy season, may be so if the sky happens to be clear on the particular day. But a black night in December or January, with a full and chilly moon appearing to render the cold night colder, however agreeable to those accustomed to the climate of Europe, appears to have been thought by the children of the soil as little inviting to festive proceedings, and I for one should consider them wise in their opinion.

Another festival, that of Kartick, is, I am inclined to think, also of astronomical origin. The name of the god, as well as the name of the month in which he is worshipped, is clearly derived from that of a star, "Nokshatra Krithika." Kartick is fabled in the Purans as the son, born or adopted, of Uma or Durga, the sister of the twenty-seven Nokshatras. May it not be that he was probably originally fabled as the son, not of a sister of the stars, but of one of those stars themselves, that from which he derives his name; and mythology, coming after astronomy, transferred the mothership to its favorite goddess? If so, the process must have been something analogous to the following: Kartick must have originally signified nothing more than a festival in honor of Krithika; then it probably led to the supposition of a god who represented Krithika in the festival as her son, and lastly Kartick came to be the son of Uma, the sister of Krithika. But I admit that the conjecture is too remote to be of any weight.

If there be any truth in the foregoing suppositions, Hindu festivals may, in regard to their origin, be classified as follows:—

1. Solstitial festivals, viz., the Rath and the Makar Sankranti.
2. Astral festivals, as the Durga Puja and the Kartick Puja.
3. Season festivals, as the Dôl Jatra and the three other full-moon festivals.
4. Agricultural festivals, which are in honor of Lakshmi, the Hindu Ceres.
5. Mythological festivals, like the Kali Puja and the Jugad-dhatri, which appear to be the most modern of all.
6. Lastly, festivals which apparently owe their origin to the popular dread of some physical agent of mischief, as the *Manasa* festival, celebrated to propitiate snakes.

In the whole range of Hindu festivals, I have been unable to trace any to a historical origin. Indeed, historical festivals can scarcely be expected to be found among a nation devoid of historical associations.

There are, however, many festivals which cannot at present be attributed to any of the sources which I have enumerated—the Dewali, for instance. This festival indeed is, from its nature, one of the most interesting. Its principal feature consists in the rows of lights with which houses are decorated on the night of its occurrence; and what gives it its interest, is that accompanying circumstances seem to show that it must have had its rise in some peculiar and remarkable event or idea. Thus, we find it is celebrated in the month of Kartick, and this month is held peculiarly sacred to light. During the whole month, lights are hung up on a pole on the top of every house. During the same month, ghâts are lighted up with splendid rows of lamps in Benares and other places up-country. During the same month young females light little lamps and send them floating down the stream of the river—an act which very often typifies their own journey down the stream of the world. I confess that the origin of these and other usages have for me a greater interest than the origin of the festivals themselves. Some of these usages are easily intelligible. It is easy to understand why grain should be worshipped with Lakshmi, and books and musical instruments with Saraswati, the goddess of knowledge and of music. Purple powder is used in the Huli, probably because that may be supposed to be the colour of nature at the time, decorating herself with new leaves. Bhang is taken on the day after the Durga Puja, because that is supposed to be a very auspicious day, and the name of the drug—*siddhi*—signifies success, which is supposed to be imbibed with the drug for

the whole year. But other usages are more curious and more difficult to understand. Why this profusion of lights in Kartick? Why are people obliged to swallow, without chewing, a bit of ginger with a bit of plantain, on the day of the Dusahara? Why should Manasa be worshipped in *an oven*? Mythology throws no light on these questions; popular superstitions throw no light. They are clearly attributable to ideas and associations, which are now matter of the past.

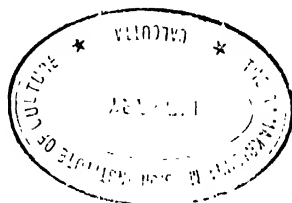
Whatever that may be, it is my belief that most of the festivals and usages connected with them, at all events all the older festivals, had in their origin no necessary connection with religion, and their present religious character is owing to the later Puranic superstition. I leave it to the public to estimate the effect which would be produced on their observance, if this truth, if such it is, could be clearly established to the conviction of those who observe them.

THE REV. J. LONG ventured to believe that the writer had entered what he might term a *terra incognita*, and that much still remained to be explored in the same direction. The problem which he had attempted to solve was a new one, and was particularly interesting in regard to the worship of Jagannath, which was, only a few centuries back, a Buddhist temple.

MR. WOODROW was of opinion that if the origin of Hindu festivals was traced sufficiently far back, they would possibly be found to be closely connected with the Greek festivals.

MR. BEVERLEY approved the philosophical spirit in which the writer had treated his subject. It was impossible to believe that either the Hindu festivals or the distinctions of caste were founded originally upon religious enactments. Such institutions, he believed, generally derived their origin from perfectly natural causes, arising out of the social economy and the genius of the particular people among whom they were found to exist.

THE PRESIDENT expressed the thanks of the Association for the valuable material which the lecturer had placed before the meeting. He remarked that the religious customs of a people were characteristic anywhere, but in this country there were specialities attending the social life of the Hindus which could only be traced through their religious ceremonies. It was to be hoped that the writer would prosecute his investigations still further.



LIST OF PRESENTATIONS

RECEIVED BETWEEN JULY 1868 AND FEBRUARY 1869.

FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

	Copies.
Report of the North-Western Provinces Exhibition, held at Agra in February, 1867	1
„ on the Jails of the Lower Provinces of Bengal for 1867. By F. J. Mouat, M.D.	1
„ on the Vaccination Proceedings throughout the Government of Bengal Proper, with an Appendix and Government Resolution thereon, 1868	1
„ of the Geological Survey of India and of the Museum of Geology, twelfth year, 1867	1
„ on the Administration of the Central Provinces for 1866-67 and 1867-68	2
„ „ „ of Oude for 1866-67 and 1867-68	2
„ „ „ of the Penal Settlement of Port Blair, Andaman Islands, for 1866-67	1
„ „ „ of British Burmah for 1866-67	1
„ „ „ of the Police of the N. W. P. for 1867 ..	1
„ „ „ of the Stamp Revenue of the N. W. P. for 1867-68	1
„ on the Revenue Administration of Mysore for 1866-67	1
„ on the Judicial and Revenue Administration of Coorg for 1866-67 ...	1
„ on the Operations of the Post Office of India for 1866-67	1
„ on Public Instruction in Mysore for 1867-68	1
„ „ „ in Coorg for 1867-68	1
„ of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India for the fourth year, 1867	1
„ on the Trade and Customs of British Burmah for 1867-68	1
„ on the Condition and Management of Jails in Oude for 1867	1
„ of the Calcutta Court of Small Causes for 1867-68	1
„ on the Sanitary Administration of the Punjab for 1867	1
„ by the Committee appointed by Government for the revision of salaries of Ministerial Officers, L. P.	1
„ on Vaccination for 1868, No. 9	1
„ on Jails in the Punjab for 1867	1
„ on Dispensaries in the Punjab for 1867	1
„ on Vaccine operations in the Punjab for 1867	1

List of Presentations.

Report on Meteorological Observations registered in the Punjab for 1867 ...	1
" of the Lahore Medical School for year ending 31st March, 1868 ...	1
" " " Medical School Hospital for 1867	1
" of the Marine Department and Dockyard under the Government of Bengal for 1867-68	1
Reports of the High Court, N. W. P. for June, 1867, Vol. II., No. 6 ...	1
" " " " for July, 1867, Vol. III., No. 1 ...	1
" " " " for Aug., 1867, Vol. III., No. 2 ...	1
" " " " for Sep., 1867, Vol. III., No. 3 ...	1
" " " " for Nov., 1867, Vol. III., No. 4 ...	1
" " " " for Dec., 1867, Vol. III., No. 5 ...	1
" " " " for Feb., 1868, Vol. IV., No. 2 ...	1
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